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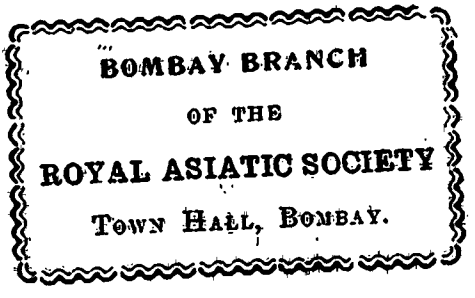

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ORIGINES KALENDARIÆ ITALICÆ,

NUNDINAL CALENDARS OF ANCIENT ITALY,

NUNDINAL CALENDAR OF ROMULUS;

CALENDAR OF NUMA POMPILIUS,

CALENDAR OF THE DECEMVIRS,

IRREGULAR ROMAN CALENDAR,

AND

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JULIAN CORRECTION. B 2597

TABLES OF THE ROMAN CALENDAR,

FROM

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ORIGINES KALENDARIÆ ITALICÆ.

ON THE CALENDARS OF ANCIENT ITALY.

DISSERTATION VII.

On the verification of the Roman Calendar, both the Regular and the Irregular, by the cycle of the Nundinal day.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—*Regularity of the Nundinal cycle among the Romans.*

WE had repeated occasion in the course of the first part of the present work to insist on the analogy of the Nundinal cycle of ancient Italy to the Hebdomadal cycle of Scripture[1]; which makes it unnecessary to revert to that topic, except in a general manner. Both these were measures of time *communis generis*, i. e. in terms of the cycle of day and night or noctidiurnal period of 24 hours. There was little apparent difference between the length of the one, and that of the other. One was of stated recurrence, as much as the other. The Nundinal cycle was as regular as the Hebdomadal. The Nundinal day too possessed a sacred character, from the first; as the seventh day of the Hebdomadal cycle did. The antiquity of the Nundinal cycle indeed could not

[1] Fasti Catholici, i. 501. Diss. vi. ch. v. Cf. 385. Diss. vi. ch. i. sect. i. Cf. 407. Diss. vi. ch. ii. sect. i. Introduction, 125. Part ii. ch. iii. sect. iii.

be so great as that of the Hebdomadal, which was coæval with the origin of men themselves; but it was greater than that of any other cycle, of the same or of a similar kind, of human institution, and intended for the perpetual measurement of time by the simplest and most invariable of its elements, the cycle of day and night: and in Italy in particular it was incomparably older than any thing else, characteristic of that country, which could now be mentioned. And to complete the parallel between these two things, the Nundinal cycle itself, (as we hope to shew in due time,) was derived from the Hebdomadal. The first Nundinal cycle was grafted upon the Hebdomadal; and the seventh day of the Hebdomadal cycle for the time being supplied the first day of the first Nundinal cycle. The Nundinal cycle itself therefore was after all the Hebdomadal, in another form and under another denomination; it was virtually the same as the Hebdomadal, and only accidentally different from it, perpetually.

For the purpose of our own argument, and for the sake of that review of the course and succession of this cycle, which we are proposing to institute in order to the verification of the scheme of our Roman calendar, at every period of its history; nothing is essential and indispensable *a priori* except the simple existence of this cycle among the Romans in particular from the epoch of the Foundation downwards: and the simple fact of its regular observance among them. It is satisfactory therefore to know that there is nothing in ancient Roman history which may be more confidently taken for granted than each of these facts. The antiquity of the Nundinal cycle in Italy in general was much greater than the foundation of Rome; nor was this cycle first contrived for the use of the Romans. Nor was it ever any thing different among the Romans from what it was among their neighbours. Nor is there the least reason to suppose that having once been brought into use and established either among the rest of the Italians in general, or among the Romans in particular, it was ever interrupted; or ever diverted from its natural course; or ever subjected to any new law; or ever either intentionally or unintentionally mistaken and miscalculated. We may rely on the uniformity and regularity of

the decursus of this cycle among the Romans with the same absolute certainty as on that of the Hebdomadal among the Jews or Christians. Under these circumstances, we are abundantly justified in attaching the greatest importance to the testimony of this cycle in particular, in confirmation of our Roman calendar for every period over which it extends; and for that of the irregular calendar even more than for that of the regular. To the statement therefore of this proof of the truth of both perpetually, we shall now proceed.

SECTION II.—*On the proper measure of the* Orbis Nundinalis, *or Nundinal cycle of the Romans.*

i. *Testimonies, which make it a cycle of* nine *days.*

The first thing necessary is to determine the legitimate measure of the Orbis Nundinalis or Nundinal Cycle itself; that is the exact number of days between two Nundinal days in succession. The length of the Hebdomadal cycle, as every one knows, is seven days; that is, the number of days between a given day in one week and the same day in the next, if the former excluded and the latter is included, is seven days; if both are excluded, is six days. What there was in the Nundinal cycle, analogous to this fact in the Hebdomadal, has still to be ascertained; and must be collected from testimony only.

If we look merely at the etymon, or probable grammatical derivation, of the word Nundinæ in the Latin language, we must conclude that the measure of the Orbis Nundinalis was in some sense or other *nine* days; for Nundinæ, with the ellipsis of Dies, or at least of Feriæ, is no doubt *per syncopen* from Novendinæ: the existence of which some time or other is attested by the term Novendiales, with the same ellipsis of dies or feriæ, derived from it. And a denomination so derived would seem to imply that these Dies Novendinæ or Feriæ Novendinæ were of every nine days' occurrence. Accordingly testimony is extant which makes the Orbis Nundinalis apparently a cycle of *nine* days.

i. Est quoque quo populum jus est includere septis,
Est quoque qui nono semper ab orbe redit[k].

[k] Ovid, Fasti, i. 53. The first of these descriptions of days is the comitial.

ii. Verum hic non domini, quis enim contractior illo ?
Sed populi proventus erat; nonisque diebus
Venales olerum fasces portabat in urbem.
Inde domum cervice levis gravis ære redibat,
Vix unquam urbani comitatus more macelli [l].

iii. Ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόν τε πολεμικὸν τόν τε γεωργικὸν ἔταξε βίον· εἰ μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγοιεν, ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργοις ἐθίζων ἅπαντας μένειν πλὴν εἴ ποτε δεηθεῖεν ἀγορᾶς· τότε δ' εἰς ἄστυ συνιόντας ἀγοράζειν· ἐννάτην ὁρίζων ἡμέραν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς [m].

iv. Nundinarum etiam conventus manifestum est propterea usurpatos ut nonis tantummodo diebus urbanæ res agerentur, reliquis administrarentur rusticæ [n].

v. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ τὰς ἀγομένας δι' ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν συνόδους νουνδίνας δὲ καλουμένας ἱερὰς τοῦ Κρόνου νομίζεσθαι· πράσεως γὰρ καὶ ὠνῆς περιουσία καρπῶν ἀρχὴν παρέσχεν [o] —Σοὶ δὲ Μάρκιε προαγορεύομεν εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν παρεῖναι [p]— Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς· ἀγορὰς δὲ ποιοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ἡμέρας ἐννάτης, νουνδίνας καλοῦντες [q].

vi. Καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀεὶ ἀγομένη [r]—Τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην [s]—Τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην [t].

vii. Est etiam Nundina Romanorum dea, a nono die nascentium nuncupata qui lustricus dicitur. est autem dies lustricus quo infantes lustrantur et nomen accipiunt. sed is maribus nonus octavus est feminis [u].

ii. *Testimony which makes it a cycle of* eight *days.*

On the other hand testimony also is extant which makes the Orbis Nundinalis a cycle of eight days.

i. Αἱ δ' ἀγοραὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων δι' ἡμέρας ἐννάτης . . . . τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀγορῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας αὐτουργοί τ' ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πένητες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διέτριβον [w].

ii. Viri magni majores nostri non sine caussa præponebant rusticos Romanos urbanis . . . itaque annum ita diviserunt ut

[l] Virgil, Moretum, 80.
[m] Dionysius Hal. ii. 28. De Romulo.
[n] Columella, De Re Rustica, i. Præfatio, §. 18.
[o] Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, xlii.
[p] Ibid. Coriolanus, xviii.
[q] Ibid. xix.
[r] Dio Cassius, xl. 47.
[s] Ibid. xlviii. 33. [t] Ibid. lx. 24.
[u] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 16. 282, 283. Cf. Festus, x. 209. 7. Lustrici. Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, cii.
[w] Dionysius Hal. vii. 58.

nonis modo diebus urbanas res usurparent reliquis vii ut rura colerent [x].

iii. Rutilius scribit Romanos instituisse nundinas ut octo quidem diebus in agris rustici opus facerent, nono autem die intermisso rure ad mercatum legesque accipiendas Romam venirent [y].

iv. Nundinalem cocum Plautus dixit in Aulularia: Cocus nundinalis ille est. in nonum diem solet ire coctum. cocum qui novendialis alias adpellatur manifesto significat; quem dixit nundinalem, quod in nonum diem coqueret [z].

Section III. — *On the reconciliation of these Testimonies to each other.*

Among these latter testimonies, it is observable that both that of Varro and that of Dionysius agree in representing the interval between any two Nundinal days, exclusive of each, as *seven* days. The latter too in particular shews that even this representation of the absolute length of the interval in question was not inconsistent with the idiomatic mode of speaking about it, which implied that the *nundinæ* were held every ninth day; for in the very same testimony he speaks of the Nundinæ as held Δι' ἡμέρας ἐννάτης, and yet of the interval between any two nundinal days notwithstanding as being only seven days.

The former class of testimonies then, which spoke of the Nundinal cycle in general as one of nine days, cannot be irreconcilable to the latter which represents it as one of eight days. Nothing is necessary for this reconciliation except to suppose that in one of these instances, according to a very common idiom among the Romans, the two extreme limits or terms of the cycle were both taken into the account; in the other, the first was omitted, the last only was included. For, if the Nundinal cycle was truly a cycle of eight days, just in the same sense in which the Hebdomadal is one of seven days, (that is, if every eighth day was Nundinal according to the former, as every seventh is sabbatic according to the latter,) then from one Nundinal day to another, both being included,

[x] Varro, De Re Rustica, ii. Præfatio.

[y] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 16. 282.

[z] Festus, xii. 290. 1. Nundinalem: cf. Fragmenta, p. 11. Plautus meant a cook who was hired for one Nundinal cycle at a time; as we should say, for a week at a time.

the interval would be *nine* days; the first being excluded but the second included, it would be *eight* days: neither of them being included, it would be *seven* days. And on this principle the cycle itself might be represented as one of nine days, or as one of eight days, or as one of seven days, indifferently. But its just description would be that of a cycle of eight days; as that of the Hebdomadal is that of a cycle of seven days. The Nundinal day could not be excluded from its proper cycle, any more than the sabbatic day from the Hebdomadal; and as every *seventh* day in order from a certain beginning was sabbatic perpetually according to the one, so every *eighth* day in order from a certain beginning also was Nundinal perpetually according to the other *.

* The term of seven days is of frequent occurrence in Cato De Re Rustica; as prescribed for various purposes: Amurca impleto dies vii [1]—Hæc dies vii facito [2]—Hoc per dies vii dato [3]. There was none which could have been more familiar, where the Nundinal cycle was in use; as among the rustic population. Pliny observes [4], Somnos fieri lepore sumto in cibis Cato arbitratur. vulgus et gratiam corpori (fieri) in viiii dies (aliter vii) frivolo quidem joco (*lepŏre* quasi *lepōre*, Lepōrem fieri e lepŏre sumto) cui tamen aliqua debeat subesse caussa in tanta persuasione. These nine days were no doubt the term of one Nundinal cycle. The sumtuary laws of the Romans allowed some indulgence more than usual, on the Nundinal days. Sed legis Liciniæ summa, observes Macrobius [5], ut Kalendis Nonis Nundinis Romanis cuique in dies singulos, triginta dumtaxat asses edundi caussa consumere liceret. Athenæus refers to one of these, the Lex Fannia [6], as follows [7]: Ἐκέλευε δ' ὁ νόμος τριῶν μὲν πλείονας τῶν ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι· κατὰ ἀγορὰν δὲ τῶν πέντε. τοῦτο δὲ τρὶς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο. The ἀγορὰ here means the Nundinal day. There might be *four* Nundinæ in any Roman month, if the first day was Nundinal. But Athenæus in this instance must have reckoned four Nundinæ = 32 days; a greater number than could be contained in any Roman month. Consequently he must have reckoned one cycle at 8 days.

The Novemdiales epulæ of the Romans too were no doubt founded originally on the Nundinal cycle; since they consisted of a term of nine days, beginning on the first and ending on the ninth. Donatus in Phormionem observes; In nuptiis septimus dies instaurationem voti habet, ut in funere nonus; quo parentalia concluduntur. Dio commonly calls this day the ἐννάτη [8]; and the Greeks had their ἐννάτη at funerals too: though he means it in these cases of the Novemdial supper of the Romans, τὸ

1 Cap. lxix. p. 72. l. 1.
2 xc. 81. 2. 3 clvii. § 13. p. 120.
4 H. N. xxviii. 79.
5 Saturnalia, ii. 13. 372.
6 Cf. vol. i. p. 58 note.
7 vi. 108.
8 Cf. xl. 49. B. C. 52. De Clodio. Cf. also Lydus, De Mens., iv. 21. p. 63.

SECTION IV.—*Confirmation of the true measure of the cycle.* i. *By the Nundinal year.* ii. *By the extant fragments of the Julian Calendar.*

The testimonies to this point consequently, when each is rightly understood, are both to the same effect; both those which represent the Nundinal cycle as one of nine days, and those which depose to it as one of eight. But that the latter are more agreeable to the actual state of the case, and speak more correctly about it, may be inferred not only from the greater precision of the language in which they are expressed,

περίδειπνον, as he also calls it. In Augustin's time its common name was the Novendial: Nescio utrum inveniatur alicui sanctorum in Scripturis celebratum esse luctum novem dies, quod apud Latinos novendial appellant [9].

Nec in sepulcro pauperum prudens anus
Novemdiales dissupare pulveres [10].

Et cum die natali Augustæ inter sacerdotes epularetur, Novemdialem eam cœnam dixisse [11].

The emperor Adrian on the death of Plotina is said to have gone into mourning for one cycle of this kind; Ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα μελανειμονῆσαι [12]. Ovid describing Medea's search for herbs, to renew the youth of Æson, supposes it to have lasted the same length of time.

Et jam nona dies curru pennisque draconum
Nonaque nox omnes lustrantem viderat agros [13].

Virgil is equally attentive to propriety in this respect.

Post ubi nona suos Aurora ostenderit ortus [14].

Post ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus [15].

Præterea si nona diem mortalibus almam
Aurora extulerit [16].

Exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena
Auroram Phaëthontis equi jam luce vehebant [17].

Jamque dies epulata novem gens omnis [18].

9 Quæstiones in Heptateuchum, Quæst. 172. Opp. iii. 421. E.
10 Horace, Epodon xvii. 47.
11 Tacitus, Ann. vi. 5.
12 Dio, lxix. 10.
13 Metam. vii. 235.
14 Georgica, iv. 544.
15 Ibid. 552.
16 Æneid, v. 64. and Serv. in loc.
17 Æneid, v. 100.
18 Ibid. 762. Cf. Servius, ad vi. 432: 218. xi. 210.

but from other corroborative proofs; which we shall proceed to mention.

i. From the origin of the Nundinal cycle itself and from its relation to the Nundinal year; which it was always designed to enter perpetually and to measure exactly. The Nundinal cycle was the cycle of Lunar Phases or quarter lunations; the standard of each of which was the sensible length of the first natural lunar quarter itself[a]: and that being assumed at eight days, the cycle of such phases or quarters, the Nundinal cycle, must have been a cycle of eight days too. The length of the Nundinal year was 304 days; and yet it was always intended to contain a certain number of these cycles or quarters exactly: and we have seen reason to conclude[a] that this number was neither more nor less than 38, equivalent to nine Nundinal months, and one half of a tenth, perpetually. If so, the length of the cycle itself was eight days, and neither more nor less than eight: for $38 \times 8 = 304$.

ii. From the testimony of the extant fragments of the original Julian correction, which agree in a very observable circumstance. Many fragments even of this correction are still extant; to which the learned author of the collection[b] has found it necessary to give different names, in order to distinguish them one from another: as the Prænestine or Fasti Verrii Flacci, the Maffæan, the Farnesian, the Vatican, the Amiternine, the Exquiline, the Venusine, the Antiatine, the Pincian, the Allifan, the Capranic. And though none of them is perfect in every respect, yet they all agree in exhibiting the first eight letters of the Roman alphabet (A B C D E F G H); and, wheresoever they are capable of being compared together, in the same order, and opposite to the same days of the months, from the first day of January to the last of December. There can be no question about this agreement in the case of those months which are still entire in each of these calendars, or in more than one of the number; and it is just as apparent even of the imperfect months, when the fragments of those months in one of these calendars come to be arranged side by side with the same fragments in another.

a See vol. i. 142. Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. iii. b Foggini.

The Maffæan calendar happens to be the most entire from the beginning to the end of the year. Consequently it exhibits the cycle of these characters without interruption from the beginning to the end of the year also. We have only therefore to make this the standard of reference for the rest, (i. e. to compare each of the rest, wheresoever it is possible, with this,) to see that the same cycle of characters must once have been similarly arranged in each of them. To say nothing of the *fragments* of months; let the Maffæan calendar be compared with the Prænestine in the months of Januarius Martius and Aprilis; with the Venusine in those of Maius and Junius; with the Amiternine and the Pincian in that of Julius*; with the Amiternine, the Antiatine, and the Capranic in that of Augustus; with the Amiternine in that of October; with the Amiternine and the Antiatine in that of November; with the Prænestine, the Amiternine, and the Antiatine, in that of December; and it will be seen that the same cycle of characters, A—H, which in the Maffæan calendar goes on without interruption from the first day of Januarius to the last day of December, could not possibly have proceeded in a different order in any of those other calendars also: for the same characters are found opposite to the same days of the month in each of them as in the Maffæan, wheresoever they admit of being compared together.

We may therefore infer from these coincidences that the cycle of characters in question, similarly arranged and recurring similarly, must have entered into the details of the Julian calendar, and must have formed a peculiar and characteristic feature of it, from the first. All these fragments are of great antiquity. Some of them may have been almost contemporary with the Julian correction; particularly the Prænestine: the author of which, Verrius Flaccus, flourished in the reign of Augustus [d], and was the tutor of his grandchildren, Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa and Julia.

Now what account is to be given of this cycle of charac-

* The Antiatine Fragment for the month of Julius wants this cycle of characters. It has them in every other instance; so that that omission must have been accidental.

[d] Vol. i. 36. note.

ters? No explanation thereof is so probable as *this;* viz. that it represented the Nundinal cycle in the Julian calendar, as it entered it at first, and as it actually made part of the first Julian year: and therefore as it was liable to recur at stated times in the Julian year perpetually. The Nundinal cycle of the first Julian year necessarily determined that of every subsequent year; and, by the law of the cycle and the law of the calendar in conjunction, the Nundinal period in the Julian correction, as we shall see hereafter, was one of 32 Julian years.

It confirms this explanation that we know from testimony of a different kind that the Kalends of January in the first Julian year were Nundinal; and therefore that if this cycle of letters was always intended of the cycle of the Nundinal feriæ, and if the letter A was always intended of the feria prima of the cycle, it must have been appointed under such circumstances to stand opposite to the Kalends of Januarius: as it is actually seen to do. There was no reason *a priori* why the first eight letters of the alphabet might not have been pitched upon by the Romans to symbolise the feriæ of their Nundinal cycle, just as much as the first seven among Christians to symbolise those of the Hebdomadal[e]. Such an use and application however among the Romans of the first eight letters of their own alphabet is demonstrative that their Nundinal cycle was a cycle of eight feriæ, requiring eight symbols of this kind; just as the similar use and application among Christians of the first seven of theirs is that their Hebdomadal cycle is one of seven feriæ, requiring seven such symbols perpetually.

SECTION V.—*On the traditionary author of the Nundinal cycle among the Romans.*

With respect to the origin of the cycle, it is a remarkable thing that notwithstanding its antiquity, and its being in fact much older than the city of Rome, most of our Roman authorities appear to have been so ill informed about it that none of them seems to have thought it older than Romulus; and some of them seem to have thought it no older than Servius Tullius, or even than the expulsion of the kings,

[e] Cf. our Fasti Catholici. Introduction, 182. Part ii. ch. vi. sect. ii.

and the first consulate. Harum originem, says Macrobius[f] speaking of the Nundinæ of the Romans, quidam Romulo adsignant; quem communicato regno cum T. Tatio sacrificiis et sodalitatibus institutis nundinas quoque adjecisse commemorant: sicut Tuditanus adfirmat. sed Cassius Servium Tullium fecisse nundinas dicit ut in urbem ex agris convenirent urbanas rusticasque res ordinaturi. Geminus ait diem nundinarum exactis jam regibus cœpisse celebrari: quia plerique de plebe repetita Servii Tullii memoria parentarent ei in nundinis. cui rei etiam Varro consentit.

If there was any foundation in the matter of fact for the first of these statements, we think it was probably this; viz. That when Romulus instituted those sodalities or societies, here alluded to, composed partly of Romans partly of Sabines in order to commemorate the union of the two peoples from that time forward, with stated sacrifices also for their observance, he appointed that the days of their meetings and of the stated performance of those sacrifices should be the Nundinal days: and that would be competent to make him pass with posterity for the author of the Nundinal meeting. With respect to the second, which ascribes its origin to Servius Tullius; we believe that there was some foundation for this statement, in the fact that Servius did actually institute a regular meeting of the citizens, for a certain purpose, on the Nundinal day, and in fact did even revive the Nundinal calendar at Rome: as we hope to explain more at large hereafter. With regard to the third, which dates the first institution of the Nundinal meeting from the Regifuge only; it seems to be resolvable ultimately into the same matter of fact as the second opinion, which ascribed the institution of that meeting to Servius Tullius: the object of this first meeting even after the Regifuge, according to this account, being merely to do honour to the memory of Servius himself. Those meetings appointed by Servius had been suppressed by Tarquin his successor; and the first opportunity which the people ever had, after his death, of meeting according to his rule, was of course after the Regifuge. The true date of the expulsion of the kings, or of the Regifuge properly so called,

[f] Saturnalia, i. 16. 282. Cf. 13. 267.

was the Kalends of June B. C. 508; as we hope to prove hereafter. It is a singular coincidence that the first Nundinal day in the regular course of the cycle, after the Regifuge, was the very next day; the 2d of June itself[g]. The people might have taken advantage of the first Nundinal day, which brought them together after the Regifuge, to parentate to the memory of Servius, and thereby to pay him those honours, which had probably never yet been rendered to him. Even in that case, there would be sufficient foundation in the matter of fact, to make it be handed down by tradition, and currently believed among posterity, that the Nundinal meeting itself first began after the Regifuge.

The truth on this point however is most correctly represented by Dionysius[h]; viz. That the Nundinal resort to the city from the country was an usage and rule of life, which existed in the time of Romulus, yet was not instituted by him. There can be no doubt of the correctness of that representation. The Nundinal cycle was as old as the Nundinal year; and that was 590 years older than the Foundation of Rome. The first authors of that year, whosoever they were, were the first authors of the Nundinal cycle. Among the Romans indeed the first author of their Nundinal calendar might be said to have been the first author of their Nundinal cycle; and that was undoubtedly Romulus: who retained the ancient Nundinal cycle, while he made some changes in the details and administration of the old Nundinal calendar.

SECTION VI.—*Application of the Nundinal cycle to each of the forms of the civil year which at different times entered the Calendar. Nundinal Epact, and Nundinal* Ἀποκατάστασις, *or Nundinal Period.*

To proceed however to those explanations which more immediately concern our present purpose.

The length of the orbis Nundinalis or Nundinal cycle being assumed at eight days; let this cycle so measured perpetually be applied to each of the kinds of years which, as we have seen, entered the Roman calendar from the time of

[g] Cf. Dionys. Hal. iv. 76.

[h] Ant. Rom. ii. 28.

Romulus to that of Julius Cæsar. In every instance of this kind but that of the Nundinal year itself there will be necessarily, at the end of the year, a certain number of days over and above the last complete Nundinal cycle contained in it; which excess we may call the Nundinal EPACT in the given year. The following scheme will shew what these epacts are in each of these cases, and what proportion they bear to one another.

Nundinal Epact, in the different forms of the Roman year.

i	304	days Nundinal	epact	0
ii	355	.. ..		3
iii	377	.. ..		1
iv	378	.. ..		2
v	356	.. ..		4
vi	354	.. ..		2
vii	365	.. ..		5
viii	366	.. ..		6

By the Nundinal Ἀποκατάστασις we mean the recurrence of the same Nundinal character (the same Nundinal incidence in the first month of the year) in the same year of the cycle; and by the Nundinal Period the length of time necessary to bring it about. It is evident from the above scheme that this ἀποκατάστασις could be of stated and regular recurrence every year, and consequently that the Nundinal period could be limited to *one* year, only in the Nundinal year of the calendar of Romulus. In the calendar of Numa and in that of the Decemvirs, each of which had the same cycle of 24 years, containing years of the iid, the iiid, and the ivth, kind respectively, it is manifest that no such ἀποκατάστασις could be produced until the sum of the epact, remaining at the end of one of those cycles, (which was 6,) had been accumulated to an exact measure of the Nundinal cycle; and that could be the case only in four cycles of 24 years, or in 96 years: in which the sum of the epact would amount to 6×4 or 24, three Nundinal cycles complete. The Nundinal Period then in each of these calendars was one of 96 years[1].

In like manner, in the Julian calendar, with a cycle of leap year consisting of four years perpetually, the sum of the epact in one cycle would $5 \times 3 + 6 = 21$; and therefore the

[1] See vol. i. p. 269. p. 415.

Nundinal epact at the end of the cycle would be 21 – 16 or 5. And this could not accumulate to an exact measure of the Nundinal cycle in less than eight cycles of the leap year, 32 Julian years; in which the sum of the epact would = 5 × 8 or 40: i. e. 8 cycles of the Nundinal day complete. The Nundinal Period therefore of the Julian year is one of 32 years; i. e. the Nundinal cycle in days, or 8, multiplied by the cycle of the leap year or of the leap day, 4: just as the Hebdomadal Period in the same, or the solar cycle as it is called, is one of 28 years; the Hebdomadal cycle of 7 in days multiplied by the cycle of the leap day 4[k].

[k] See our Fasti, i. 496. Diss. vi. ch. iv. sect. xii. cf. p. 528: Introduction, 140, P. ii. ch. iii. sect. viii.

Type of the Nundinal Period of 96 *years in the Calendar of Numa and in that of the Decemvirs.*

Cyclus Numæ.

Cycle.	Number of days.	Character	Epact	Character	Epact	Character	Epact	Character	Epact
		Cycle i.		Cycle ii.		Cycle iii.		Cycle iv.	
i	355	5	3	7	3	1	3	3	3
ii*	377	2	1	4	1	6	1	8	1
iii	355	1	3	3	3	5	3	7	3
iv	378	6	2	8	2	2	2	4	2
v	355	4	3	6	3	8	3	2	3
vi*	377	1	1	3	1	5	1	7	1
vii	355	8	3	2	3	4	3	6	3
viii	378	5	2	7	2	1	2	3	2
ix	355	3	3	5	3	7	3	1	3
x*	377	8	1	2	1	4	1	6	1
xi	355	7	3	1	3	3	3	5	3
xii	378	4	2	6	2	8	2	2	2
xiii	355	2	3	4	3	6	3	8	3
xiv*	377	7	1	1	1	3	1	5	1
xv	355	6	3	8	3	2	3	4	3
xvi	378	3	2	5	2	7	2	1	2
xvii	355	1	3	3	3	5	3	7	3
xviii*	377	6	1	8	1	2	1	4	1
xix	355	5	3	7	3	1	3	3	3
*xx	355	2	3	4	3	6	3	8	3
xxi*	377	7	1	1	1	3	1	5	1
xxii	355	6	3	8	3	2	3	4	3
xxiii	355	3	3	5	3	7	3	1	3
xxiv	377	8	1	2	1	4	1	6	1

Cyclus Decemviralis.

Cycle.	Number of days.	Character	Epact	Character	Epact	Character	Epact	Character	Epact
		Cycle i.		Cycle ii.		Cycle iii.		Cycle iv.	
i*	377	5	1	7	1	1	1	3	1
ii	355	4	3	6	3	8	3	2	3
iii*	378	1	2	3	2	5	2	7	2
*iv	355	7	3	1	3	3	3	5	3
v*	377	4	1	6	1	8	1	2	1
vi	355	3	3	5	3	7	3	1	3
vii*	378	8	2	2	2	4	2	6	2
*viii	355	6	3	8	3	2	3	4	3
ix*	377	3	1	5	1	7	1	1	1
x	355	2	3	4	3	6	3	8	3
xi*	378	7	2	1	2	3	2	5	2
*xii	355	5	3	7	3	1	3	3	3
xiii*	377	2	1	4	1	6	1	8	1
xiv	355	1	3	3	3	5	3	7	3
xv*	378	6	2	8	2	2	2	4	2
*xvi	355	4	3	6	3	8	3	2	3
xvii*	377	1	1	3	1	5	1	7	1
xviii	355	8	3	2	3	4	3	6	3
xix*	377	5	1	7	1	1	1	3	1
*xx	355	4	3	6	3	8	3	2	3
xxi	355	1	3	3	3	5	3	7	3
xxii*	377	6	1	8	1	2	1	4	1
xxiii	355	5	3	7	3	1	3	3	3
*xxiv	355	2	3	4	3	6	3	8	3

In the above tables the first column exhibits the years of the cycle; the second the number of days in each[1]; the third the first Nundinal character of the year, that is the Nundinal character of the month Januarius, (the first Nundinal day in that month and consequently in the year,) throughout the cycle. The fourth gives the Nundinal epact, defined as above; i. e. the number of days remaining to the end of the year over and above the last Nundinal day which enters it. This fourth column is of course the same for each of the cycles of 24 years, which enter the Nundinal Period of 96 years. The third column (the column of the Nundinal Characters) is necessarily different for each of those cycles; and cannot recur except at the distance of four cycles, or one Nundinal Period, perpetually.

The Nundinal character of the month of Januarius gives the law to that of every other month in the same year. The first Nundinal day in the month of Januarius is the Nundinal character of that month; and the first Nundinal day in any of the rest of the months is the Nundinal character of that: the latter too is dependent on the former perpetually. And for the verification also of these schemes of the Nundinal Period so proposed, through each of its cycles perpetually, you have nothing to do but to take with you the following simple rule. The Nundinal character and Nundinal epact of a particular year being given, if the Nundinal epact is equal to or less than the Nundinal character, subtract it from the Nundinal character; and if there is any remainder, that will be the Nundinal character of the next year. If there is no remainder, the Nundinal character of the next year will be 8. If the epact is greater than the character, add 8 to the latter, and subtract as before. The remainder will be the Nundinal character of the next year. The reason of this rule is almost self-evident. From the *first* Nundinal day in one year to the *first* in the next, there must be a complete number of Nundinal cycles. But between the first Nundinal day in a given year, and the first in the next, the standing difference is the Nundinal epact at the end of the year. Subtract it therefore from the Nundinal character of

[1] Cf. vol. i. p. 226 : 413.

the given year, and it must give you the Nundinal character of the next year.

By means too of Tables constructed for the purpose, it is easy to shew the cycle of the Nundinal character in every other month of the Roman calendar in order, as dependent on that of the first.

With regard to the year of Romulus, (the Nundinal year properly so called,) since it consisted of 304 days or 38 Nundinal cycles exactly, whatsoever was the character of the first year the same must have been that of every other year of the same kind after it perpetually. The Nundinal Period in this form of the year was strictly that of the calendar; either one year, or six years, of its own kind, as we choose to consider it[m]. If then it may be assumed that the first day of this year, the first of Martius, was Nundinal, and that the length of the months was 31 and 29 days alternately for the first six, and 32 and 30 days for the last four, of the calendar; the Nundinal Characters of the different months in the year of Romulus, as long as that year continued to be in use at Rome, may be represented by one and the same scheme perpetually.

Nundinal Characters of the months in the year of Romulus.

Months.		Days.	Nundinal character.	
i	Martius	31	1	First Nundinal day in the month.
ii	Aprilis	29	2	
iii	Maius	31	5	
iv	Junius	29	6	
v	Quinctilis	31	1	
vi	Sextilis	29	2	
vii	September	32	5	
viii	October	30	5	
ix	November	32	7	
x	December	30	7	
i	Martius	31	1	First Nundinal day in the month.

Vol. i. 135. Diss. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. ii: 150. Ib. Sect. v: 162. Ib. Sect. ix.

With regard to the calendar of Numa, and to that of the Decemvirs, and to the Irregular calendar as far as it agreed with both; as the Nundinal cycle was one of eight days only, the first Nundinal day in the month of Januarius might be as early as the first, but could not be later than the eighth, of that month. It is easy therefore to construct Tables which will shew the Nundinal Incidence, that is, the Nundinal Character, in the case of each of the rest of the months, according as the first Nundinal day in Januarius falls on the first, or on any other day from the first to the eighth. One general Table too will answer that purpose for every year in the cycle of Numa; whether of 355, or of 377, or of 378 days in itself: because the seat of the Merkedonius in that cycle was at the end of the year; and the cycle of characters in every month before it was necessarily the same in the common years as in the intercalary, and vice versa. It must be remembered only that in such years as had a Merkedonius Februarius was a month of 23 days. But separate Tables are necessary for each year of the Decemviral cycle, as it consisted of 355, or of 377, or of 378 days respectively; because the seat of the Merkedonius in that cycle was after the 23d of the second month. A separate Table too is necessary for years of 354 days which might enter the irregular calendar; because Februarius in such years was a month of 27 days. A distinct Table too would be necessary for years of 356 days, which might enter that calendar also, if the seat of the intercalary day in such years was after the 23d of Februarius; and Februarius in such years had 29 days: but, if the seat of the intercalary day in these years was at the end of December, one and the same Table will serve both for the year of 355 days and for the year of 356 days.

To make these Tables complete, we have added two more; shewing the Nundinal Character of each of the rest of the months in the Julian calendar also, as dependent on that of Januarius: and both for the common year of 365 days, and for the leap year of 366.

TABLES, &c.

Table i. Nundinal Characters of the rest of the months in every year of the cycle of Numa, whether of 355, 377, or 378 days, according to that of Januarius.

Table ii. Nundinal Characters of the rest of the months in the year of 355 days in the Decemviral calendar, or in the Irregular calendar, or in the year of 356 days in the Irregular calendar, according to that of Januarius.

Table iii. Nundinal Characters of the rest of the months in the year of 354 days in the Irregular calendar, according to that of Januarius.

Table iv. Nundinal Characters of the rest of the months in the year of 377 or of 378 days, in the Decemviral calendar or in the Irregular calendar, according to that of Januarius.

Table v. Nundinal Characters of the rest of the months in the Julian year of 365 days and in the Julian year of 366 days respectively, according to that of January.

TABLE I.

Nundinal Characters of the Year of Numa.

Of 355, 377, or 378 DAYS.

Months.	First Nundinal Day.								
i	Januarius 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Martius 31	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
iii	Aprilis 29	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
iv	Maius 31	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
v	Junius 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
vi	Quinctilis 31	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
vii	Sextilis 29	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
viii	September 29	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ix	October 31	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2
x	November 29	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
xi	December 29	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
xii	Februarius 23 or 28	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
xiii	Merkedonius 27 or 28	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2

TABLE II.

Nundinal Characters of the Decemviral or the Irregular Year.

Of 355 or 356 DAYS.

Months.	First Nundinal Day.								
i	Januarius 29	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Februarius 28	4	5	6	7	8	I	2	3
iii	Martius 31	8	I	2	3	4	5	6	7
iv	Aprilis 29	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
v	Maius 31	4	5	6	7	8	I	2	3
vi	Junius 29	5	6	7	8	I	2	3	4
vii	Quinctilis 31	8	I	2	3	4	5	6	7
viii	Sextilis 29	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ix	September 29	4	5	6	7	8	I	2	3
x	October 31	7	8	I	2	3	4	5	6
xi	November 29	8	I	2	3	4	5	6	7
xii	December 29 or 30	3	4	5	6	7	8	I	2

TABLE III.

Nundinal Characters of the Irregular Year.

Of 354 DAYS.

Months.	First Nundinal Day.								
i	Januarius 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Februarius 27	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
iii.	Martius 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
iv	Aprilis 29	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
v	Maius 31	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
vi	Junius 29	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
vii	Quinctilis 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
viii	Sextilis 29	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
ix	September 29	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
x	October 31	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
xi	November 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
xii	December 29	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3

Nundinal Characters of the Decemviral or the Irregular Calendar.

TABLE IV. Of 377 DAYS.

i	Januarius 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Februarius 23	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
iii	Merkedonius 27	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
iv	Martius 31	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
v	Aprilis 29	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2
vi	Maius 31	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
vii	Junius 29	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
viii	Quinctilis 31	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
ix	Sextilis 29	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2
x	September 29	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
xi	October 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
xii	November 29	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
xiii	December 29	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4

TABLE IV. Of 378 DAYS.

i	Januarius 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Februarius 23	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
iii	Merkedonius 28	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
iv	Martius 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
v	Aprilis 29	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
vi	Maius 31	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
vii	Junius 29	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
viii	Quinctilis 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ix	Sextilis 29	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
x	September 29	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
xi	October 31	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
xii	November 29	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
xiii	December 29	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3

Nundinal Characters of the Julian Year.

TABLE V. Of 365 DAYS.

i	Januarius 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Februarius 28	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
iii	Martius 31	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
iv	Aprilis 30	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
v	Maius 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
vi	Junius 30	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
vii	Julius 31	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
viii	Augustus 31	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
ix	September 30	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
x	October 31	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
xi	November 30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
xii	December 31	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2

TABLE V. Of 366 DAYS.

i	Januarius 31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ii	Februarius 29	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1
iii	Martius 31	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
iv	Aprilis 30	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
v	Maius 31	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
vi	Junius 30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
vii	Julius 31	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2
viii	Augustus 31	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3
ix	September 30	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
x	October 31	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
xi	November 30	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
xii	December 31	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1

CHAPTER II.

On the Verification of the Nundinal Cycle of the Roman Calendar.

SECTION I.—*Cycle of the Nundinal day in the Calendar of Romulus.*

The Nundinal cycle having been derived to the Irregular calendar from the Decemviral correction, and to the Decemviral correction from the calendar of Numa, and to the calendar of Numa from the calendar of Romulus; the ultimate epoch or radix of the Nundinal cycle in the Roman calendar, both the regular and the irregular, must have been the first Nundinal Incidence in the calendar of Romulus: and that upon our principles was the first day of his Martius, February 4 B. C. 750.

There would be little reason to doubt of this fact even did we know no more than that the first of Martius was the first day of the Nundinal year of Romulus. A year like the Nundinal, which consisted of a certain number of Nundinal cycles, without any remainder, perpetually, must have begun with the Nundinal day or have ended with it. The first day of such a year or the last would be Nundinal. The former of those suppositions is much the more probable of the two. If we go back to the first principles of the Nundinal correction, the cycle of Nundinal days was the cycle of lunar quarters. The first Nundinal cycle was the first lunar quarter; and the measure of the quarter being eight days the first lunar quarter would properly fall on the ninth of the month. The ninth of the month therefore would be Nundinal; and by parity of reason the first. Add to this that, if the first Nundinal day in such a year was the 8th day of the year; it would not be easy to explain how the Nundinal cycle itself should have come to be so generally considered and so commonly represented as a cycle of nine days: and not rather have been always reputed and always described as a cycle of eight days. But if the first Nundinal day in the year, and by parity of consequence, according to

the original constitution of the months in the Nundinal calendar, the first Nundinal day in the month, fell on the first, and the next on the ninth; this would be almost matter of course. The Nundinal cycle would scarcely fail to be regarded and spoken of as a cycle of nine days. Among the other arguments too of the ancient beginning of the year on the first of Martius, it will be remembered that Solinus and Macrobius both told us[n] that it was usual for the senate and people Comitia auspicari, i. e. open the year by holding the first public meeting, upon that day. And though this testimony so expressed seems to affirm this custom of the times of the republic, we meet with no traces of it in Roman history later than the institution of the commonwealth; nor as far as we know even under the kings, later than Romulus. If it was ever the custom at Rome, it must have been so in the time of Romulus; and when the Nundinal calendar of Romulus was still in force. And indeed we shall see reason, we trust, hereafter to conclude from testimony that this was a standing rule of the ancient Nundinal calendar; viz. that of a public meeting of all the members and of all the orders of the community on the first day of the new year: which must consequently have been Nundinal*.

* If the first of Martius was a stated Nundinal day in the old Nundinal calendar; the 17th of Martius must have been so too. The 17th of Martius was the date of the Liberalia in the Roman calendar of after times; and though the history of that festival in the Roman calendar is very obscure, and so far as we know cannot be traced back historically to the time of the Nundinal calendar, that is no necessary proof that it might not have had an historical existence of very considerable antiquity even in the Nundinal calendar itself: and that the 17th of Martius might not have been its nominal date from the first, down to the Julian correction.

In later times the Liberalia were very commonly adopted as the fittest day for conferring the Toga Pura on youths who were now of an age to receive it; and Ovid assigns a reason why it was so, which seems to be ultimately founded on this fact, that the 17th of Martius was anciently the stated date of a Nundinal resort to the city from the country: as well as of the feast of Liber or Bacchus.

An quia, cum prisci colerent studiosius agros,
Et patrio faceret rure senator opus;
Et caperet fasces a curvo consul aratro,
Nec crimen duras esset habere manus;

[n] Vol. i. 96, 97: Solinus, i. § 35. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12, 256.

We are not however left to conjecture on this point. The Nundinal cycle of later times in the Roman calendar is directly derivable from that of Romulus; and by its own course in the later calendar it fixes and authenticates the epoch from which it set out: the first Nundinal day in the calendar of Romulus. The Nundinal cycle of the calendar of Romulus itself was derived from a more ancient cycle of the same kind; which it merely took up and perpetuated in its proper order of time: and this earlier cycle too, traced forwards from its epoch perpetually, fixes and authenticates the epoch of the Nundinal cycle of Romulus, at the proper time also. These two cycles of the same thing, one forwards perpetually the other backwards perpetually, with reference alike to the calendar of Romulus and to the same course and succession of things in that, both meet in the same point, the first of Martius in the first Nundinal year of Romulus, and in the first year of the city; February 4 B. C. 750. There is nothing consequently on which we may rely with greater confidence than on these two facts: i. That the first of Martius in the first Nundinal year of Romulus, U. C. 1, was represented by February 4, B. C. 750; and ii. That February 4, B. C. 750, the first of Martius in the Nundinal calendar U. C. 1, was Nundinal.

SECTION II.—*Cycle of the Nundinal day in the Calendar of Numa.*

B. C. 713 the first of Martius in the Nundinal calendar of Romulus was falling July 20 at midnight. Consequently July 20 B. C. 713 was Nundinal. The first of Martius falling on July 20 B. C. 713, the first of October would fall on February 17 B. C. 712; and the character of Martius in the Nundinal calendar being unity that of October was 5°.

The fifth of the Nundinal October then, B. C. 712, was Nundinal. Consequently the fifth of the Januarius of Numa,

> Rusticus ad ludos populus veniebat in urbem,—
> (Sed diis non studiis ille dabatur honos):
> Luce sua ludos uvæ commentor habebat
> Quos cum tædifera nunc habet ille dea.
> Ergo ut tironem celebrare frequentia posset
> Visa dies dandæ non aliena togæ. Fasti, iii. 779.

° See the scheme, p. 17. cf. also vol. i. 280. Diss. iii. ch. iii. sect. iv.

cycle i. 1; which coincided with the fifth of the Nundinal October, B. C. 712. The Nones of Januarius then, in the first year of the first cycle of Numa, were Nundinal, on the very same principle that the first of Martius, in the first Nundinal year of Romulus, was so. We shall therefore consider this date of the Nones of Januarius, in the first year of the first cycle of Numa, Feb. 21 at midnight, B. C. 712, the proper and legitimate radix or epoch of all our subsequent calculations, which have any thing to do with the Nundinal Incidence in the later calendar. Meanwhile that it is regularly deducible from February 4 at midnight, B. C. 750, the Nundinal epoch of the calendar of Romulus, may be shewn as follows.

Calculation of the Nundinal character of the first year of Numa's cycle, B. C. 712, from the Nundinal character of the first year of Romulus', B. C. 750.

From Feb. 4 at midnight B. C. 750 to Feb. 4 at midnight B. C. 712 = 38 actual Julian years.

$365 \times 38 = 13\,870$ days

Nine leap days* $= 9$

$13\,879 = 1734 \times 8 + 7$†

Hence Feb. 4 B. C. 750 being Nundinal, Jan. 28 B. C. 712 would be Nundinal; and Feb. 5, 13, and 21: which last was the Nones of Januarius, cycle i. 1 of Numa; the Nundinal epoch, or radix, as we have agreed to consider it, of the Nundinal cycle ever after.

* There were ten leap years between Feb. 4 B. C. 750 and Feb. 4 B. C. 712, as our General Tables shew. Yet nevertheless we can reckon in only nine leap days, because of the correction of the calendar, B. C. 729 and 728. On this subject see our Fasti Catholici, Diss. vi. ch. iv. Introduction, 153. Part ii. ch. iv. sect. iii. Also the Preface to the present Work.

† There is a shorter mode of proceeding with such calculations as these; viz. by taking merely the sum of common years and the sum of leap years, in the interval in question; multiplying each by its proper Nundinal epact (see supra, page 13,) adding together the product, and dividing the sum by 8.

Thus, in this first interval of 38 years, 29 were common, 9 were leap years.

Sum of Epacts in 29 common years $= 29 \times 5 = 145$

.. .. .. in 9 leap years $= 9 \times 6 = 54$

Sum in 38 actual Julian years .. .. $199 = 24 \times 8 + 7$.

SECTION III.—*Cycle of the Nundinal day in the Decemviral Calendar.*

The epoch of the Decemviral correction of the calendar of Numa was December 29 at midnight, B. C. 449; and in the calendar of Numa B. C. 449 answered to cycle xi. 24: the 72d year of the third Nundinal Period. In that year of the Period and of the cycle, the Nundinal character of Januarius was 4; and consequently the Nundinal character of Februarius was 5 (see Table i, of Nundinal characters, supra): that is, the first Nundinal day in Februarius was the Nones.

Now by virtue of the Decemviral correction the Kalends of February in the 24th year of the eleventh cycle of Numa became the Kalends of January in the first year of the first cycle of the Decemvirs. Consequently the Nones of February in the former became the Nones of January in the latter: and *those* being Nundinal by the law of the cycle at that period of its decursus, *these* would be so too. That is, the Nundinal epoch or radix in the Decemviral calendar, cycle i. 1, was as truly the Nones of Januarius at that time (Jan. 2 B. C. 448) as it had been the Nones of Januarius, cycle i. 1 of Numa, Feb. 21 B. C. 712 at first.

Given the Nundinal epoch of the calendar of Numa, the Nonæ Januariæ, cycle i. 1. Feb. 21 B. C. 712; required the Nundinal epoch of the calendar of the Decemvirs, cycle i. 1. B. C. 449—448.

i. Feb. 21 at midnight being Nundinal B. C. 712, Jan. 4 at midnight the same year was Nundinal also.

ii. From Jan. 4 at midnight B. C. 712 to Jan. 4 at midnight B. C. 448 = 264 actual Julian years.

iii. 264 actual Julian years = $365 \times 264 = 96\,360$ days.
$+$ 66 leap days 66

$96\,426 = 12\,053 \times 8 + 2$.

Jan. 2 then B. C. 448 would be Nundinal, if Jan. 4 (i. e. Feb. 21) was so B. C. 712. If so, the Nonæ Januariæ, cycle i. 1 of the Decemviral correction.

SECTION IV.—*Cycle of the Nundinal day in the Irregular Calendar.*

B. C. 209 answered to cycle xi. 1. of the Decemviral correction; the 49th year of the third Nundinal Period proper to it. In that year of the Period the Nundinal character was unity, (see the Table p. 15 supra.) This year may be considered the epoch of the Irregular calendar; though in strictness it was the next year, B. C. 207. The Nundinal epoch or radix therefore of the Irregular calendar was unity; and the consistency of that fact with the origin of the irregularity of the calendar itself, as ultimately to be traced up to this character, and to the ominous construction now for the first time put upon it, has been fully illustrated from tradition and testimony.

Calculation of the Nundinal epoch of the Irregular calendar, cycle i. 1. B. C. 209—208, from the Nundinal radix the Nonæ Januariæ Cycle i. 1. of Numa, Feb. 21 B. C. 712.

i. Feb. 21 at midnight B. C. 712 being Nundinal, Dec. 27 at midnight B. C. 713 was Nundinal.

ii. From Dec. 27 at midnight B. C. 713 to Dec. 27 at midnight B. C. 209 = 504 actual Julian years.

iii. These 504 actual Julian years = $365 \times 504 = 183\,960$ days.
$+$ 126 leap days $=$ 126
$184\,086 = 23\,010 \times 8 + 6.$

Consequently the 21 of December, B. C. 209, was again Nundinal; and therefore Dec. 29: i. e. the Kalends of January, cycle xi. 1. of the Decemviral calendar, cycle i. 1. of the Irregular.

The same thing follows if we reckon from the Nundinal radix of the Decemviral correction, the Nonæ Januariæ cycle i. 1, Jan. 2 B. C. 448.

i. Jan. 2 at midnight B. C. 448 being Nundinal, Dec. 25 at midnight B. C. 449 was Nundinal.

ii. From Dec. 25 at midnight B. C. 449 to Dec. 25 at midnight B. C. 209 = 240 actual Julian years.

iii. These 240 actual Julian years = $365 \times 240 = 87\,600$ days.
+ 60 leap days = 60

$87\,660 = 10957 \times 8 + 4$.

Hence as before, Dec. 21 at midnight B. C. 209 was Nundinal; and therefore Dec. 29 at midnight: i. e. the Kalends of January, cycle xi. 1. of the Decemviral calendar, cycle i. 1. of the Irregular.

SECTION V.—*Consideration of actual cases of Nundinal dates.*

We shall now proceed to the consideration of such actual Nundinal dates, as happen to be on record in terms of the Roman calendar; or may be otherwise ascertained. The number of such dates indeed is not great; and even those which are extant are peculiar to the irregular period of the calendar. We meet it is true even in that of the regular calendar with allusions to the Nundinal cycle, in the form of the *trinundinum*, τρίτη ἀγορὰ, or εἰς τρίτην ἀγοράν [p]. And the reduction of such allusions to their proper dates by circumstantial evidence might sometimes be attempted: but it would be more or less precarious after all.

Yet it may be observed that dates occur repeatedly in the regular period of the calendar, such as the dates of Triumphi acti, of Ædes dedicatæ, and the like; which, as we hope to shew hereafter, serve as negative if not as positive indications of the Nundinal day. Also that in the regular administration and course of the calendar the connection of a single Nundinal incidence with a positive calendar term, howsoever established, confirms and authenticates the whole decursus of the Nundinal cycle in terms of the calendar down to that day. And such a date we think is supplied by the Nundinal epoch of the Irregular calendar B. C. 209 itself, the Feria prima of the cycle; the connection of which with the Kalends of January in the cycle of the calendar the same year is as plainly intimated by the effect of that connection, produced on the calendar from that day forward, as if it had been handed down in so many words from contemporary

[p] Cf. Dionysius, vii. 58: (20): 59: ix. 41: (40): 42. Plutarch, Coriolanus, xviii: xix. Dionysius, x. 3: 35: 36: 33. Livy, iii. 35. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 4. p. 19.

testimony. We shall see proof too of the same connection of the Nundinal Incidence with the Kalends of January in an instance altogether analogous to this; that of the publication of the Fasti by Cn. Flavius in B. C. 304, just four cycles of the regular calendar, or one Nundinal period of 96 years, before the epoch of the Irregular calendar B. C. 209: when also the Feria prima of the Nundinal cycle was falling on the Kalends of January in the first year of the current cycle. The Kalends of January then, cycle xi. 1. of the Decemviral correction, Dec. 29 B. C. 209, were certainly Nundinal; and if so Jan. 2 B.C. 448 and February 21 B.C. 712. And consequently the whole course and succession of the Nundinal day, in the regular cycle of the calendar, from Feb. 21 B. C. 712 to Dec. 29 B.C. 209, is hereby ascertained and authenticated.

The same kind of reasoning is applicable to the Nundinal cycle of the Irregular calendar. The Nundinal radix in that calendar, the absolute epoch of the cycle in terms of the calendar, is given; the Kalendæ Januariæ Cycle i. 1, Dec. 29 B. C. 209. We have Nundinal dates in terms of this calendar, in three instances at least, at different periods of time between its epoch and the Julian correction; and we have Nundinal dates in terms of the Julian correction in three other instances also. And all these are consistent with each other; and all are so connected together that no one of them could agree with the truth, or be what it professed to be, an actual Nundinal date in terms of the calendar for the time being, but each of the rest must have been so too. So that upon the whole, small as the number of such dates compared with the length of time over which they extend may seem to be, they are more than are absolutely wanted to authenticate and confirm the Nundinal cycle of the calendar; and through that the calendar itself. For a particular calendar date in such instances is indissolubly connected with a particular Nundinal incidence; and this date must either be that which appears in our scheme of the calendar, actually attached to such an incidence at the time, or it must be some date eight days higher, or eight days lower at least, than that which actually appears in our calendar. If it is the same; then, as we have observed, the Nundinal incidence authenticates and

confirms the arrangements of the calendar in the most decisive manner. If it is not the same, then some date eight days lower or eight days higher at least must be substituted for it in our scheme, at that particular point of time. In no instance however could that be done, without entailing consequences of another kind which would demonstrate it to be contradictory to the matter of fact[q].

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i. U. C. 676 Varr. 675 Cap. 673 Polyb. B. C. 78.

Irregular Calendar, Cycle vi. 11. 378 days.

Kalendæ Januariæ January 28. Nundinal Character 1.

The Nundinal character of this year is ascertained by the testimony of Macrobius. Nam quoties incipiente anno dies cœpit qui addictus est Nundinis omnis ille annus infaustis casibus luctuosus fuit: maximeque Lepidiano tumultu opinio ista firmata est[r].

The *tumultus* which is here alluded to under the designation of *Lepidianus* must have been excited by some one of the name of Lepidus: and that is competent to identify it with the movement attributed in the contemporary history to M. Æmilius Lepidus, consul along with Q. Lutatius Catulus U. C. 676 B. C. 78, the year of the death of Sulla.

The events of this and the following year were considered by Sallust of sufficient importance to make him fix upon it as the epoch of a distinct historical work of his own; the exordium of which is still in existence among his Fragmenta[s]:

[q] Cf. Vol. i. Irregular calendar, p. 495.

[r] Saturnalia, i. 13. 266.

[s] Lib. i. 1. tom. ii. Havercampii, p. 1. Of this history of Sallust's, cf. Ausonius, Edyllia, iv. 322. Ad Nepotem Ausonium Protrepticon.

> Jam facinus Catilina tuum Lepidique tumultum,
> Ab Lepido et Catulo jam res et tempora Romæ
> Orsus, bis senos seriem connecto per annos.
> Jam lego civili mixtum Mavorte duellum
> Movit quod socio Sertorius exsul Ibero.

This seems to make only twelve years between the tumultus Lepidi (B. C. 78) and the conspiracy of Catiline; and therefore to date the latter B. C. 66 instead of B. C. 63. It might indeed be considered (as we may see hereafter) to have begun as far back as B. C. 66. Of the consulship of Lepidus and Catulus, see Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 8. 643, 644. Cicero, Oratio xxxvi. Pro L. Cornelio Balbo, 15, 34.

Res Populi Romani M. Lepido Q. Catulo Coss. ac deinde militiæ ac domi gestas composui. This testimony proves that the date of the commotion, the beginning of these tumultuary proceedings, and therefore the year distinguished by the ominous characteristic of the Nundinal incidence, was the year of the consulship of Lepidus and Catulus, U. C. 676 B. C. 78; not the year after it, U. C. 677 B. C. 77: though it may be collected even from the fragments of the history in question that the commotion extended into the next year, and was suppressed only in that.

The speech which Sallust put into the mouth of Lepidus, at the beginning of these disturbances, is still entire[t]; and it appears from the concluding words thereof that he was consul when it was delivered: Quæ si probatis adeste Quirites, et bene juvantibus diis M. Æmilium consulem ducem et auctorem sequimini ad recipiendam libertatem[u]. Yet the speech which is also attributed at a later point of time to L. Philippus, Contra Lepidum[w], speaks of Catulus, the colleague of Lepidus, as then proconsul; and consequently implies that the consular year of both was now over. And that is confirmed by the mention of the interrex, Appius Claudius, on the same occasion; shewing that not only was the last consular year then over, but that no fresh consuls had yet been appointed for the next.

The proceedings of Lepidus then, which had for their object to rescind the Acta of Sulla, must have begun soon after the death of Sulla, which happened early in B. C. 78; and while he himself was still consul*: but the defeat which

* Val. Maximus, ix. iii. 8. De Ira, the death of Sulla was hastened at last by a transport of rage against Granius, Princeps of the Colonia of Puteoli. Cf. Plutarch, Sulla, xxxvi. Lepidus and Catulus had been elected consuls in his lifetime. Appian mentions their election B. C. i. 105. Cf. Plutarch, Sulla, xxxiv. Pompeius, xv: SS. Dep. Vat. Coll. ii. 550. Dio Cass. 72. They were in office at his death, and Lepidus himself as consul was the principal person to oppose his burial solemnities: cf. Appian, B. C. i. 105–107: Plutarch, Sulla, xxxviii. From the mention of rainy weather at the time of these solemnities, we may infer that they

[t] i. iv–x. (ii. p. 8–21.) [u] Cap. x. p. 21.
[w] Sallust, Fragmenta, xi–xvi. Cf. xvii. (ii. p. 22–34.)

he met with and the suppression of the commotion, both through the instrumentality of his colleague Catulus, must have happened the next year. The year however, distinguished by the incidence (considered so ominous and so much in character with the nature of the events of the year), that of the Nundinal day on the Kalends of January, was the year in which these civil disturbances began; not that in which they were suppressed.

This attempt of Lepidus is often alluded to[x]. We shall quote nothing further in reference to it but the following passage from the Itinerarium of Claudius Rutilius[y].

> Haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus,
> Vergentem sequitur mollior aura diem.
> Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
> Sardoam Lepido præcipitante fugam.
> Litore namque Cosæ cognatos depulit hostes
> Virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis.
> Ille tamen Lepidus pejor, civilibus armis
> Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus:
> Qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam
> Obruit auxiliis orbe pavente novis.
> Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus
> Tristibus excepit congrua fata reis.
> Quartus Cæsareo dum vult inrepere regno
> Incesti pœnam solvit adulterii.
> Nunc quoque—sed melius de nostris fama queratur—
> Index posteritas semina dira notet.

took place in the early part of the year; which entered on the Kalends of January, Jan. 28.

There is a S. C. extant in Gruter (D iii.) in the consular year of Lepidus and Catulus, dated Πρὸ ἕνδεκα Καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων ἐν Κομιτίῳ. It appears from Appian, B. C. i. 107, that both parties abstained from open proceedings until after the comitia of their proper year at least; that hostilities then began, and were protracted into the year of their successors: cf. Plutarch, Pompey, xvi.

[x] Livy, Epitome, xc: Dio, xliv. 28: Appian, B. C. i. 105–107: Plutarch, Sulla, xxxiv. xxxviii: Pompeius, xv. xvi: Florus, iii. xxiii. §. 1–7: Eutropius, vi. 4: Orosius, v. 22: Auctor, De Viris Ill. Cn. Pompeius Magnus &c.: Ampelius, Liber Memorialis, xix: Zonaras, x. 2. 474 A. B: Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 30: Cicero, xxi. In Catilinam, iii. 10, 24: xxxiv. Pro M. Cœlio 29, 70: Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, iii. § 1: v. § 2: Tacitus, Ann. iii. 27: Valerius Maximus, ii. viii. 7, De Jure triumphandi: vi. ix. 5, De Mutatione Morum: Lucan, Pharsalia, ii. 546: viii. 808.

[y] 293 sqq.

Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores?
Moribus an potius nomina certa dari?
Quidquid id est, mirus Latiis annalibus ordo,
Quod Lepidum toties recidit ense malum*.

Demonstration of the Nundinal character of the Kalendæ Januariæ U. C. 676, Jan. 28 B. C. 78, from the Nundinal character of the Nonæ Januariæ U. C. 42, February 21 B. C. 712.

i. Feb. 21 at midnight B. C. 712 being Nundinal, Jan. 28 at midnight was Nundinal also.

ii. From Jan. 28 at midnight B. C. 712 to Jan. 28 at midnight B. C. 78 there were 634 actual Julian years.

iii. These actual Julian years $= 365 \times 634 = 231\,410$ days
$+ 158$ leap days $= \quad 158$
$231\,568 = 28\,946 \times 8$

Consequently Jan. 28 at midnight B. C. 78 was again Nundinal: and the character of U. C. 676 was unity.

ii. U. C. 697 Varr. 696 Cap. 694 Polyb. B. C. 57.

Irregular Calendar, Cycle vii. 8. 355 days.

Kalendæ Januariæ Jan. 17. Nundinal character 6.

The Nundinal character of this year is ascertained by the testimony of one of Cicero's letters to Atticus[z], written in the year of his return from banishment[a], B. C. 57.

The object of this letter first of all was to give Atticus an account of the violences which Clodius was committing either

* In these allusions, the second Lepidus, the Triumvir, requires no explanation. The third was the son of the Triumvir. Of the third and fourth, cf. in general, Livy, Epitome, lxxxiii: Appian, B. C. iv. 50: Vell. Pat. ii. 88: Dio, liv. 15: Suetonius, Augustus, xix. 1: liv.: Claudius, ix. 3. 6: Tacitus, Ann. ii. 10: Josephus, Ant. Jud. xix. i. 3–8: Seneca, Opp. i. 450. De Clementia, ix. 5: 501. De Brevitate Vitæ, v. 4. Opp. iii. 13. Epp. iv. 5. There seems to be an allusion to another of the name, and as the author of the same kind of tumultuary or treasonable proceedings, even in Rutilius' own time, A. D. 416.

[z] iv. 3. Cf. iv. 1–3.

against the house of Cicero, now in the process of being rebuilt, or against Cicero himself. It begins Ante diem tertium Nonas Novembres, Nov. 3 Roman, Nov. 11 Julian this year; after which we find mention made of Ante diem tertium Idus Novembres (Nov. 11 Roman, Nov. 19 Julian): pridie Idus Novembres (Nov. 12 Roman, Nov. 20 Julian): Postridie Idus, (Nov. 14 Roman, Nov. 22 Julian): Ante diem xii Kalendas Decembres (Nov. 19 Roman, Nov. 27 Julian): xi Kal. (Nov. 20 Roman, Nov. 28 Julian): and then of Ante diem x Kalendas (Nov. 21 Roman, Nov. 29 Julian): to which is attached the note of Nundinæ also, shewing that x Kal. Decembres this year, Nov. 21 Roman U. C. 697, Nov. 29 Julian B. C. 57, was Nundinal. Cicero adds, Concio biduo nulla (x Kal. Decembres, and ix Kal. Decembres, Nov. 29 and 30 Julian): and then he concludes, Ante diem viii Kal. (Nov. 23 Roman, Dec. 1 Julian) hæc ego scribebam hora noctis nona.

The 21st of November Roman, U. C. 697, being Nundinal; the character of November that year must have been 5. Consequently, if the year was common, and Februarius had 28 days, the character of Januarius must have been 6[b]: and that is the Nundinal character of Januarius in our calendar for this year, U. C. 697 B. C. 57. In like manner, the character of November this year being 5, that of December would be 8[b]; and consequently that of Januarius the next year, U. C. 698 B. C. 56, would be 3: which is the character of that month shewn by our calendar also in that year.

On one supposition therefore only, (concerning which there is not the least reason to doubt,) viz. that the Roman year, which began on the Kalends of January U. C. 697 of Varro, was a year of 355 days; this testimony of Cicero's ascertains beyond all question the Nundinal characters of two years in sequence: both this of U. C. 697 and the next of U. C. 698; and each in entire conformity to our calendar.

Demonstration of the Nundinal character of Januarius U. C. 697 B. C. 57, from that of the Nonæ Januariæ U. C. 42, Feb. 21 B. C. 712.

[b] See our Tables, supra, p. 21.

i. Feb. 21 at midnight B. C. 712 being Nundinal, Jan. 28 at midnight was Nundinal.

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ii. From Jan. 28 at midnight B. C. 712 to Jan. 28 at midnight B. C. 57 there were 655 actual Julian years.

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iii. These 655 actual Julian years = 365 × 655 = 239 075 days
+ 163 leap days = 163
239 238 = 29 904 × 8 + 6

Consequently Jan. 22 B. C. 57 would be Nundinal, and that was the 6th of January Roman, U. C. 697; which month began on the Kalends of January, Jan. 17 at midnight, B. C. 57. That is, the character of January Roman, U. C. 697, was 6.

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iii. U. C. 702 Varr. 701 Cap. 699 Polyb. B. C. 53—52.

Irregular Calendar, Cycle vii. 13. 377 days.

Kalendæ Januariæ Nov. 24. Nundinal character 1.

The Nundinal character of this year is determined by the testimony of Dio Cassius[b]. He mentions the election of the consuls of U. C. 701 B. C. 54—53, Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messalla[c]; but late in the year: and the state of things at Rome for the rest of that year; viz. the disturbances which began at the time of the comitia, B. C. 53, and lasted to the end of the year; so that at the beginning of the next year, U. C. 702 B. C. 53, *τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἔτους*, no magistrates had yet been appointed. After which he subjoins[d]; *Κἀκ τούτου οὔτε τι ἄλλο χρηστὸν συνέβη, καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀεὶ ἡμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμηνίᾳ ἤχθη. καὶ τοῦτό τε αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου συμβὰν ἀλλ' ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ γενόμενον ἐθορύβει, κ', τ. λ.*

This proves that the Kalends of January of the consular year of Varro which corresponds in the Fasti to B. C. 52, though it really began B. C. 53, were Nundinal. Dio's description of the state of things at Rome, at the end of the preceding year and at the beginning of this, so far as concerns the non-appointment of the regular magistrates and at the regular time, is confirmed by Asconius[e]; from whom it

[b] xl. 47. [c] cf. xl. 17. [d] xl. 46, 47. [e] In Ciceronem, Pro Milone. Vide Vol. i. 516.

appears that the year (U. C. 702) was intercalary, and that Pompey was appointed sole consul of the year in the intercalary month itself: on the v Kalendas Martias. He is confirmed also by the epistles of Cicero; contemporary with these proceedings.

Demonstration of the Nundinal character of Januarius U. C. 702, B. C. 53, from the Nundinal character of the Nonæ Januariæ U. C. 42, Feb. 21 B. C. 712.

i. February 21 at midnight B. C. 712 being Nundinal, Nov. 4 at midnight, and therefore Nov. 20 at midnight, was Nundinal.

ii. From Nov. 20 at midnight B. C. 712 to Nov. 20 at midnight B. C. 53 were 659 actual Julian years.

iii. These 659 actual Julian years = $365 \times 659 = 240\,535$ days
+ 165 leap days 165

$240\,700 = 30\,087 \times 8 + 4$

Consequently Nov. 16 at midnight B. C. 53 was Nundinal; and therefore Nov. 24 at midnight: i. e. the Kalendæ Januariæ U. C. 702.

iv. U. C. 709 Varr. 708 Cap. 706 Polyb. B. C. 46—45.
Annus Julianus primus.

Kalendæ Januariæ Dec. 30 B. C. 46. Nundinal character 1.

That the Nundinal character of the first Julian year properly so called was unity, i. e. that the Nundinal day fell on the Kalends of January that year, might be collected with certainty from the fact which is afterwards recorded by Dio of the sixth Julian year, properly so called, B. C. 40[f]: Καὶ ἡμέρα ἐμβόλιμος παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐνεβλήθη, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους (B. C. 39) τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην λάβῃ, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου σφόδρα ἐφυλάσσετο. καὶ δηλονότι ἀνθυφῃρέθη αὖθις ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῇ.

The consuls of B. C. 40, (U. C. 714), Cn. Calvinus ii. and Asinius Pollio, were noticed by Dio[g] at the proper time; and also the consul suffect at the end of the year, L. Cornelius Balbus[h]: and then the consuls of the next year, (B. C. 39) L. Marcius and C. Sabinus, at the proper time

[f] xlviii. 33. [g] Ibid. 15. [h] Ibid. 32.

too[i]. There can be no doubt that in the first allusion he was speaking of U. C. 714 B. C. 40[k]. By telling us then that a day was intercalated *extra ordinem* somewhere in the course of this year (B. C. 40) with a view expressly to divert the Nundinal incidence from the Kalends of January the next year, U. C. 715 B. C. 39; he does as good as tell us that without that precaution the Nundinal day in the regular course of the cycle would have fallen on the Kalends of January, U. C. 715 B. C. 39.

Now B. C. 46—45 being the first Julian year, B. C. 40—39 was the seventh. There were six Julian years complete between them. The first of these being a leap year, there would be one more in the regular course of the cycle; so that in these six Julian years two would be leap years four would be common. The sum of the Nundinal epacts in the former would be 12, in the latter would be 20; in both would be 32: i. e. 4 cycles of the Nundinal day complete. Consequently the Nundinal character of the seventh Julian year under such circumstances must have been the same as that of the first; and *vice versa* the Nundinal character of the first must have been the same as that of the seventh: and, if that of this latter was, or should have been, unity, that of the first must have been unity also.

This reasoning indeed proceeds on the supposition that the administration of the Julian correction from B. C. 46—45 to B. C. 40—39 went on agreeably to its proper law; and learned men are well aware that such was not the case. But the truth is that it makes no difference to our argument, that these six years *de facto* were not regularly administered. It was still the case that, in the actual administration of the Julian correction at Rome, the six years from the Kalends of January U. C. 709 to the Kalends of January U. C. 715, but for the addition of a day to the last of the number, must have contained just the same number of days and nights as the six Julian years from Dec. 30 B. C. 46 to Dec. 30 B. C. 40; i. e. in either case, 2192 days, 274 Nundinal cycles: and the sum of the epact on the one must have been the same as the sum of the epact on the other; in either case 32, or 4 Nundinal cycles. The Nundinal character of the seventh

[i] xlviii. 34. [k] Cf. Ibid. 32, 33, 34.

year therefore, but for this addition made to the sixth, must have been the same as that of the first; and *vice versa*, that of the first as that of the seventh.

That the Nundinal character then of the first Julian year at Rome must have been unity might always have been inferred from what Dio thus records of that of the seventh Julian year, in the regular course of things. But we might still have collected the same thing of the Nundinal character of the Kalends of January in the first Julian year, without knowing any thing of this fact relating to the character of the Kalends of January in the seventh such year; merely from the cycle of letters, A to H, in the extant fragments of the Julian calendar itself: in which the letter A, the proper representative of the first term in the Nundinal cycle, is found attached to the Kalends of January. On this point however there can be no doubt *.

* With regard to the Nundinal character of the Kalends of January in the original type of the Julian correction; There were certain Feriæ (observances or solemnities) in the Roman calendar, which must be celebrated every year; and commonly at the same season of the year, and in the same month, but not on the same day: from which circumstance they were called *Conceptivæ* and *Indictivæ;* Conceptivæ because the time of their actual celebration must be expressly conceived, i. e. determined; Indictivæ, because, as they had to be expressly determined upon, they had to be expressly notified, every year.

Sollemnia sacra dicuntur quæ certis temporibus annisque fieri solent[1]—Stata sacrificia sunt quæ certis diebus fieri debent[2]—Conceptivæ feriæ festa dicebantur quæ incertis diebus servabantur quotannis, ut sementinæ, compitaliciæ[3]—De statutis diebus dixi. nunc de annalibus dicam. Compitalia . . . . quotannis is dies concipitur. similiter Latinæ feriæ dies conceptivus . . . . sementinæ feriæ dies is qui a Pontificibus dictus; appellatus a semente quod sationis caussa susceptæ. Paganicæ ejusdem agriculturæ caussa susceptæ, ut haberet in agreis omnis pagus . . . unde paganicæ dictæ sunt. præterea feriæ conceptivæ quæ non sunt annales, ut hæ quæ dicuntur sine proprio vocabulo, aut cum perspicuo, ut novemdialeis[4]—Conceptivæ sunt quæ quotannis a magistratibus vel a sacerdotibus concipiuntur in dies certos vel etiam incertos, ut sunt Latinæ, Sementivæ, Paganalia, Compitalia[5]. The scene of the first Book of Varro De Re Rustica[6] is laid Sementivis Feriis.

1 Festus, xvii. 515. 24—516. 1.
2 Ibid. 524. 15. Cf. vi. 147. 4. Feriæ statæ.
3 Ibid. i. 91. 5. Conceptivæ.
4 Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 58.
5 Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 16. 277.
6 i. cap. ii. §. 1.

Demonstration of the Nundinal character of the Kalends

We shall confine ourselves at present to these feriæ sementivæ: which, as their name implies, must have been intended Sementis caussa; and therefore, if they had a stated season, it would naturally be that either of the first seed time, the autumn, or of the last, the early spring. Lydus, De Mensibus[7], gives the following account of them: *Αἱ τοῦ σπόρου ἑορταὶ αἱ λεγόμεναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις σημαντίβαι τουτέστι σπόριμοι οὐκ ἔλαχον ὡρισμένην ἡμέραν, ὅτι οὐκ εὐπρεπὴς πᾶς καιρὸς εἰς ἀρχὴν σπόρου. ἢ γὰρ πρώϊμος διὰ τὰς ἐπομβρίας ἢ ὄψιμος διὰ τὰς βραδύτητας γίνεται. ἦγοντο δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλὰ μέσον γινομένων ἑπτά. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἱερυποίουν Δημητρὶ οἷον τῇ γῇ τῇ ὑποδεχομένῃ τοὺς καρποὺς, εἶτα μετὰ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας Κόρῃ τῇ τῶν καρπῶν ἐφόρῳ· ἐπεὶ πᾶν σπέρμα ἑβδομαῖον προκόπτει.*

If this representation is correct in the length of time assigned to these feriæ, they lasted just as long as one Nundinal cycle, in the popular mode of reckoning it from the Nundinal day in one cycle to the same in the next, would be supposed to do. And that would be a better explanation of the distinction made between the first and last of the number, and the rest, than Lydus' own; which is founded upon the assumption that all kinds of seed, committed to the ground, spring up in seven days' time, and that the first of these days was in honour of Ceres, to whom the seed was sacred, the last in honour of the Koré, to whom the sprout, and in due time the fruit, was so. This assumption might be true of some kinds of grain, but would not be so of all; and of certain climates, but not of that of Italy. The rustic tribes were most concerned in these feriæ sementivæ; and they were most concerned also with the Nundinal cycle. Nothing would be more probable *a priori* than that the stated length of a ceremony so peculiar to the country would be borrowed from the Nundinal cycle; that it would even begin on the first day of one cycle and end on the first of the next.

The Compitalia and the Paganalia, alluded to along with these, are ascribed to Servius Tullius[8], and even to Tarquinius Superbus[9]; but the Feriæ sementivæ are not found ascribed to any one later than Numa: and they were probably first instituted and prescribed by Numa. And with respect even to the Compitalia; *Nine* days' notice was to be given of them beforehand[10]; i. e. they were to be celebrated on the *ninth* day after they had been notified: so that they too recognized that cycle as an ordinary division of time, with which the people were well acquainted; especially in such cases as these.

Now if we follow the order of days in the month of Januarius, in the first book of the Fasti of Ovid; we have the 16th[11], the 17th[12], the 23d[13], and the 24th[14], each mentioned in its turn: and then after this last, con-

7 iii. 6. P. 30. l. 3.
8 Dionys. Hal. iv. 14, 15.
9 Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 7. 232.
10 A. Gellius, x. 24. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. iv. at the end.
11 i. 637. 12 i. 651. 13 i. 653.
14 i. 655.

of January in the first Julian year, U. C. 709, from the Nun-

sequently just where the 25th should have come in, we meet with the following allusion to the feriæ sementivæ.

Ter quater evolvi signantes tempora Fastos,
Nec sementiva est ulla reperta dies.
Cum mihi (sensit enim) Lux hæc indicitur, inquit
Musa, quid a Fastis non stata sacra petis?
Utque dies incerta sacro sic tempora certa:
Seminibus jactis est ubi fœtus ager [15].

After which comes the description of the ceremony [16]; shewing that in his time it probably included the Paganalia also: though that is not a necessary inference from his allusion to it [17].

It is clear then that, if these feriæ could be supposed to have any stated date in the calendar of his time, in Ovid's opinion it was the 25th of January either Roman or Julian at this time. And that would be explained by two suppositions; one that the rule of these feriæ was to begin on the first day of the Nundinal cycle, the other that the first of January in the Julian correction was Nundinal: in which case the 25th would be Nundinal also.

But why it may be asked did not Ovid look for the stated date of these feriæ on the 9th, or on the 17th of January, both Nundinal as well as the 25th; and each of them earlier in the month than the 25th? The reason is probably intimated by what he himself subjoined of the relation of the ceremony to the sowing of the seed; viz. not to the beginning of that process but to the end,

Seminibus jactis est ubi fœtus ager.

There is in almost every climate of the world an early seed-time and a late seed-time; an autumnal seed-time and a spring seed-time. This ceremony had an equal relation to both; and therefore it was purposely fixed to that season of the year, when both were now complete: which of course could be only in the spring. And if it always lasted nine days, yet the first day and the ninth alone were distinguished by particular sacrifices; that might be only the more in character with the common relation of the whole ceremony to the same natural process in general, but to the beginning and to the end of it more particularly.

The resumption of the labours of the field, after the winter, (the first of which would be the sowing of the spring seeds,) is dated by Columella [18] as early as the Ides of January; in which case considerable progress towards its completion must ordinarily have been made by the 25th of that month. And this would serve to explain the reason why Ovid should have looked for the ceremony, which commemorated the conclusion of that part of the labours of the field, in the original type of the Julian calendar of his time on or about the last Nundinal day in the month of January too.

[15] i. 657. [16] i. 663–704. [17] i. 669, 670. [18] De Re Rustica, xi. ii. 6.

dinal character of the Nones of January U. C. 42. Feb. 21 B. C. 712.

i. Feb. 21 at midnight B. C. 712 being Nundinal Dec. 27 at midnight B. C. 713 was Nundinal.

ii. From Dec. 27 at midnight B. C. 713 to Dec. 27 at midnight B. C. 46 there were 667 actual Julian years.

iii. These 667 actual Julian years $= 365 \times 667 = 243\,455$ days
$+$ 166 leap days 166

$243\,621 = 30\,452 \times 8 + 5$

Consequently Dec. 22 at midnight B. C. 46 was Nundinal,

The close however of this part of the preparatory labours of the husbandman in no climate of the world could have had any fixed and invariable date. It must depend every where more or less upon circumstances. And that was probably the true reason why this particular ceremony was left to be conceived, and enjoined, at the proper time every year. Yet as a general rule it might have been more safely prescribed for the end of the Januarius of Numa every year, than for that of the Januarius of Cæsar. For the extreme limits of the former were February 6 and April 5; between which for the climate of Italy about Rome the ordinary season of the late or spring seed-time could not fail to be included every year.

We will embrace this opportunity of adding three other illustrations of the Nundinal cycle of our calendar, in the Julian correction; not only on that account, but because they make us acquainted with a curious rule of private life among the Romans at this time, of which we could never have become aware in any other way: viz. that of dating or executing wills on a Nundinal day.

i. The first is the date of the will of Julius Cæsar. Postulante ergo L. Pisone socero testamentum ejus aperitur ... quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat, demandaveratque Virgini Vestali Maximæ[19]. It was dated therefore, or executed, September 13 Roman, last before his death; i. e. U. C. 709 B. C. 45. Now that day by our calendar was Nundinal. The character of Januarius was 1. That of September was 5. Consequently the 13th was Nundinal.

ii. The next is the will of Augustus. Testamentum L. Planco C. Silio consulibus (U. C. 766. A. D. 13) iii Nonas Apriles ante annum et quatuor menses quam decederet factum ab eo ... depositumque apud sex Virgines Vestales[20]. It was therefore dated and executed April 3 Roman, A. D. 13. U. C. 766. That day too was Nundinal. The character of Janu-

[19] Suetonius, Vita, lxxxiii. § 1. Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 59. Dio, xliv. 35. Plutarch, Cæsar, lxviii. Antonius, xvi. Appian, B. C. ii. 135, 136: 143.

[20] Suetonius, Vita, cii. 1. Cf. Tacitus, Ann. i. 8. Dio, lvi. 32.

and therefore Dec. 30 at midnight, the Kalends of January in the first Julian year, U. C. 709*.

v. To these examples of the Nundinal Incidence on the days of the month, at different points of time in the administration of the Irregular calendar, the fact of which cannot be disputed, we will subjoin two more of a less decided character, though still probable.

i. At the end of the Prælectiones Camdenianæ of Dodwell there is a fragment of what Vossius thought to be the Libri Lintei Pontificii; but in Dodwell's opinion (with which our own concurs) is more truly a part of the Acta urbis or Acta

ary was 5. The year was common. That of April was consequently 3: i. e. the third of April was Nundinal.

iii. The third is the will of a private person—but in the reign of Augustus. Atque ut hi omittantur .... C. Asinio Gallo C. Marcio Censorino Coss. (U. C. 746 B. C. 8) A. D. vi Kalendas Februarias C. Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus testamento suo edixit[21] &c. This will then was dated January 27 Roman U. C. 746 B. C. 8. The character of January that year was 3. Consequently the 27th was Nundinal.

These three coincidences cannot be resolved into accident. But if not, they confirm our Nundinal cycle, B. C. 45, B. C. 8, and A. D. 13. They prove too that among the Romans of this time wills were purposely dated on a Nundinal day; and that the Nundinal incidence was just as much preferred for a business of that kind as it was avoided for any other. The best explanation of which distinction, in our opinion, is the funereal character of the act of executing a will by putting the final date to it; and the analogy between the stated length of the Nundinal cycle and that of the Novemdiales epulæ, or ἐνάται or περίδειπνα, at funerals also. A will was of no force until after the testator's death. It was executed in his lifetime with a view to his death: and probably it was commonly expected to be opened either on the first or on the last day of the funeral cycle. With reason then might the superstitious turn of the Roman mind suggest the propriety of fixing on the Nundinal day, for the performance of such an act as that.

* It is equally easy to demonstrate the character of the first Julian year, U. C. 709, from that of the first irregular year, assumed to have been U. C. 547 B. C. 207. We shewed, Vol. i. page 510, that the number of days and nights in the 162 Roman years, from the Kalends of January U. C. 547 to the Kalends of January U. C. 709, was 59 159 exactly. These were equal to 7394 Nundinal cycles, with a remainder or epact of 7. Consequently if the character of the first of these years was 8, that of the 163rd, the first Julian year, would be 8—7 or 1.

21 Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 47. p. 154.

senatus diurna: which extends over seven days in order; from v Kalendas Apriles to iii Nonas Apriles. The first part of this fragment is given in Reinesius[l]; the whole of it only by Dodwell[m]. It appears from its own testimony that it belonged to the consular year of L. Æmilius Paullus ii. and C. Licinius Crassus U. C. 586 of Varro; which began on the Ides of March that year, = according to our calendar to Jan. 4 B. C. 168.

It is highly probable that in seven continuous days a Nundinal day would be included. The only question would be which of the seven was such. There is nothing in this portion of the Acta necessarily to fix this character on one day more than on another; yet we conjecture that it does in reality belong to the fourth, Pridie Kalendas Apriles, March 31 Roman, Jan. 20 Julian B. C. 168. For this day the entry stands as follows,

Pridie (K) Aprileis.
Fasces penes Licinium.
Latinæ celebratæ et sacrificatum
In Monte Albano et data visceratio.
Incendium in Cœliolo. insulæ duæ
Absumptæ solo tenus et ædes quinque.
Ambustæ quatuor.
Demophon archipirata captus a
[C]n. Licinio Nerva legato
In crucem actus.
Vexillum rubeum in arce positum.
[*Cos*] sacramento novo adegerunt juventutem
In Campo Martio.

The next day, (as it also appears from these Acta,) April 1 Roman January 21 Julian, Paullus Cos. et Cn. Octavius Præt. paludati egressi sunt urbe in provinciam Macedoniam[n]. Now the mention of the *Latinæ* (feriæ), of the *visceratio,* and of the swearing in of the new levies, the day before, in our opinion, are an argument of a Nundinal conventus on that day; advantage of which was taken for these different purposes: especially for that of enlisting the young men and of administering to them the military oath. For these levies would naturally be made from the rustic rather than the

[l] Inscription. Classis iv. 2—8. Cf. Muratorius, DCX. 1.

[m] Appendix, p. 645.

[n] Cf. Livy xliv. 22. who might almost have copied the Acta in question.

urban tribes; and the rustic tribes would be brought to the city by the Nundinal resort on any Nundinal day. By our calendar of this time, Irregular cycle ii. 17. 378 days, U. C. 586, B. C. 169—168, the character of the year was 7. Consequently the character of Martius also was 7; and the 31st was Nundinal. The arrangements of this year in our calendar are fixed by the lunar eclipse before Pydna the same year; and do not admit of being disturbed. The above indeed is not an unquestionable case of the Nundinal Incidence according to contemporary testimony. But every one must allow it to be a very probable one. That March 31 Roman at least that year was Nundinal cannot be doubtful.

ii. The second of these probable cases of the Incidence is to be collected from Cicero's letters to Atticus, and from what is there said in reference to the profanation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea by Clodius; and to the proceedings at Rome which arose out of it.

The first allusion to this subject occurs in a letter dated Kal. Jan. M. Messala M. Pisone Coss[o]. (U. C. 693); by our calendar Feb. 29 B. C. 61: P. Clodium Appii F. credo te audisse cum veste muliebri deprehensum domi C. Cæsaris cum pro populo fieret, eumque per manus servulæ servatum et eductum. It is resumed in a letter dated vi Kal. Feb. the same year, March 24 B. C. 61[p]: Credo enim te audisse cum apud Cæsarem pro populo fieret venisse eo muliebri vestitu virum.....rem ex senatus consulto ad pontifices relatam, idque ab iis nefas esse decretum. Again, in another dated on the Ides of February, April 10, in reference to the proceedings which arose out of this affair, between the date of the last letter and that of this[q]: Pisonis consulis impulsu levissimus tribunus plebis Fusius in concionem produxit Pompeium (lately returned from abroad, though, as he had not yet celebrated his triumph, he had not yet entered the city). res agebatur in Circo Flaminio; et erat in eo ipso loco illo die Nundinarum *πανήγυρις*: quæsivit ex eo placeretne ei judices a prætore legi quo consilio idem prætor uteretur. id autem erat de Clodiana religione ab senatu constitutum[q].

He continues: Postea Messala consul in senatu de Pom-

[o] i. 12. Cf. Suetonius, Julius Cæs. vi. § 2. ix. x.

[p] i. 13. Cf. Plut. Cæs.

[q] i. 14.

peio quæsivit quid de religione et de promulgata rogatione sentiret...Then: Nam cum dies venisset rogationi ex senatus consulto faciendæ, concursabant barbatuli juvenes totus ille grex Catilinæ, duce filiola Curionis, (the younger Curio,) et populum ut antiquaret rogabant. Piso autem consul lator rogationis idem erat dissuasor.....The comitia being abruptly dismissed, a senate was held (the same day)...Senatus et de provinciis prætorum et de legationibus (purposely reserved for Februarius, implying consequently that these things were going on in that month) et de ceteris rebus decernebat ut antequam rogatio lata esset ne quid ageretur.

All this appears to be a continuous account of the same business; in which case these last particulars must have come between vi Kal. Feb. March 24, the date of i. 13, and the Ides of February April 10, that of i. 14. The important circumstance is the Nundinal πανήγυρις, going on in the Circus Flaminius when Pompey was produced to the people there by the tribune Fusius; some time after March 24 but before April 10. The character of Januarius this year being 8, the vii Kal. Feb. Jan. 24 Roman, March 23 Julian B. C. 61, was Nundinal, and also Feb. 3 Roman, March 31, and February 11 Roman, April 8, two days only before the date of i. 14. The first of these Nundinal dates is excluded. The last appears to be too near the date of i. 14 itself, April 10. The middle one therefore, Feb. 3 Roman, March 31 Julian, is most likely to have been the day.

This affair of Clodius' ended in his being tried indeed, but acquitted[r], not long before the Ides of May[s], July 9, the same year, B. C. 61.

SECTION VI.—*On the investigation of the Nundinal cycle later than the date of the Julian Correction.*

The Nundinal epoch, or radix of the cycle, in the Julian correction, that is, the Nundinal character of the very first Julian year, being given, we should have no difficulty in representing the course and succession of the Nundinal day in terms of the Julian year, for any length of time; could it only be assumed that both went on in conjunction, and each of them subject to its proper law, without any interruption.

[r] Ad Atticum, i. 16. [s] Cf. Ad Atticum, i. 7. 18. ii. 1.

That both indeed went on in conjunction for a certain length of time after the correction may be assumed; and that the Nundinal cycle itself went on all that time subject to its proper law, without any change, may be assumed also: but that the Julian correction went on along with it for the same period of time subject to its proper law, and to none else, cannot be assumed. And yet it will be seen we hope in due time that the very irregularity, so early admitted and so long retained in the actual administration of the Julian calendar, is ultimately to be traced up to the connection of this calendar with the Nundinal cycle all that time. This very irregularity therefore, as long as it lasted, is an argument of the continued use and observance of the Nundinal cycle, according to its own law, for the same length of time at least.

We shall have occasion to recur to this subject hereafter; and we hope then to be able to produce clear and decisive proof of the use of this cycle, according to its proper law, (the cycle of our calendar too from first to last,) from the date of the Julian correction B. C. 45 down to A. D. 355 at least. At present, we will notice only a few incidental allusions to it, which illustrate its continued existence for the early part of the intermediate period. Thus Suetonius tells us of Gnipho, a grammarian or rhetorician of these times, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar's; Ita ut quotidie præcepta eloquentiæ traderet, declamaret non nisi nundinis[t]. He mentions of the emperor Augustus[u]; Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficiscerebus*, aut nonis quidquam rei seriæ inchoaret; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans ut ad Tiberium scribit quam δυσφημίαν

* There are two occasions in the life of Augustus, one of a public the other of a private nature, on which the prejudice, here attributed to him, against setting out any whither on the day after the Nundinal day, serves to illustrate our calendar.

The first is that of the day appointed by him for putting to sea with his fleet, in the war with Sex. Pompeius, U. C. 718 B. C. 36; the circumstances of which we may have an opportunity of considering more at large hereafter. *That* day was the first of July Roman. According to his rule it would not be the day *after* a Nundinal day. And that turns out to have been the case. The character of January Roman, U. C. 718 B. C. 37–36,

[t] De Claris Grammaticis, vii. 3.

[u] Cap. xcii. 6.

nominis*. He tells us of the emperor Claudius, after he became emperor[w]; Jus nundinarum in privata prædia a consulibus petiit†. An allusion to the Nundinal day in this reign occurs historically in Dio[x]. Suetonius mentions an artifice of Nero to raise money[y]; Et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris summisissetque qui nundinarum die pauculas uncias venderet præclusit cunctos negotiatores. Pliny notices a common superstition connected with the Nundinal cycle in his time[z]: Ungues resecari nundinis Romanis tacenti atque a digito indice multorum pecuniæ religiosum est.

The Nundinal cycle must undoubtedly have given way at last to the Hebdomadal: and that effect could be produced only by the gradual ascendancy of the Christian religion. It must therefore have been brought about slowly and by degrees. Christianity had made great progress all over the

was 8: and consequently that of July was 3; the year being common: i. e. July 1 was the day but one before the Nundinal day.

The other occasion we learn from Suetonius' life of Caius Cæsar: viii. 9: Exstat et Augusti epistola ante paucos quam obiret menses (consequently U. C. 767 A. D. 14) ad Agrippinam neptem ita scripta de Caio:.. Puerum Caium xv Kalendas Junii, si dii volent, ut ducerent Talarius et Asellius, heri cum iis constitui. mitto præterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico si vellet ut retineret.

U. C. 767 A. D. 14, the character of the year was 8, and the year was common. Consequently that of May too was 8. May 16 Roman therefore was Nundinal; and May 18 (xv Kal. Junias) was the day but one after the Nundinal day in this instance, as it was the day but one before it in the last: the first day in the Nundinal cycle on which Augustus, according to his rule, could either have set out on a journey himself, or have sent any of his family upon one.

* This means, because the Novendiales epulæ, the *περίδειπνα*, at funerals, also were kept Nonis diebus. See an instance of Augustus' superstition with regard to trifles in Pliny, H. N. ii. v. p. 196.

† A similar application is recorded by Pliny the younger in his time: Epp. v. 4. Res parva, sed initium non parvum. Sollers vir prætorius a senatu petiit ut sibi instituere in agris suis nundinas permitteretur. The date of this epistle was probably A. D. 105 U. C. 858. Cf. our Dissertations on the Principles and Arrangement of an Harmony of the Gospels, 2d ed. Oxford, A. D. 1837. vol. iv. 436.

[w] Claudius, xii. 3. [x] lx. 24. [y] Vita, xxxii. 5.
[z] H. N. xxxviii. 5. 147.

empire, and especially at Rome and in Italy, by the time of Macrobius, which was the end of the fourth century, in the reign of Theodosius the Great; yet he too speaks of the Nundinal resort as even then a characteristic of the rustic population: Nundinæ sunt paganorum id est rusticorum, quibus conveniunt negotiis propriis vel mercibus provisuri[a]. The language of Eumenius, in the Panegyricus addressed to Constantius Cæsar about an hundred years before, is much to the same effect: Arat ergo nunc mihi Chamavius et Frisius, et ille vagus ille prædator exercitio squalidus operatur, et frequentat nundinas meas pecore venali, et cultor barbarus laxat annonam[b].

CHAPTER III.

On the confirmation of the Nundinal cycle of the Calendar by a particular class of dates.

SECTION I.—*On the distinction of days in the Roman Calendar.*

It appears from Macrobius[c] that all the days in the Roman calendar from the time of Numa downwards, to whom he attributes the first introduction of such distinctions, were comprehended under one or other of certain denominations, Festi, Profesti, or Intercisi: the Festi including Sacrificia, Epulæ, Ludi, Feriæ; the Profesti, the Fasti, Comitiales, Comperendini, Stati, Præliares; the Intercisi such as were divisible In se non in alios. And of each of these, and of their subdivisions he gives a particular account[d].

It is sufficient for our purpose at present to notice such days only as have a peculiar mark or character attached to them in the extant fragments of the Julian calendar: and these are the Dies Fasti, the character of which is F; the Dies Nefasti, symbolised by the letter N; the Intercisi,

[a] Saturnalia, i. 16. 277.
[b] Panegyrici Vett. v. ix. 3.
[c] Saturnalia, i. 16. 276–284.
[d] Loc. cit.

which have for their character the letters E N or I N; and the Dies Comitiales, denoted by the letter C. Besides these characters, the letters N P are found attached to certain days, meaning Nefastus Primo or Ex parte; and the letters Q. R. C. F. to others, the meaning of which is Quando Rex Comitiavit Fas: and the letters Q. ST. D. F. to others; denoting Quando Stercus Delatum (ex æde Vestæ scil.) Fas.

These distinctions, and others also peculiar to the calendar, are explained by Ovid[c].

Ne tamen ignores variorum jura dierum,
Non habet officii Lucifer omnis idem.
Ille Nefastus erit per quem tria verba silentur,
Fastus erit per quem jure licebit agi.
Neu toto perstare die sua jura putaris:
Qui jam Fastus erit mane Nefastus erat.
Nam simul exta deo data sunt licet omnia fari,
Verbaque honoratus libera prætor habet.
Est quoque quo populum jus est includere septis:
Est quoque qui nono semper ab orbe redit.
Vindicat Ausonias Junonis cura Kalendas:
Idibus alba Jovi grandior agna cadit.
Nonarum tutela deo caret. omnibus istis
(Ne fallare cave) proximus ater erit.
Omen ab eventu est. illis nam Roma diebus
Damna sub adverso tristia Marte tulit.
Hæc mihi dicta semel totis hærentia Fastis
Ne seriem rerum scindere cogar erunt.

Dies Fasti (sunt) per quos prætoribus omnia verba sine piaculo licet fari. Comitiales dicti quod tum esset populus constitutus ad suffragium ferendum, nisi si quæ feriæ conceptæ essent, propter quas non liceret; ut Compitalia et Latinæ. contrarii horum vocantur dies Nefasti; per quos dies nefas fari prætorem *Do Dico Addico*: itaque non potest (lege) agi, (quia) necesse est aliquo eorum uti verbo cum lege quid peragitur . . . Intercisi dies sunt per quos mane et vesperi est nefas, medio tempore inter hostiam cæsam et exta porrecta fas: a quo, quod fas tum intercedit, intercisi dies, aut quod tum intercisum nefas. dies qui vocatur sic, Quando Rex Comitiavit Fas (Q. R. C. F.,)* dictus ab eo quod eo die

* These characters are attached to the viii Kal. Apriles, March 25 Ro-

[c] Fasti, i. 45–62.

rex sacrificulus dicat ad comitium Ad quod tempus est Nefas, ab eo Fas. dies qui vocatur Quando Stercus Delatum Fas (Q. ST. D. F.)* ab eo appellatus quod eo die ex æde Vestæ stercus everritur, et per Capitolinum clivum in locum defertur certum[f]—Hinc Fasti dies quibus certa verba legitima sine piaculo prætoribus licet fari. ab hoc Nefasti, quibus diebus ea fari jus non est: et si fati sunt piaculum faciunt[g]—Comitiales dies appellabant cum in comitio conveniebant, qui locus a coeundo, id est simul veniendo, dictus est[h]—Fastis diebus jucunda fari (*corrige*, ad jus dicendum quædam fari) licebat, Nefastis quædam non fari licebat[i]—Profesti dies dicti quod sint procul a religione numinis divini[k]—Nefasti dies N littera notantur[l]—Nefasti dies notantur N littera quod iis nefas est prætori apud quem lege agitur fari tria verba *Do Dico Addico*[m]. *Nep.* nota designari solent qui nefasti priores sunt quorum pars anterior Fas[m]: his servi liberati sunt, delectus exercitus scribuntur, et in provincias ire licet, sacra quoque instituta fiunt, et vota nuncupata solvi et ædes sacrari solent[n]—Quando Rex Comitiavit Fas . . sic notatum esse diem in Fastis in honorem regis sacrorum aiunt qui de feriis menstrui (menstruis) scripserunt quæ Nonis Februarii in curia a rege dicuntur: eæ vero a multis scriptoribus traditæ sunt. nam quo die rex in comitium venit ejus pars anterior Nefas habetur, contra autem posterior Fas: quia sacris peractis inde abit. quod si quis alius pro rege eo die in comitio fecerit, puta Pontifex, tum hic dies totus est Fastus[o]—Fasti dies sunt in quibus jus

man, Maffæan, Prænestine, and Vatican Calendars, apud Foggini: to the ix Kal. Junias (May 24 Roman) Maffæan, Exquiline, and Venusine Calendars: but not to any more in the extant fragments of the Julian Calendar.

* These characters were attached to one day only, xvii Kal. Julias, June 15 Roman; Festus, xvii. 526. 5. Stercus: cf. xiv. 336. 1. Penus: xv. 409. 3. 7. Quando, &c. Ovid, Fasti, vi. 713: Maffæan and Venusine Cal. apud Foggini.

[f] Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 59.
[g] Ibid. 65.
[h] Festus, iii. 88. 8 Comitiales.
[i] vi. 143. 10 Fastis.
[k] xiv. 381. 6 Profesti: cf. 382. 1 Profestum.
[l] Paullus, apud Festum, xii. 272. 19.
[m] Cf. Fasti Verrii Flacci, Kal. Præn. ad Januarii 3 and 10. Foggini.
[n] Festus, xii. 272. 20. Cf. Fragmenta, p. 8.
[o] Festus, xv. 408. 3.

fatur, id est dicitur. nefasti in quibus non dicitur[p]—Unde est in jure fissus dies, id est non totus religiosus[q] *.

SECTION II.—*On the class of days to which the Nundinal day belonged originally.*

With regard then to the question To which of these classes of days the Nundinal day properly belonged; the opinions of the learned among the Romans appear to have been divided; and the rule and practice of later times seem to have differed from those of former. It is agreed indeed that the Nundinæ were Feriæ from the first. And to this head Macrobius reduces them[r]: Feriarum . . . publicarum genera sunt quatuor: aut enim stativæ sunt, aut conceptivæ, aut imperativæ, aut Nundinæ. Festus too observes[s], Ferias antiqui festas (*corrigitur* fesias, ab ἑστία) vocabant; et aliæ erant sine die festo ut Nundinæ, aliæ cum festo ut Saturnalia: and this also makes the Nundinæ holidays, but not in the common sense of dies Festi, which were confined to *one* day, or more, of some *one* month. They were holidays, or feriæ, attached to no particular month, nor particular day of the month; but capable of falling on any day in any month in its turn, and of making an holiday of it for that time and that occasion.

* The Dies Fasti then were properly the Court days (the In-Term days) of the Roman calendar; the Dies Nefasti were the Vacation days, the Out-of-Term days. These latter in the course of time grew to be so numerous, that it was often necessary to curtail them, or to use them for court days notwithstanding their character. Sueton. Claudius, xiv. 4: Jus et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus sollemnibus, nonnunquam festis quoque antiquitus et religiosis. Augustus retrenched 30 such days, and made them Fasti; Suetonius, Vita, xxxii. 6: cf. Tiberius, Vita, xxxiv. 1. Claudius too, in his third consulship, U. C. 796 A. D. 43 cleared the calendar of many useless days; Dio, lx. 17. A similar correction was made by Nerva, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 96–97; Dio, lxviii. 2. Antoninus Philosophus, (Marcus Aurelius,) fixed the number of Dies Fasti (Court days) to 230 in the year: Histor. Aug. Antoninus Ph. 10: Judiciariæ rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit. Fastis dies judiciarios addidit, ita ut ducentos triginta dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis constitueret.

[p] Fragmenta Suetonii in viii Prætorum, apud Priscian.

[q] Servius, ad Æn. vi. 37.

[r] Saturnalia, i. 16. 277.

[s] vi. 147. 5 Ferias.

The uncertainty however on this subject affects the question whether the Nundinal days were Fasti and Comitial also, as well as Feriæ. And in this respect there is reason to conclude that the ancient rule concerning them differed from that of subsequent times. For on the one hand Pliny observes[t], Nundinis urbem revisitabant (Tribus Rusticæ), et ideo comitia Nundinis haberi non licebat ne plebs rustica avocarctur. Festus too[u]: Nundinas feriarum diem esse voluerunt antiqui ut rustici convenirent mercandi vendendique caussa; eumque nefastum, ne si liceret cum populo agi interpellarentur nundinationes: from which we must infer that the Nundinæ were originally Dies Nefasti, as contradistinguished both to Dies Fasti and to Dies Comitiales. Servius also quotes from Varro what virtually implies the same thing: Varro dicit antiquos nundinas feriatis diebus agere instituisse, quo facilius commercii caussa ad urbem rustici convenirent[w]. What was the reason of this, except because on a Dies Feriatus or holiday no public or private business, which must be transacted in the Forum or in the Comitium, could be attended to?

On the other hand, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the Nundinal days were both Dies Fasti and Dies Comitiales, as well as market days: Αἱ δ' ἀγοραὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, δι' ἡμέρας ἐννάτης. ἐν δὲ ταύταις συνιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ δημοτικοὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τάς τ' ἀμείψεις ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ὠνίων καὶ τὰς δίκας παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐλάμβανον, τά τε κοινὰ ὅσων ἦσαν κύριοι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ὅσα ἡ βουλὴ ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς ψῆφον ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐπεκύρουν[x]. It is evident too from this representation that he knew of no difference between the use made of these days, and the character which they bore, in his own time, and at first. It follows then that if they had borne a different character, or had ever been restricted from some of the uses and purposes for which they were available in his time; they must have lost that character and must have acquired a new one before his time. They must have become available for uses and purposes, for which they had not been available at first.

[t] H. N. xviii. 3. p. 17.
[u] xii. 290. 4. Nundinas.
[w] Ad Georg. i. 275.
[x] Ant. Rom. vii. 58. Cf. x. 1.

SECTION III.—*On the change in the legal character of the Nundinal day made by the Dictator Hortensius.*

Quod autem Nundinas ferias dixi potest argui quia Titius de feriis scribens Nundinarum dies non inter ferias retulit, sed tantum sollemnes vocavit; et quod Julius Modestus affirmat Messala augure consulente Pontifices an Nundinarum Romanarum Nonarumque dies feriis tenerentur respondisse eos Nundinas sibi ferias non videri: et quod Trebatius in libro primo Religionum ait Nundinis magistratum posse manumittere judiciaque addicere. sed contra Julius Cæsar sextodecimo Auspiciorum libro negat Nundinis concionem advocari posse; id est cum populo agi: ideoque Nundinis Romanorum haberi comitia non posse. Cornelius etiam Labeo primo Fastorum libro Nundinis ferias esse pronuntiat. caussam vero hujus varietatis apud Granium Licinianum libro secundo diligens lector inveniet. ait enim Nundinas Jovis ferias esse; siquidem Flaminica omnibus Nundinis in regia Jovi arietem solet inmolare: sed lege Hortensia effectum ut fastæ essent, uti rustici qui nundinandi caussa in urbem veniebant lites componerent. nefasto enim die prætori fari non licebat. ergo qui ferias dicunt a mendacio vindicantur patrocinio vetustatis; qui contra sentiunt æstimatu ætatis quæ legem secuta est vera depromunt[y].

These different opinions and statements, respecting the character of the Nundinæ as feriæ or not feriæ, are easily reconciled to each other by the distinction that they were in reality Feriæ, but *sine festo;* holidays from the first, as well as dies sollemnes: not restricted to any month or to any day of the month like the festi dies properly so called, yet nevertheless possessed of a sacred character in being dedicated to Jupiter, and in having a stated sacrifice of a certain kind upon them, without which they could not have been entitled to the name and character of holy days at all. As to their other characteristics, the account which represents them as dies Nefasti and that which speaks of them as dies Fasti appear to have both been in the right. They were dies Nefasti at first and down to a certain time; and dies Fasti from

[y] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 16. 281.

that time forwards: Nefasti before the publication of the Lex Hortensia, Fasti from that time forwards, and by virtue of that law itself.

Now as dies Nefasti they could be neither Court days nor Comitial; as dies Fasti they would necessarily be Court days: and, if it was necessary or expedient that they should also be Comitial days, there does not seem to be any good reason *a priori* why days which were already Fasti should not likewise be Comitiales. The opinion ascribed to Julius Cæsar (not as we apprehend the Dictator Cæsar) Nundinis Romanorum comitia haberi non posse—Nundinis concionem advocari et cum populo agi non posse—would be true, as Macrobius justly observes, of the rule and practice of antiquity. Understood of the rule of later times, it is contradicted by the positive testimony of Dionysius to the matter of fact as it had come repeatedly under his own observation; by the actual case, already ascertained from the letters of Cicero to Atticus, of an assembly of the people, a *concio ad populum*, and the Nundinal *πανήγυρις*, all going on in the Circus Flaminius B. C. 61 at once; and by the cycle of the Nundinal character A in the Julian calendar, which is seen to stand opposite to the Dies Comitiales, just as much as to the Dies Fasti and the Dies Nefasti, all round the year. Did the Dies Comitiales then lose their character in that respect even *pro tempore*, and while the Nundinæ were falling upon them? For if not, the Dies Comitiales in the calendar, at this period of its history, might be Nundinal, and yet would continue to be Comitial also.

The institution of Dies Fasti and Dies Nefasti, and the distinction of one from the other, is attributed to Numa by Livy[z] as well as by Macrobius: Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat. Now in the proper sense of this phrase, Cum populo agendi, a day on which Cum populo agi poterat was to all intents and purposes a Comitial day. It seems then to us a just inference from this testimony that the only distinction of days recognised in the calendar of Numa, and of his own appointment at first, was into Fasti and Nefasti; of which

[z] i. 19.

the Fasti included both those which were properly called Fasti in after times, (court days, term days, law days,) and those which were called Comitial, public days, days on which business of any kind could be transacted with the people: the Nefasti included all of every kind but those. If then the Nundinal days of the calendar, according to the original distinctions of these things, were not Fasti, neither were they Comitial; and, if they were neither Fasti nor Comitial in the calendar of Numa at first, they must have been Nefasti. It follows that if the Nundinal day could not lose its proper character of Nefastus by falling on a dies Fastus, the dies Fastus must have lost its own *pro tempore*, as often as the Nundinæ fell upon it; and for that time, by virtue of the Nundinal Incidence, it must have become Nefastus.

There is every reason to believe that this was the actual rule of the calendar, and the actual relation of these different kinds of days, which entered it perpetually, one to another at first; viz. that the Nundinal day, as the oldest of all and the most sacred of all, was regarded as the most important from the first: that it had been devoted to uses and purposes from time immemorial, which did not allow it to be treated as a Dies Fastus in the ordinary routine of the calendar; that its proper description in the calendar was that of a Dies Nefastus: and that in this character of Nefastus it superseded the Dies Fasti, as often as it fell upon them, and made them Nefasti for the time; and not only for private but for public business of any kind, distinct from its own, alike.

We do not indeed know the actual details of the calendar of Numa in all these respects from the first. We know only that the keeping of the calendar, and its administration, were entrusted to the pontiffs; and that so long as its actual distinctions and details, according to the original constitutions of its author, were known only to them it must always have been in their power to declare particular days Fasti or Nefasti as they thought fit[a]. The first throwing open of the calendar, the first publication of the Fasti, is attributed to Cn. Flavius, who derived his acquaintance with its details from the circumstance of his having served the office of scribe

[a] Cf. Dionysius, x. 1.

of the pontiffs. And the final end designed by this publication is said to have been, Ut quando lege agi posset sciretur[b]. No mention is here made of days on which Cum populo agi posset; only of days on which private business might be transacted in the courts of law. And this must materially strengthen the probability of the inference that there was no distinction of days in the calendar at this time, except that of Fasti and that of Nefasti; that all which were not Fasti were of course Nefasti, and vice versa: the Comitial being included under the former, and the Nundinal under the latter *.

The time chosen by Flavius for this publication of the Fasti Dies is remarkable. In the first place, that publication being in fact a publication of the calendar, no time could be fitter for it than the first year of the cycle of the calendar itself. In the next place, as it was intended for the information of the whole body of citizens, no time could be more convenient for first bringing it out than some time when the first day of the Nundinal cycle, and the first day of the calendar also in the first year of its proper cycle, were coinciding together. Now both these coincidences hold good of the historical and accredited year of the publication, the consular year of P. Sulpicius Saverrio P. Sempronius Sophus[c] U. C. 450 Varr. 449 Cap. 447 Polyb. B. C. 304. It was the first year of the viith cycle of the Decemviral correction.

* It is far from improbable that the name of the Fasti itself, as applied to the calendar in the complex, began to bear date only from this publication. Fastorum libri appellantur, says Festus, vi. 144, 1: in quibus totius anni fit descriptio. Fasti enim dies festi sunt. This additional explanation is little better than absurd; unless the whole year consisted of dies Festi, and every dies Fastus was a dies Festus. But, at first, when the calendar consisted only of Fasti and Nefasti dies, the number of the latter was probably small; and by far the greatest part of the year consisted of Dies Fasti—open to public and private business. Under such circumstances, the publication of the calendar was that of the Fasti, sc. dies; and thence the name, applied to the calendar itself.

[b] Livy, ix. 46.

[c] Ibid. 46. 45: Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 6. p. 21–24, dates it incorrectly U. C. 448 (Varr.) though under a pair of consuls, which, when his text is corrected, must be the true one. Cf. Diodorus, xx. 36: Val. Max. ii. v. 2. De Frugalitate: ix. iii. 3. De Ira et Odio: Cicero, Oratio xxiii. Pro Murena, ii. 25: De Oratore, i. 41, 186: Ad Atticum, vi. 1: A. Gellius, vi. 9.

The Nundinal character of the year was unity: i. e. the Nundinal day fell on the Kalends of January themselves, Dec. 29 B. C. 305. It stood in short just one Nundinal Period of four cycles of the calendar, or 96 years, before the epoch of the Irregular calendar, Dec. 29 B. C. 209; when the same Nundinal Incidence held good again. The rustic tribes would thus be enabled to see the calendar laid before them for the first time in its integrity, on the very day of its publication; as well as the city tribes. We are persuaded that these coincidences are not to be resolved into chance; that this time and these circumstances were purposely selected for the publication of the calendar *there* and *then*: and consequently that they are a great confirmation of our own scheme of the calendar itself.

Whatsoever then might have been the actual course of proceeding before this time, with regard to the notification of Dies Fasti and Dies Nefasti, and whether it had been uniformly agreeable to the distinctions laid down in the calendar itself or not; yet the Fasti having once been made public, and no doubt in conformity to the original constitutions of Numa, from this time forward there could be no mystery nor uncertainty what days were Fasti and what were not; i. e. were Nefasti. After this time then, but not before, a change in the character of particular days, especially of the latter description, for reasons of general utility and general convenience, by *public* authority as for a *public* purpose, would be a very possible contingency. Accordingly, it is another remarkable coincidence that the Lex Hortensia, the work of the Dictator Hortensius, to which Macrobius attributed the change some time or other made in the original character of the Nundinal day from Nefastus to Fastus, came within a very few years of this publication of the Fasti, and of the notification thus made to the community at large what days were always intended to be Fasti and what were not.

That part of the Fasti Consulares in which this dictatorship should have come is lost: but learned men date it with very great probability U. C. 468 Varr. 467 Cap. 465 Polyb. B. C. 286. Nor is any thing more known of the circumstances which led to it than what may be inferred from the

Epitome of Livy[d]: Plebs propter æs alienum post graves et longas seditiones ad ultimum secessit in Janiculum: unde a Q. Hortensio dictatore deducta est, isque in ipso magistratu decessit. And, that this was later than the consular year of M' Curius Dentatus, U. C. 464 Varr. B. C. 290, and his double triumph that year, and than the Census and Lustrum conditum B. C. 289 also, appears from the comparison of the Epitome with the Fasti Consulares. Some remarkable laws were passed on this occasion and under his auspices; one in particular, Ut quod plebs jussisset omnes Quirites teneret[e]. Another must have been that which Macrobius alluded to, from Granius Licinianus; To open the courts of law to the rustic tribes on the Nundinal days, by making the Nundinal days Fasti; implying that before they were Nefasti. And this change in the legal character of those days, if now made, came within 18 years only of the first publication of the Fasti.

The state of the case then, with regard to the character and estimation of the Nundinal day before and after the Lex Hortensia, respectively, appears to have been *this*; That the Nundinal day was always a *dies sollemnis*, i. e. of stated and regular occurrence; a *dies feriatus*, but *sine festo*; a *feria* attached to no particular month nor particular day of the month; yet understood to be sacred to Jupiter, and recognized in that capacity by a sacrifice to Jupiter upon it from the first; characters these which it never lost: That before the Lex Hortensia it was neither Fastus nor Comitialis, but Nefastus in the sense opposed to both; yet not because of any incompatibility of its proper character with a dies fastus or dies comitialis, but solely from motives of convenience; i. e. because it was not thought expedient that the end proposed by the Nundinal resort to the city, (*mercandi gratia*,

[d] Lib. xi.: Cf. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 17.

[e] Pliny, H. N. xvi. 15. 307: Q. Hortensius dictator quum plebs secessisset in Janiculum legem in Esculeto tulit, ut quod ea jussisset omnes Quirites teneret—A. Gell. xv. 27 from Lælius Felix: Ita ne leges quidem proprie sed plebiscita appellantur quæ tribunis plebis ferentibus accepta sunt. quibus rogationibus ante patricii non tenebantur, donec Q. Hortensius dictator eam legem tulit ut eo jure quod plebs statuisset omnes Quirites tenerentur. Cf. Festus, xiii. 308. 15. Optima lex: Sigonius, in anno. Livy, viii. 12, dates the passing of a similar law in the dictatorship of Q. Publilius Philo, U. C. 415 of Varro, B. C. 339.

vendendi et emendi caussa,) should be interfered with by any other business whatsoever: That by the time of the Dictator Hortensius it had been found to be desirable to give it the privileges of a legal or court day, of which the Rustic Tribes might be allowed to take advantage, as often as they were brought by it to the city, in order to transact their own business also of that kind upon it: That this privilege having been extended to it by the Lex Hortensia, and its character having been thereby changed from a Dies Nefastus to a Dies Fastus, (at first indeed in the limited sense of a court day, a day on which the courts were open, and suits at law might be carried on,) by degrees it began to be treated as a Dies Comitialis also, on which the Rustic Tribesmen might have the privilege of exercising their right of citizenship by voting, or taking their own part in any other description of public business: an enlargement of its use and application which could scarcely fail to be made by time itself, even if it was not conceded at once by the laws, on the supposition that the Dies Fasti of the calendar did originally include the Dies Comitiales also. For, on that principle, if a particular class of days became Fasti which were not so before, it would be understood that they had become Comitial also.

Such, in our opinion, is probably the true account of the change in the character of the Nundinal day, compared with what it was at first; That originally it was neither Fastus nor Comitialis, but Nefastus as opposed to both at once: That it was made Fastus by law, in the time of the Dictator Hortensius; but not expressly, or in so many words, Comitialis also: That the date of this change was probably B. C. 286; That having begun to be considered and treated from this time forward as Fastus, it came by degrees to be considered and treated as Comitial also: so that by the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus there was no perceptible difference in that respect between the Nundinal day and any other day in the Calendar*.

* There is a passage indeed in A. Gellius, which at first sight seems to militate against our conclusion that the Nundinal day was not even Fastus much less Comitialis before the Lex Hortensia. It relates to the course prescribed by the xii Tables in the treatment of debtors by their creditors.

SECTION IV.—*On the inference deducible from the above premises concerning the probable incidence of a particular class of days in the Nundinal cycle.*

If the preceding account however is correct; it may reasonably suggest the following inference: viz. That on various

xx. 1: Parties, *confessi æris judicati*, were to be allowed a respite of 30 days, even after the debt had been legally proved and allowed of; before their creditors were to be permitted to attach their persons: if by any means in the course of this interval they could manage to pay the debt.

At the end of these 30 days, they might be arrested, and thrown into prison; and might be kept there for 60 days at the expence of their creditors: during which Tribus Nundinis continuis ad Prætorem in Comitium producebantur, quantæque pecuniæ judicati erant prædicabatur. tertiis autem Nundinis capite pœnas dabant, aut trans Tiberim peregre venum ibant.

This seems to imply at first sight that the Prætor was sitting on each of these days in the Comitium *judicially*; and therefore that these Nundinal days were Fasti. A little consideration however will satisfy us that no such inference is authorized by the above account. It begins with representing these debtors as persons Confessi æris and judicati; That is, judicial proceedings, strictly so called, in their case were over: the debt had been legally proved and allowed of, and the debtors had already been given up, as persons *addicti*, to the power of their creditors. They were not therefore to be brought before the Prætor on any of these Nundinal days, in order to *prove* the debt, or to obtain sentence against the debtors; but in order to *attest* it, and to satisfy the Prætor, by the actual production of the persons of the debtors before him, that they were the same against whom he had given sentence already. That such persons were to be produced, even on the Nundinal day, in the *comitium* might be in order to ensure the greatest degree of publicity in every step of a proceeding which so closely concerned the liberty or the property of any Roman citizen. The Nundinæ might be held in the comitium, particularly on a day which was not comitial; but the Prætor did not ordinarily sit in the comitium in the administration of justice: and he could not have been sitting there at all on a day when any comitial business was going forward.

The words of the Tables, with regard to the last stage in these proceedings, as quoted by A. Gellius, were

Tertiis . Nundinis . Partis . Secanto
Si . Plus . Minusve . Secuerint . Se . Fraude . Esto.

From which he draws the inference that the Roman Law once authorized the creditor in an extreme case to cut the person of his debtor in pieces: and it must be admitted that he was not singular among his countrymen in this opinion. But the truth is, in the technical language of the Roman

peculiar occasions, in Roman history, before and after the passing of the Lex Hortensia, and especially before it, if there was any room for discretion in fixing upon the day, the Nundinal Incidence on such occasions would be purposely avoided. For example, in the days selected for the celebration of Triumphs, for the dedication of Ædes Sacræ, for the inauguration of new orders of Magistrates, for the first celebration of particular feasts and observances, regard would very probably be paid to the Nundinal Incidence; and care would be taken that none of these things, if possible, should be done on a Nundinal day.

On this principle no Dies Triumphi Acti would be Nundinal; nor any day of the Dedication of a Temple; or of the first performance of any solemn act of religion: nor any on which Magistrates entered upon office for the first time; or on which a stated festival of any kind was first celebrated: because in all such cases as these there would be room for choice in the first instance at least, if not ever after. The times fixed upon for such purposes in the first instance were determinable at will; and therefore, if there was any particular reason why they should fall clear of the Nundinal Incidence, they might be so fixed as to do so. We say in the *first* instance; because in some of these cases, such as the

law, *in partes secare* meant just the same thing as our idiomatic phrase of *selling a man up*. Cf. Festus, xvii. 493. 20 Sectio; 491. 1 Sectores. The Roman law at first gave the creditor power over the effects of the debtor, and even over his liberty; but not over his life: and even this power over the person and the liberty of the debtor was taken away from the creditor, U. C. 428 B. C. 326, as Livy relates, viii. 28. 23. From that time the law was That the debtor's effects not his person were to be answerable for his debts; Pecuniæ creditæ *bona* creditoris non corpus obnoxium esset.

The last act then in these proceedings, authorized by the xii Tables, was *this*, That, if the debtor had any effects, they should be sold by auction, to pay the debt; if he had nothing, he might be sold himself. That property not persons was the supposed subject of this section appears from the qualification subjoined: Si plus minusve secuerint sine fraude esto. Of a literal section or cutting in pieces such a qualification must have been absurd; but not of a metaphorical one, or of a sale by auction. The produce of a sale is necessarily uncertain. It might be more than the debt; or it might be less. In either case, it was to be without prejudice to the creditor whether he had sold more of the property of the debtor than he had a right to sell, or whether he had sold less.

Ingresses of Magistrates, and the performance of stated solemnities, after the first of the kind there would no longer be any room for discretion. The first case of this kind would give the law to every other of the same kind after it. But in fixing the circumstances of the first, it is clear, there would always be a liberty of choice, within certain limits at least; so far as to allow the Nundinal day to be avoided, if there was any reason why it should be, derived from its own character, and from the ends and purposes for which it was reserved.

We propose therefore to conclude our review of the argument of the truth of our Roman calendar from the particular testimony of the Nundinal cycle incorporated with it perpetually, by considering some cases in point under each of these general heads; both before and after the date of the Lex Hortensia: which we shall assume to have been U. C. 468 of Varro B. C. 286. And as the dates of Triumphi acti are the most numerous, and supply the greatest variety of examples such as we require for our purpose, we shall begin with them.

SECTION V.—*Application of the inference to recorded dates of* Triumphi acti.

If the Fasti Triumphales had come down to posterity in their original state; we should have possessed a complete list of Triumphi acti from U. C. 1 to U. C. 767, A. D. 14, at least; which would not have amounted to much less than 320. For Orosius tells us that was the number of Triumphs on record in the Fasti, or registered in the annals of the city, from the first, which was celebrated by Romulus, to that which was celebrated by Vespasian and Titus in conjunction after the capture of Jerusalem, U. C. 824 A. D. 71: Vespasianus et Titus imperatores magnificum agentes de Judæis triumphum urbem ingressi sunt. pulchrum et ignotum antea cunctis mortalibus inter *trecentos viginti* triumphos, qui a conditione urbis usque in id tempus acti erant, hoc spectaculum fuit; patrem et filium uno triumphali curru vectos gloriosissimam ab his qui patrem et filium offenderant victoriam reportasse[f].

[f] vii. 9. Cf. Josephus, De Bello, vii. v. 3—6. The number contained in the Fasti Triumphales of Piranesi, from the first celebrated by Romulus,

Of this number the Samnite war alone, (which broke out U. C. 412 Varr. B. C. 342 and lasted 50 years[g],) supplied 24[h]; and the military successes under Augustus upwards of 30[i]. In the Fragments of the Fasti all which can still be made out, with or without dates, amount to 185. Of these 65, dated from the first later than the expulsion of the kings, are prior to the Lex Hortensia; the rest are subsequent to it.

For the dates of such as still have the days entire as well as the years we must be content to trust to the Fasti implicitly; though, if we consider the length of time to which some of them go back, and the many accidents which must have endangered the continued preservation of such memorials as these either in public or in private, it may well be questioned whether they can be safely trusted throughout. Our object however is simply to shew that, taken as they stand in the Fasti themselves, in a great majority of instances, especially before the passing of the Lex Hortensia, they fall clear of the Nundinal day; yet often on the day *before* or on the day *after* it: an effect which cannot be resolvable in every instance into chance; and if it was the result of contrivance is a strong confirmation of the Nundinal cycle of the calendar. And even where the case is otherwise, as it sometimes is, it would not be difficult to shew that there is reason to suspect the accuracy of the record which makes the date of the Triumph fall on the Nundinal day.

Two of these extant dates come within the period of the Monarchy; and they are both attributed to Servius Tullius, De Etruscis: each of them too dated soon after the beginning of his reign. Yet there is reason to believe, as we hope to shew hereafter, that this war with the Etrurians really came in the latter half of his reign. We shall therefore leave these triumphs of the Monarchy entirely out of the question; and shall confine ourselves to those of the Republic. For the entries of these in the Fasti, the authority which we shall follow is Piranesi, of the date of 1761; and we shall copy every thing exactly from his edition of the

De rege Acrone, to the Triumph of Tiberius, De Pannoniis, U. C. 765, is 303.

[g] Livy, vii. 29. x. 31. Eutropius, ii. 4. 5: Orosius, iii. 22: cf. cap. 8. Also Appian, viii. 58.

[h] Florus, i. 16. §. 8.

[i] Suetonius, Augustus, xxxviii. 1.

Fasti Triumphales, except the order or arrangement of the terms of each: in which we consider ourselves at liberty to make any change which may be most convenient for shewing the date of the triumph, and the year to which it belongs. The Roman characters in these entries will indicate what letters are entire in each, and the Italic characters those which have been supplied. We shall assume too that every consular year in these Fasti is referred to the date of the Palilia, April 20 Roman; even when the actual ingress was the Ides of December, the Ides of March, the Kalends of January, or any other day: and proofs of the truth of this assumption, we trust, will be produced hereafter. There are dates of Triumphi acti too, which are not in these Fasti at present; and yet are recoverable from other sources. These also we shall insert in their proper order of time, distinguishing them by an asterisk.

Dates of Triumphi acti in terms of the Roman Calendar, from the Fasti Triumphales and from other sources, from U. C. 244 Cap. B. C. 509 *to* U. C. 792 Cap. A. D. 40.

i. P. Valer*ius* . *Poplicola.* Cos
De . *Vejentibus* . *Tarquiniensibusque*[k]

Ann. ccxliv. Kal. Mart. B. C. 509–508 *.

Cycle ix. 14. 377. Kal. Jan. Feb. 19 B. C. 507. Nund. Char. 7.

* Kalendæ Martiæ March 20.

Nundinal Martii 2.

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ii. i P. Postumius. . *Tubert*us . Cos. ii
Ovans † . *Primus* . *De* . *Sabinei*s

* The first consular year in the Fasti Triumphales is one year too high; as also in the Fasti Varroniani. Its true date in the Capitoline æra was U. C. 245 B. C. 508. The date of this triumph on the Kal. Mart. in the first consular year was consequently by the rule of these Fasti U. C. 245, *exeunte*, but B. C. 507. We premise this explanation in this first instance, to save us the trouble of making it over again in other cases of the same kind, down to a certain point of time at least.

† Festus, xiii. 318. 18. Ovalis corona est myrtea, quam habebant qui ovantes introibant, cum bella non erant indicta, aut sine sanguine confecta.

[k] Dionysius, v. 17. (cf. 48). Livy, ii. 7. Plutarch, Poplicola, ix. Cf. Romulus, xvi. Zonaras, vii. 12. 335 B.

Ann. ccl. iii. Non. Apr. B. C. 503–502.

ii. Agrippa . *Menenius* . *Lana*tus . Cos
De . *Sabineis*

An. ccl. *Pridie.* Non. Apr[1]. B. C. 503—502.

Cycle ix. 19. 355. Kal. Jan. March 7 B. C. 502. Nund. Char. 5.

iii Nonas Apriles May 8.
Pridie Nonas Apriles May 9.

Nundinal Aprilis 1.

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iii. *P. Valerius* . *Poplicola* . *Cos*
De . *Vejentibus* . *Sabi*neisque[m]

An. cclxxiix. K. Mai. B. C. 475–474.

Cycle x. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 16 B. C. 474. Nund. Char. 5.

Kalendæ Maiæ May 16.

Nundinal Maii 4.

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iv. *A. Manlius* . *Vulso* . *Cincinnatus* . *Cos*
Ovans. De . *Vejentibus*[n]

Ann. cclxxix. *Id*ibus. Mart. B. C. 474–473.

Cycle x. 24. 377. Kal. Jan. Feb. 6 B. C. 473. Nund. Char. 2.

Idus Martiæ March 20.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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v. ii. *L. Cornel*ius . *Maluginensis* . *Cossus*. Cos
De . Volsceis . *An*tiatibus[o]

An. ccxciv. iv. Id. Mai. B. C. 459–458.

Cycle xi. 15. 355. Kal. Jan. March 3 B. C. 458. Nund. Char. 2.

iv Idus Maiæ June 11.

Nundinal Maii 1.

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vi. *L. Quinc*tius. Cincin*n*atus. *Dict*
De . AEqueis[p]

An. ccxcv. *Id*ibus. Septembr. B. C. 458–457.

Cycle xi. 16. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 21 B. C. 457. Nund. Char. 7.

* Idus Septembres Sept. 29.

Nundinal Septembris 6.

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[1] Cf. Dionysius, v. 47. 44. Livy, ii. 16. Pliny, H. N. xv. 38. 257. Auctor De Viris, Menenius Agrippa Lanatus.

[m] Cf. Dionysius, ix. 35.
[n] Ibid. 36.
[o] Ibid. x. 21. Livy, iii. 24.
[p] Ibid. 25. Livy, iii. 29.

vii. i. *L. Valer*ius . Popl*i*cola . Potit . *Cos*
De . AEqueis [q]

An. ccciv. Idibus , Sextil. B. C. 449–448.

ii. *M. Hora*tius . Barbatus . *Cos*
De . Sabin*eis* [q]

Ann. ccciv. vii. K. Septembr. B. C. 449–448.

Cycle i. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 449. Nund. Char. 5.

Idus Sextiles August 28 B. C. 448.

* vii Kalendas Septembres September 8.

Nundinal Sextil*is* 7.

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viii. *M. Gega*nius . *Mace*rinus . *Cos. ii*
De . V*olsceis* [r]

Ann. cccx. Nonis . Sep. B. C. 443–442.

Cycle i. 7. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 4 B. C. 442. Nund. Char. 8.

* Nonæ Septembres September 25.

Nundinal Septembris 4.

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ix. *Mam . Aimilius . Mamerc*inus . *Dict*
*De . Vejent . Falisceis , et . Fidenatib*us [s]

An. cccxvi. Idib. Sep. B. C. 437—436.

Cycle i. 13. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 436. Nund. Char. 2.

Idus Septembres October 8.

Nundinal Septembris 7.

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x. * A. Postumius . Tubertus . Dict
De . AEqueis . et . Volsceis [t]

Ann. cccxxii. xv. Kal. Jul. B. C. 431—430.

Cycle i. 19. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 16 B. C. 430. Nund. Char. 5.

xv Kalendas Julias July 20.

Nundinal Junii 3.

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xi. * *M. Furius . Camillus . Dict. ii*
ii . De . Galleis . Senonibus [u]

*Ann. cccl*xiii. *Idib. Februar.* B. C. 390—389.

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[q] Cf. Dionysius, xi. 49, 50. Livy, iii. 63. Zonaras, vii. 19. 348 D.

[r] Livy, iv. 9. 10. (8).

[s] Ibid. iv. 20 (17).

[t] Livy, iv. 26. 29. Ovid, Fasti, vi. 720–723. Cf. 711–714: 715, 716: 717–721: 650, 651: 691.

[u] Cf. Plutarch, Camillus xix. xxx. i: vii: xxxvi: xli. Livy, v. 49: Eutropius, i. 19: ii. 1. Zonaras, vii. 23. 358 A.

Cycle iii. 13. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 388. Nund. Char. 6.

Idus Februariæ Feb. 20.

Nundinal Februarii 1.

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xii. i. *T. Quinctius . Penn . Capitolinus . Crispin . Dict De . Galleis* [w]

Ann. cccxcii. *Quir*inalibus. B. C. 361—360.

Cycle iv. 17. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 360. Nund. Char. 7.

Quirinalia, (Merkedonii 16) March 22.

Nundinal Merkedonius 3.

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xiii. ii. M. Fabius . Ambustus . Cos
Oyans . De . Herniceis [x]

An. cccxciii. Nonis Sept B. C. 360—359.

Cycle iv. 18. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 26 B. C. 359. Nund. Char. 6.

Nonæ Septembres Sept. 24.

Nundinal Septembris 1.

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xiv. i. C. Sulpicius . Peticus . Dict
ii. De . Galleis [y]

Ann. cccxcv. Nonis . Mai. B. C. 358—357.

ii. C. Plautius . Proculus . Cos
De . Herniceis [z]

Ann. cccxcv. Idibus. Mai. B. C. 358—357.

Cycle iv. 20 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 28. B. C. 357. Nund. Char. 2.

Nonæ Maiæ May 30.

Idus Maiæ June 7.

Nundinal Maii 5.

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xv. C. Marcius . Rutilus . Cos
De . Privernatibus [a]

Ann. cccxcvi. K. Jun. B. C. 357—356.

Cycle iv. 21. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 17 B. C. 356. Nund. Char. 7.

Kalendæ Juniæ June 14.

Nundinal Junii 3.

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[w] Cf. Livy, vii. 9. 10 (vi. 42). Florus, i. 13. 20. A. Gellius, ix. 13. Appian, Gallica, iv. 1. Orosius, iii. 6. Plutarch, Camillus, xli. Polyænus, viii. vii. Camillus, 2. Polybius, ii. 18, 6.

[x] Livy, vii. 11.

[y] Cf. Livy, vii. 12. 15. Eutropius, ii. 2. Orosius, iii. 6. Appian, Gallica, iv. 1. Auctor De Viris, T. Manlius Torquatus.

[z] Livy, vii. 12–15.

[a] Ibid. vii. 16. Cf. Dionysius, xiv. 23.

xvi. C. Marcius . Rutilus . Dict
De . Tusceis[b]

An. cccxcvii. Pridie. Non. Mai. B. C. 356—355.

Cycle iv. 22. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 7 B. C. 355. Nund. Char. 4.

Pridie Nonas Maii May 31.

Nundinal Maii 1.

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xvii. M. Fabius . Ambustus . *Cos. iii*
ii. De . Tiburtibus[c]

Ann. cccxcix. iii. Non. Jun. B. C. 354—353.

Cycle iv. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 9 B. C. 353. Nund. Char. 8.

* iii Nonas Junias June 7.

Nundinal Junii 4.

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xviii. *M. Popil*lius . Laenas . Cos. iii
De . Galleis[d]

An. cdiii. Quirinalibus. B. C. 350—349.

Cycle v. 5. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2 B. C. 348. Nund. Char. 4.

† Quirinalia (Merkedonius 16) March 10.

Nundinal Merkedonii 8.

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xix. *M. Vale*rius . Corvus . Cos. ii
De . *A*ntiatibus . Volsceis . Satricaneisq[e]

Ann. cdvii. K. Febr. B. C. 346—345.

Cycle v. 9. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 6 B. C. 344. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Februariæ* Feb. 4.

Nundinal Februarii 6.

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xx. i. *M. Vale*rius . Corvus . *Cos.* iii
ii. De . Samnitibus[f]

Ann. cdx. x. K. Oct. B. C. 343—342.

* As the date of this Triumph, the Kalendæ Februariæ U. C. 410 of Varro B. C. 344, would offend against the rule of the consular ingress at this time (the Ides of December), it is most probable its true date was the year before; U. C. 409 of Varro B. C. 345; yet not on the Kalends of February, which that year were Nundinal; but on the Kalends of some later month.

[b] Livy, vii. 17. Eutropius, ii. 2. [d] Livy, vii. 23—25. Appian, Gallica, iv. 2. [e] Livy, vii. 27. [f] Ib. 38 (28).
[c] Livy, vii. 19.

ii. *A. Cor*nelius . Cossus . Arvina. Cos
De . Samnitibus[f]

An. CDX. viiij. K. Oct. B. C. 343—342.

Cycle v. 11. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 8 B. C. 342. Nund. Char. 7.

x Kalendas Octobres October 15.

viiii Kalendas Octobres October 16.

Nundinal Septembris 3.

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xxi. *T. M*anlius . Imperiossus. Torquat . Cos. iii
De . Latineis . Campaneis . Sidicineis . Aurunceis[g]

An. CDXiii. xv. K. Junias. B. C. 340—339.

Cycle v. 14. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 22 B. C. 339. Nund. Char. 1.

xv Kalendas Junias June 5.

Nundinal Maii 4.

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xxii. *Q. P*ublilius . Philo . Cos
De . Latineis[h]

Anno. CDXiv. Idibus. Januar. B. C. 339—338.

Cycle v. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 337. Nund. Char. 4.

Idus Januariæ * Feb. 6.

Nundinal Januarii 4.

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xxiii. i. L. Furius . Camillus . Cos
De . Pedaneis . et . Tiburtibus[i]

Ann. CDXV. iiii. K. Oct. B. C. 338—337.

ii. C. Maenius. Cos
De . Antiatibus . De . Lavinieis . Veliterneis[i]

An. CDXV. Pridie K. Oct. B. C. 338—337.

Cycle v. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 337. Nund. Char. 4.

iv Kalendas Octobres October 14.

Pridie Kalendas Octobres October 16.

Nundinal Septembris 7.

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* There is reason to conclude from the contemporary accounts that if the day of this Triumph is correct the year was U. C. 416 of Varro B. C. 338. The Ides of January that year were the day before the Nundinal day; January 6 Roman being Nundinal.

[f] Livy, vii. 38 (28). Appian, iii. Samnitica, i. 1.

[g] Ibid. viii. 12. Diodor. Sic. xvi. 90. 89. Eutropius, ii. 3. Orosius, iii. 9. Zonaras, vii. 26. 363. C.

[h] Livy, viii. 12.

[i] Ibid. viii. 13. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 11. 211. Florus, i. 11. § 10.

xxiv. M. Valerius . Corvus . Cos. iv
iii. De . Caleneis[k]
An. CDXIIX. Idibus. Mart. B. C. 335—334.
Cycle v. 19. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 16 B. C. 334. Nund. Char. 5.
* Idus Martiæ April 19.
Nundinal Martii 6.

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xxv. i. *L.* Aimilius . Mamercin . *P*rivernas . Cos. ii
De . Privernatib[l]
Ann. CDXXIV. K. Mart. B. C. 329—328.
ii. C. Plautius . Decianus . Cos
De . Privernatibus
An. CDXXIV. K. Mart. B. C. 329—328.
Cycle v. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 9 B. C. 329. Nund. Char. 2.
† Kalendæ Martiæ March 6.
Nundinal Martii 1.

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xxvi. Q. Publilius . Philo . Primus . Pro . Cos
ii. De . Samnitibus . Palaeopolitaneis[m]
Ann. CDXXVII. K. Mai. B. C. 327—326.
Cycle vi. 3. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 327. Nund. Char. 3.
Kalendæ Maiæ May 20 B. C. 326.
Nundinal Maii 7.

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xxvii. L. Papirius . Cursor . Dict
De . Samnitibus[n]
Ann. CDXXIX. iii. Non. Mart. B. C. 324—323.
Cycle vi. 6. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 323. Nund. Char. 5.
* iii Nonas Martias * March 16.
Nundinal Martii 4.

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xxviii. i. L . Fulvius . Curvus . Cos
De . Samnitibus

* There is reason to conclude that, if the day of this triumph and the month are rightly assigned, the year was U. C. 428 Cap. 429 of Varro, B. C. 324. In that year the iii Non. Mart. fell on March 26; and March 7 Roman was Nundinal.

[k] Livy, viii. 16. [l] Ibid. 19. 20. [m] Ibid. 22. 26. [n] Ibid. 29. 37.

Ann. CDXXXI. Quirinalibus. B. C. 322—321.

ii. Q . Fabius . Maximus . Rullian . Cos
De . . Samnitibus . et . Apuleis [o]

An. CDXXXI. xii. K. Mart. B. C. 322—321

Cycle vi. 8. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 17 B. C. 321. Nund. Char. 8.

Quirinalia (Februarii 17) March 2.

* xii Kalendas Martias † March 3.

Nundinal Februarii 3.

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xxix. L . Papirius . Cursor . Cos. iii
ii. De Samnitibus [p]

An. CDXXXIV. x. K. Septembr. B. C. 319—318.

Cycle vi. 10. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 18 B. C. 319. Nund. Char. 4.

* x Kalendas Septembres September 3.

Nundinal Sextilis 4.

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xxx. C . Sulpicius . Longus . Cos. iii
De . Samnitibus

Anno. CDXXXIX. K. Quint. B. C. 314—313.

Cycle vi. 15. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 12 B. C. 314. Nund. Char. 8.

* Kalendæ Quinctiles, July 31.

Nundinal Quinctilis 8.

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xxxi. M. Valerius . Maximus . Cos
De . Samnitibus . Soraneisq. [q]

Ann. CDXXXXI. Idib. Sext. B. C. 312—311.

† There is reason here also to conclude that the year of these two triumphs was more probably U. C. 430 Cap. exeunte U. C. 432 of Varro, B. C. 322. See vol. i. 505. Also Diss. ix. ch. ii. sect. iv. infra. The Quirinalia that year answered to Merkedonius 17 March 13. (Nundinal Merkedonii 7) and the xii Kal. Mart. (Merk. 18) to March 14.

[o] Livy, viii. 38, 39: Auctor de Viris, Quinctus Fabius Rullianus.

[p] Livy, ix. 16. Eutropius, ii. 4. Auctor de Viris, L. Papirius Cursor.

[q] The Auctor de Viris Ill. P. Decius Fil. (consul this year, U. C. 442 of Varro, B. C. 312.): Primo consul De Samnitibus triumphans spolia ex his Cereri consecravit. By the old Attic calendar, Period ii. Cycle xvi. 1. Boëdromion 1 fell Sept. 12; and that might be the date of this Triumph, and of this consecration: the day before a Nundinal day.

Cycle vi. 17. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 312. Nund. Char. 3.

† Idus Sextiles September 13.

Nundinal Septembris 5.

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xxxii. i. C. Junius . Bubulcus . Brutus . Cos . iii
De . Samnitibus

An. CDXLii. Nonis. Sext. B. C. 311—310.

ii. Q. Aimilius . Barbula . Cos. ii
De . Etrusceis

Ann. CDxlii. Idibus. Sext. B. C. 311—310.

Cycle vi. 18. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 26 B. C. 311. Nund. Char. 2.

Nonæ Sextiles August 26.

Idus Sextiles September 3.

Nundinal Sextilis 2.

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xxxiii. i. L. Papirius . Cursor . Dict. ii
iii. De . Samnitibus[r]

Ann. CDxliv. Idibus. Oct. B. C. 309—308.

ii. Q. Fabius . Maximus . Rullian . Pro. Cos
ii. De . Etrusceis[r]

An. CDxliv. Idibus. Nov. B. C. 309—308.

Cycle vi. 20. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 28 B. C. 309. Nund. Char. 6.

Idus Octobres Nov. 3.

† Idus Novembres Dec. 2.

Nundinal Octobris 4: November 5.

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xxxiv. Q. Marcius . Tremulus . Cos
De . Anagnineis . Herniceisq[s]

An. CDxlvii. Prid. K. Quint. B. C. 306—305.

Cycle vi. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19 B. C. 306. Nund. Char. 7.

Pridie Kalendas Quinctiles July 14.

Nundinal Junii 3.

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xxxv. M. Fulvius . Curvus . Paetin . Cos
De . Samnitibus[t]

Ann. CDxliix. iii. Non. Oct. B. C. 305—304.

r Livy, ix. 39. (38.) 40. s Ibid. 43. t Ibid. 44.

Cycle vi. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 9 B. C. 305. Nund. Char. 4.
iii Nonas Octobres October 5.
Nundinal Octobris 2.

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xxxvi. i. P. Sempronius. Sophus. Cos
De . Aequeis[u]
Ann. CDxlix. vii. K. Oct. B C. 304–303.
ii. P. Sulpicius . Saverrio. Cos
De . Samnitibus[u]
An. CDxlix. iiii. K. Nov. B C. 304–303
Cycle vii. i. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 305. Nund. Char. 1.
vii Kalendas Octobres October 7 B. C. 304.
iv Kalendas Novembres November 10.
Nundinal Septembris 6 : Octobris 1.

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xxxvii. C. Junius . Bubulcus . Brutus. Dict
ii. De . Aequeis[w]
An. CDli. iii. K. Sext. B. C. 302–301.
Cycle vii. 3. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 303. Nund. Char. 5.
* iii Kalendas Sextiles August 17.
Nundinal Quinctilis 5.

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xxxviii M. Valer*ius* . *Corvus* . Dict. ii
iv. *De . Marseis . et . Etrusceis*[x]
Ann. CDLII. x. K. Dec. B. C. 301–300.
Cycle vii. 4. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 13 B. C. 301. Nund. Char. 3.
x Kalendas Decembres November 25.
Nundinal Novembris 2.

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xxxix. M . Fulvius . Paetinus. Cos
De . Samnitibus. Nequinatibusque
Ann. CD*liv.* vii. K. Oct. B. C. 299–298.
Cycle vii. 6. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 299. Nund. Char. 7.
vii Kalendas Octobres October 1.
Nundinal Septembris 2.

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[u] Livy, ix. 45. Diodor. Sic. xx. 101. 40 cities previously reduced in 50 days. Livy says 41. [w] Livy, x. 1. [x] Ibid. 3–5.

xl. Cn. Fulvius. Maxim. Centumalus. Cos
De . Samnitibus. Etrusceisque[y]

An. CDlv. Idibus. Nov. B. C. 298-297.

Cycle vii. 7. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 4 B. C. 298. Nund. Char. 4.

* Idus Novembres December 2.

Nundinal Novembris 4.

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xli. Q. Fabius. Maximus. Rullianus. Cos. v
iii. De . Samnitibus . et . Etrusceis. Galleis[z]

An. CDliix. Prid. Non. Sept. B. C. 295–294.

Cycle vii. 10. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 18. B. C. 295. Nund. Char. 6.

Pridie Nonas Septembres September 15.

Nundinal Septembris 1.

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xlii. i. L. Postumius. Megell. Cos. ii
De. Samnitib. et. Etruscis[a]

An. CDlix. vi. K. Apr. B. C. 294–293.

ii. M. Atilius. Regulus. Cos
De . Volsonibus . et . Samnitib

A. CDlix. v. K. Apr. B. C 294–293.

Cycle vii. 12. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 21 B. C. 293. Nund. Char. 1.

vi Kalendas Apriles April 13.
v Kalendas Apriles April 14.

Nundinal Martii 8.

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xliii. i. Sp. Carvilius . Maximus. Cos
De . Samnitibus[b]

A. CDlx. Idibus. Jan. B. C. 293–292.

ii. *L. Papirius* . Cursor. *Cos*
*De . Sam*nitibus[b]

An. CDlx. Idibus. Febr. B. C. 293–292.

Cycle vii. 13. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 292. Nund. Char. 6.

* Idus Januarii January 22.
Idus Februarii February 20.

Nundinal Januarii 6 : Februarii 1.

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[y] Livy, x. 11–13.

[z] Ibid. x. 30. Cf. Diodorus, Fragm. xxi. Orosius, iii. 21. Auctor De Viris, Q. Fabius Rullianus.

[a] Livy, x. 36, 37. (32.) Cf. Zonaras, viii. 1. 366, 367.

[b] Livy, x. 46. (37, 38.) Cf. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 18. 236. Livy, x. 38. Festus, xiv. 344. 18 Picta.

xliv. Q . . *Fabius* . *Max*imus . *Gurges* . *Pro. Cos*
De . *Samnitibus*[c]

An. CDLXIII. K. Sext. B. C. 290–289.

Cycle vii. 15. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 12 B. C. 290. Nund. Char. 2.

Kalendæ Sextiles August 31.

Nundinal Sextilis 3.

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xlv. *C. Fabricius* . *Luscinus. Cos*
De . *Etrusceis* . *Gall*eisque[d]

Ann. CDLXXI. iii. Nonas. Mart. B C. 282–281.

Cycle vii. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 9 B. B. 281. Nund. Char. 6.

† iii Nonas Martias March 10.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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xlvi. *Q. Marc*ius . Philippus. *Cos*
De . Etrusceis

An. CDLXXII. K. April. B. C. 281–280.

Cycle viii. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 281. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Apriles April 18.

Nundinal Aprilis 5.

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xlvii. *L. Aim*ilius . Barbula . Pro. Cos
De . Tarentineis . Samnitibus. et . Sallentineis

An. CDLXXIII. vi. Idus. Quint. B.C. 280–279.

Cycle viii. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 281. Nund. Char. 3.

vi Idus Quinctiles July 25.

Nundinal Quinctilis 4.

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xlviii. *Ti. Coru*ncanius. Cos
De . *V*ulsinie*n*sibus . et . Vulcientib

An. CDLXXIII. K. Febr. B. C. 280—279.

Cycle viii. 2. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 279. Nund. Char. 2.

Kalendæ Februariæ February 8.

Nundinal Februarii 5.

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[c] Cf. Livy, Epitome xi. Dionysius, xvi. 18. 16. Orosius, iii. 22. Valerius Max. v. vii. 1 De Patrum amore in liberos. Suidas, Φάβιος Μάξιμος.

[d] Dionysius, xviii. 17. 5.

xlix. C. Fabricius. Luscinus. Cos. ii
ii. De . Lucaneis. Bruttieis. Tarentin. Samnitibus[e]

An. CDlxxv. Idibus. Decembr. B. C. 278–277.

Cycle viii. 3. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 279. Nund. Char. 7.

Idus Decembres December 27 B. C. 278.

Nundinal Decembris 2.

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l. C. Junius . Brutus . Bubulc. Cos. ii
De . Lucaneis . et . Bruttieis

An. CDlxxvi. Non. Jan. B. C. 277–276.

Cycle viii. 5. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2 B. C. 276. Nund. Char. 2.

Nonæ Januarii January 6.

Nundinal Januarii 2.

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li. Q. Fabius . Maximus . Gurges. Cos. ii
ii. De . Samnitibus . Lucaneis . Bruttieis

An. CDlxxvii. Quirinalib. B. C. 276–275.

Cycle viii. 6. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14. B. C. 275. Nund. Char. 1.

Quirinalia (Februarii 17) February 28.

Nundinal Februarii 4.

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lii. ii *L. Cornelius* . Lentul. *Candinus*. Cos
De . Samnitibus . et . *Lucaneis*[f]

An. CDlxxiix. K. Mart. B. C. 275–274

Cycle viii. 7. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 4 B. C. 274. Nund. Char. 6.

Kalendæ Martiæ March 25.

Nundinal Martii 6.

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liii. *C. Claudius* . Canina. *Cos. ii*
De Lucaneis . Samnitibus . *Bruttieisque*

An. CDxxc. Quirinalibus. B. C. 273–272.

Cycle viii. 9. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 6 B. C. 272. Nund. Char. 1.

Quirinalia (Merkedonii 16) March 14.

Nundinal Merkedonii 5.

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liv. ii. L. Julius . Libo. Cos
De . Sallentinis[g]

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[e] Eutropius, ii. 8. Cf. Valerius Max. i. viii. 6. De Miraculis.

[f] Eutropius, ii. 8. De Manio Curio (Lentuli collega), In Consulatu triumphavit.

[g] Eutropius, ii. 9: Florus, i. 20. Cicero, De Tribus, ii. 20, 65.

Anno. CDXXCVI. viii. K. Febr. B. C. 267–266.

Cycle viii. 15. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 12 B. C. 266. Nund. Char. 4.

viii Kalendas Februarias February 3.

Nundinal Jauuarii 4.

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lv. i. D. Junius . Pera . Cos
De . Sassinatibus

An. CDXXCVII. v. K. Octobr. B. C. 266–265.

ii. N. Fabius . Pictor. Cos.
De . Sassinatibus

An. CDXXCVII. iii. Non. Oct. B. C. 266–265.

iii. N. Fabius . Pictor . Cos
ii. De . Sallentineis. Messapieisque

An. CDXXCVII. K. Febr. B. C. 266–265.

iv. D. Junius. . Pera . Cos
ii. De . Sallentineis . Messapieisque

An. CDXXCVII. Non. Febr. B. C. 266–265.

Cycle viii. 15. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 12 B. C. 266. Nund. Char. 4.

v Kalendas Octobres October 24.
iii Nonas Octobres November 1.

Nundinal Septembris 8 : Octobris 3.

Cycle viii. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 265. Nund. Char. 2.

Kalendæ Februariæ February 23.
†Nonæ Februariæ February 27.

Nundinal Januarii 2 : Februarii 5.

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lvi. M. Fulvius . Flaccus . Cos
De . Vulsiniensibus[h]

An. CDXXCIX. K. Nov. B. C. 264–263.

Cycle viii. 17. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 264. Nund. Char. 7

* Kalendæ Novembres November 29.

Nundinal Novembris 8.

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[h] Cf. Eutropius, ii. 10, who seems to date the triumph of the other consul, Appius Claudius, De Afris et rege Siciliæ Hierone, this year; which the Fasti have the next year. Cf. also Festus, xiv. 344. 18 Picta.

lvii. M'. Valerius . Maxim . Messalla . Cos
De . Poeneis . et . Rege . Siculor . Hierone[i]

An. CDXC. xvi. K. April. B. C. 263—262.

Cycle viii. 19. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 16 B. C. 262. Nund. Char. 3.

xvi. Kalendas Apriles April 21.

Nundinal Martii 4.

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lviii. C. Duilius . Cos
Primus . Navalem . de . Sicul . et . Classe . Poenica . egit[k]

An. CDXCIII. K. Intercalar. B. C. 260—259.

Cycle viii. 22. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 7 B. C. 259. Nundin. Char. 4.

* Kalendæ Interkalares Feb. 28.

Nundinal Merkedonii 8.

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lviii. *bis* L. Cornelius . Scipio . Cos
De . Poenis . et . Sardin . Corsica[l]

An. CDXCIV. v. Id. Mart. B. C. 259—258.

Cycle viii. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19. B. C. 258. Nund. Char. 3.

* v Idus Martias March 27.

Nundinal Martii 2.

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lix. C. Aquillius . Florus . Pro . Cos
De . Poeneis.

An. CDXCV. iiii. Non. Oct. B. C. 258—257.

Cycle viii. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19 B. C. 258. Nund. Char. 3.

iv Nonas Octobres October 15.

Nundinal Octobris 1.

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lx. C. Sulpicius . Paterculus . Cos
De . Poeneis . et . Sardeis

An. CDXCV. iii. *Non. Oct.* B. C. 258—257.

Cycle viii. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19 B. C. 258. Nund. Char. 3.

iii Nonas Octobres October 16.

Nundinal Octobris 1.

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[i] Cf. Eutropius, ii. 10: Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 7. 400, 401.

[k] Livy, Epitome, xvii. Cicero, De Senectute, 13, 44. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 11. 212. Valerius Max. iii. vi. 4. De Illustribus, &c. Tac. Ann. ii. 49. Livius, Ruperti, iv. 779. Inscriptio Columnæ Rostratæ. Florus, ii. 2. 7–10. Servius, ad Georg. iii. 29. Orosius, iv. 7. Auctor de Viris, C. Duilius. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi. 3. 75. Gruter, cccciv. 1.

[l] Eutropius. ii. 20. Livy. Epitome, xvii.

lxi. A . Atilius . Calatinus . Pr
Ex . Sicilia . De . Poeneis [m]

An. CDXCVI. xiiii. K. Feb. B. C. 257—256.

Cycle ix. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 257. Nund. Char. 5.

xiv Kalendas Februarias January 14.

Nundinal Januarii 5.

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lxii. Ser . Fulvius . Paetinus . Nobilior . Pro . Cos
De . Cossurensibus . et . Poeneis . Navalem . egit

A. CDXCVIIII. xiii. K. Febr. B. C. 254—253.

Cycle ix. 4. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 13 B. C. 253. Nund. Char. 7.

xiii Kalendas Februarias January 30.

Nundinal Januarii 7.

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lxiii. M . Aimilius . Paullus . Pro . Cos
De . Cossurensibus . et . Poeneis . Navalem . egit

An. CDXCIX. xii. K. Febr. B. C. 254—253.

Cycle ix. 4. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 13 B. C. 253. Nund. Char. 7.

xii Kalendas Februarias January 31.

Nundinal Januarii 7.

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lxiv. Cn . Cornelius . Scipio . Asina . Pro . Cos
De . Poeneis

An. D. X. K. April. B. C. 253—252.

Cycle ix. 5. 377. Kal. Jan. January 2 B. C. 252. Nund. Char. 4.

x Kalendas Apriles April 13.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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lxv. C . Sempronius . Blaesus . Cos
De . Poeneis

An. D. K. April. B. C. 253—252.

Cycle ix. 5. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2 B. C. 252. Nund. Char. 4.

Kalendæ Apriles April 22.

Nundinal Aprilis 6.

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lxvi. C . Aurelius . Cotta . Cos
De . Poeneis . et . Siculeis

An. DI. Idibus. April. B. C. 252–251.

[m] Auctor De Viris, A. Atilius Calatinus.

Cycle ix. 6. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 251. Nund. Char. 3.

Idus Apriles April 24.

Nundinal Aprilis 3.

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lxvii. L . Caecilius . Metellus . Pro . Cos
De . Poeneis[n]

An. DIII. vii. Idus. Septemb. B. C. 250—249.

Cycle ix. 7. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 4 B. C. 250. Nund. Char. 8.

vii Idus Septembres September 27.

Nundinal Septembris 4.

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lxviii. *C* . Lutatius . Catulus . Pro . Cos
De . Poeneis . Ex . Sicilia . Navale*m* . egit[o]

A. DXII. iiii. Nonas. Octobr. B. C. 241—240.

Cycle ix. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 241. Nund. Char. 4.

iv Nonas Octobres October 20.

Nundinal Octobris 2.

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lxix. Q . Valerius . Falto . Pro . Pr
Ex . Sicilia . Navalem . egit[o]

A. DXI*i*. Prid. Non. Oct. B. C. 241—240.

Cycle ix. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 241. Nund. Char. 4.

Pridie Nonas Octobres October 22.

Nundinal October 2.

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lxx. i. Q . Lutatius . Cerco . Cos.
De . Falisceis[p]

An. DXII. K. Mart. B. C. 241—240.

ii. A . Manlius . Torquatus . Atticus . Cos . ii
De . Falisceis[p]

Ann. DXI*i*. iv. Non. Mar.† B. C. 241—240.

† Piranesi in this instance reads Mai. not Mar. But the true reading must have been Mar. It is placed out of doubt by the dates of the triumphs just before.

[n] Dionys. Hal. ii. 66. Livy, xix. Eutropius, ii. 13. Orosius, iv. 9. Pliny, H. N. vii. 45: viii. 6: xviii. 4. p. 20. Cf. Polybius, i. 40, 41. Florus, ii. 2. § 27, 28. Frontinus, ii. v. 4. Seneca, i. 521. De Brevitate Vitæ, xiv. 2.

[o] Valerius Max. ii. viii. 2. De Jure triumphandi. Cf. Livy, xxiii. 13. Eutropius, ii. 16. Orosius, iv. 11.

[p] Cf. Livy, xix.: Eutropius, ii. 28. Valerius Max. vi. v. 1. De Justitia.

Cycle ix. 17. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 240. Nund. Char. 1.

* Kalendæ Martiæ April 3.
iv Nonas Martias April 6.

Nundinal Martii 2.

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lxxi. P . Cornelius . Lentulus . Candinus . Cos
De . Ligurib [q]

An. DXVII. Idib. Interc. B. C. 236—235.

Cycle ix. 22. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 7 B. C. 235. Nund. Char. 6.

Idus Interkalares March 12.

Nundinal Merkedonii 2.

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lxxii. T . Manlius . Torquatus . Cos.
De . Sardeis [r]

An. DXVIII. vi. Idus. Mart. B. C. 235—234.

Cycle ix. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19 B. C. 234. Nund. Char. 5.

vi Idus Martias March 26.

Nundinal Martii 4.

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lxxiii. Sp . Carvilius . Maximus . Cos
De . Sardeis

Anno. DXIX. K. April. B. C. 234—233.

Cycle ix. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 9 B. C. 233. Nund. Char. 2.

* Kalendæ Apriles April 6.

Nundinal Aprilis 2.

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lxxiv. i. Q . Fabius . Maximus . Verrucossus . Cos
De . Liguribus [s]

Anno . DXX. K. Febr. B. C. 233—232.

ii. M' . Pomponius . Matho . Cos
De . Sardeis

Ann. DXX. Idibus. Mart. B. C. 233—232.

Cycle x. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 233. Nund. Char. 7.

* Kalendæ Februariæ January 27.
* Idus Martiæ: April 1.

Nundinal Februarii 2: Martii 8.

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[q] Eutropius, iii. 1. [r] Ibid. [s] Plutarch, Fabius Max. ii. Auctor De Viris, Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator.

lxxv. C . Papirius . Maso , Cos
De . Corseis . Primus , in . Monte . Albano [t]

Ann. DXXII. iii. Nonas. Mart. B. C. 231—230.

Cycle x. 3. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 231. Nund. Char. 3.

iii Nonas Martias March 25.

Nundinal Martii 3.

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lxxvi. Cn . Fulvius . Centumalus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Illurieis . Naval . egit [u]

A. DXXV. x. K. Quint. B. C. 228—227.

Cycle x. 5. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. B. C. 228. Nund. Char. 6

* x Kalendas Quinctiles July 11.

Nundinal Junii 4.

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lxxvii. L . Aimilius . Papus . Cos
De . Galleis [w]

An. DXXIIX. iii. Nonas. Mart. B. C. 225—224.

Cycle x. 9. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 6 B. C. 224. Nund. Char. 5.

* iii Nonas Martias March 30.

Nundinal Martii 6.

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lxxviii. i. C. Flaminius . Cos
De . Galleis [x]

Anno. DXXX. vi. Idus Mart. B. C. 223—222.

ii. P. Furius . Philus . Cos
De . Galleis . et . Liguribus [x]

Anno. DXXX. iiii. Idus. Mart. B. C. 223—222.

Cycle x. 11. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 8 B. C. 222. Nund. Char. 1.

* vi Idus Martias April 7.
iv Idus Martias April 9.

Nundinal Martii 1.

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[t] Val. Max. iii. vi. § 5. De Illustribus, &c. Pliny, H. N. xv. 38. 258.

[u] Eutropius, iii. 1.

[w] Eutropius iii. 2. Florus, ii. 4. § 3. Polybius, ii. 23. § 5, 6: 26. § 1: 27. § 1—31. § 8. Appian, iv. Gallica, 2. Cf. Diodorus Sic. Fragm. xxv. Zonaras, viii. 20. 403. C. D.

[x] Livy, xxi. 63. Florus, ii. 4. §. 4. Plutarch, Marcellus, iv. Polybius, ii. 32. § 1—33. § 9. Orosius, iv. 13. For these Triumphs in general, see Zonaras, viii. 20. 403 D—404 C.

lxxix. M. Claudius . Marcellus . Cos
De . Galleis . Insubribus . et . German . Isque . Spolia . Opi
ma . rettulit . Duce . hostium . Virdumaro . ad
Clastidium . interfecto [y]

An. DXXXI. K. Mart. B. C. 222—221.

Cycle x. 12. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 21 B. C. 221. Nund. Char. 7.

Kalendæ Martiæ March 18.

Nundinal Martii 6.

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lxxx. *M. Claudius* . Marcellus . *Cos*
De . Comensibus . et . Insubribus [z]
A. DLVII. iv. Non. *Mart.* B.C. 197—196.

Cycle i. 14. 355. Kal. Jan. Sept. 15 B.C. 196. Nund. Char. 6.

* iv Nonas Martias November 14.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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lxxxi. * i. *L. Aimilius . Regillus . Pro . Pr*
De . Rege . Syriae . Antiocho . Naval . egit [a]
Ann. DLXIV. K. Febr. B.C. 190—189

* ii. *L. Cornelius . Scipio . Asiatic . Pro . Cos*
De . Rege . Syriae . Antiocho . ex . Asia [b]

Ann. DLXIV. Prid. K. Mart. B.C. 190—189.

Cycle i. 21. 378. Kal. Jan. Aug. 18 B.C. 189. Nund. Char. 5.

* Kalendæ Februariæ September 16.
Pridie Kalendas Martias November 5.

Nundinal Februarii 8: Merkedonii 1

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lxxxii. * i. *M. Fulvius . Nobilior . Pro . Cos*
De . AEtoleis . et . Cephallenia [c]
Ann. DLXVI. x. K. Jan. B.C. 188—187.

[y] Livy, xx: (cf. xxvii. 25: xxix. 11.) Eutropius, iii. 2. Florus, ii. 4. § 5. Festus, xiii. 305. 19 Opima Spolia. Polybius, ii. 34. § 1–15. Plutarch, Romulus, xvi: Marcellus, viii. Propertius, iv. x. 39–46. Valerius Max. iii. ii. 5 De Fortitudine. Frontinus, iv. v. 4. Auctor, De Viris, M. Claudius Marcellus. Servius, ad Æneid. vi. 856–860.

[z] Livy, xxxiii. 37.

[a] Livy, xxxvii. 58: Polybius, xxii. 7. 16, 17.

[b] Livy, xxxvii. 59: Polybius, xxii. 7. 16, 17. Eutropius, iv. 2. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 53. 173: xxxv. 7. 40. Valerius Maximus, iv. i. § 8 De Animi Moderatione: v. iii. 2 De ingratitudine: viii. 11 De judiciis publicis damnati.

[c] Livy, xxxix. 5. Eutropius, iv. 2. Cicero, xxiii. Pro Muræna, 14, 31.

* ii. *Cn . Manlius . Vulso . Pro . Cos*
De . Galleis . Asiaticeis[d]
Ann. DLXVI. *iii. Nonas. Mart.* B.C. 188—187.

Cycle i. 22. 377. Kal. Jan. August 31 B.C. 188. Nund. Char. 3.

x Kalendas Januarias Sept. 3 B.C. 187.

Nundinal Decembris 7.

Cycle i. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Sept. 12 B.C. 187. Nund. Char. 2.

iii Nonas Martias November 12 B.C. 187.

Nundinal Martii 1.

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lxxxiii. *C. Cicereius . . . .* Pro . Pr
Ex . Corsica . in . Monte . Albano[e]

An. D*xxci.* K. Oct. B.C. 173—172.

Cycle ii. 13. 356. Kal. Jan. Octob. 20 B.C. 173. Nund. Char. 2.

* Kalendæ Octobres July 13 B.C. 172.

Nundinal Octobris 8.

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lxxxiv. i. L. Aimilius . Paullus . Pro . Cos
ii. Ex . Macedon . et . Rege . Perse . per . Triduum[f]

A. DXXC*vi.* iiii. iii. Pridie. K. Decem. B.C. 168—167.

Cycle ii. 18. 354. Kal. Jan. Oct. 15 B.C. 168. Nund. Char. 5.

iv Kalendas Decembres September 2 B.C. 167.
iii .. .. .. 3 ..
† Pridie .. .. .. 4 ..

Nundinal Novembris 5.

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lxxxiv. *bis* ii. *Cn.* Octavius . Pro . Pr
Ex . Macedon . et . Rege . Perse . Naval . egit[g]

An. DXXC*vi.* K. Dec. B.C. 168—167.

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[d] Livy, xxxix. 6. Florus, ii. 11. §. 2. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 8. 205. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 21.

[e] Livy, xlii. 21. Cf. i. 7. 9.

[f] Livy, xlv. 40. Eutropius, iv. 4. Florus, ii. 12. §. 12, 13. Vell. Pat. i. 9, 10. Valerius Max. v. x. 2. Qui Filiorum, &c. Plutarch, Æmilius Paullus, xxx. xxxiii; xxxv: Apophthegmata, Paullus Æmilius, ix. Diodorus Sic. xxxi. Orosius, iv. 20. Zonaras, ix. 24. 460. A — C. Auctor, De Viris, L. Æmilius Paullus Macedonicus. Cicero, xxiii. Pro Murena, 14, 31. Propertius, iii. ii. 5-8. Seneca, i. 228: Ad Polybium, xxxiii. 4. Panegyrici Vett. vii. Eumenii, Constantino Aug. x. 7. Syncellus, 510. 17—511. 20.

[g] Livy, xlv. 42. Vell. Pat. i. 9. Festus, xiii. 301. 25 Octaviæ Porticus. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 7. p. 203.

iii. *L. Anicius . Gallus . Pro . Pr*
De . Rege . Gentio . et . Illurieis [h]

A. DXXCVI. Quirinalibus. B.C. 167—166.

Cycle ii. 18. 354. Kal. Jan. Octob. 15 B.C. 168. Nund. Char. 5.

* Kalendæ Decembres Sept. 5 B.C. 167.

Nundinal Novembris 5.

Cycle ii. 19. 377. Kal. Jan. Octob. 4 B.C. 167. Nund. Char. 3.

* Quirinalia (Merkedonius 16) December 10 B.C. 167.

Nundinal Merkedonii 7.

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lxxxv. ii. *C. Sulpicius . Gallus* . Cos
De . Liguribus . Ta . . . rneis

Ann. DLXXXVII. x. K. Mart. B.C. 167—166.

Cycle ii. 20. 378. Kal. Jan. Oct. 16 B.C. 166. Nund. Char. 2.

x Kalendas Martias (Merkedonii 20) Dec. 26.

Nundinal Merkedonii 6

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lxxxvi. *M. Fulvius* . Nobilior . Pro . Cos
De . Liguribus . Eleatibus

A. DXCV. xii. K. Sept. B.C. 159—158.

Cycle iii. 3. 377. Kal. Jan. Nov. 22 B.C. 159. Nund. Char. 8.

* xii Kalendæ Septembres July 28 B.C. 158.

Nundinal Sextilis 2.

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lxxxvii. C. Sempronius . Tuditan . Cos
De . Iapudibus [i]
A. DCXXIV. K. Oct. B.C. 129.

Cycle iv. 8. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2 B.C. 129. Nund. Char. 7.

Kalendæ Octobres Oct. 17.

Nundinal Octobris 6.

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[h] Livy, xlv. 43. Vell. Pat. i. 9. Eutropius, iv. 4. Polybius. xxx. 13. Appian, Illyrica, 9. Athenæus, xiv. 4.

[i] Cf. Livy, lix. Appian Illyrica, 10.

lxxxviii. *M'. Aquil*lius . Pro . Cos
Ex . *Asia*[k]

A. DCXXVII. iii. Idus . Novembr. B.C. 126.

Cycle iv. 11. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 17 B.C. 126. Nund. Char. 8.

iii Idus Novembres November 20.

Nundinal Novembris 7.

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lxxxix. L. Aurelius . Orestes . Pro . Cos
Ex . Sardinia

An. DC*xxxi*. vi. Idus. Dec. B.C. 123—122.

Cycle iv. 15. 355. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B.C. 123. Nund. Char. 5.

* vi Idus Decembres Nov. 28 B.C. 122.

Nundinal Decembris 7

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xc. Q. Marcius . Rex . Pro . Cos
De . Liguribus . Stoeneis

An. DC*xxxvi*. iii. Non. Dec. B.C. 118—117.

Cycle iv. 20. 355. Kal. Jan. Dec. 25 B.C. 118. Nund. Char. 8.

* iii Nonas Decembres November 17 B.C. 117.

Nundinal Decembris 2

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xci. * *C. Marius . Cos . ii*
De . Numideis . et . Rege . Jugurtha[l]

Ann. DCXLIX. (=DCXLVIII) *K. Jan.* B.C. 106—105

Cycle v. 9. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 5 B.C. 105. Nund. Char. 7.

Kalendæ Januariæ Dec. 5 B.C. 105.

Nundinal Januarii 7

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xcii. L. Cornelius . Dolabell . Pro . Cos
Ex . Hispania . Ulterior . De . Lusitan

A. DCLV. v. K. Feb. B.C. 98—97.

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[k] Cicero, De Oratore, ii. 47, 195. Florus, ii. 20, 7.

[l] Sallust, Bell. Jug. 122. Livy, lxvii. Eutropius, iv. 11. Plutarch, Marius, xii: cf. ii: xxvii. Vell. Paterc. ii. 12. Valerius Max. iii. vi. 6 De Illustribus, &c. Florus, iii. 1. 17. Orosius, v. 15. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 4. p. 12. Dio, xlviii. 4. Auctor, De Viris, C. Marius, Pater. Syncellus, 557. 15.

Cycle v. 16. 354. Kal. Jan. Dec. 28 B.C. 98. Nund. Char. 4.

v Kalendas Februarias Jan. 22 B.C. 97.

Nundinal Januarii 4.

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xciii. i. T. Didius . Pro . Cos
Ex . Hispania . De . Celtibereis [m]

A. DCLX. iiii. Idus . Jun. B.C. 94—93.

ii. P. Licinius . Crassus . Pro . Cos
De . Lusitaneis [n]

An. DCLX. Pridie . Idus . Jun. B.C. 94—93.

Cycle v. 20. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 8 B.C. 94. Nund. Char. 3.

* iv Idus Junias June 4.
Pridie Idus Junias June 6.

Nundinal Junii 1.

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xciv. Cn. Pompeius . Strabo . Cos
De . Asculaneis . Picentibus [o]

A. DCLXIV. vi. K. Jan. B.C. 90—89.

Cycle v. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Dec. 12 B.C. 90. Nund. Char. 2.

vi Kalendas Januarias Nov. 26 B.C. 89.

Nundinal Decembris 4.

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xcv. P. *Servilius* . Vatia . Pro . Pr
De .. .. .. [p]

An. DCLXV. xii. K. Novembr. B.C. 89—88.

Cycle vi. 1. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 1 B.C. 89. Nund. Char. 7.

* xii Kalendas Novembres October 6.

Nundinal Octobris 6

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xcvi. *L. Cornelius Sulla* Felix . Dict
De . Rege . Mithridate . ex . Graecia : Per . Biduum [q]

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m Appian, vi. 99. 100. Cf Livy, lxx.

n Plutarch, Crassus, i. Asconius, p. 128.

o Dio, xliii. 51 : xlix. 21. Vell. Pat. ii. 65. Valerius Max. vi. ix. 9 De Mutatione, &c. Pliny, H. N. vii. 44. A. Gellius, xv. 4. Asconius, p. 128. Juvenal, vii. 199–201.

p Cf. Asconius, in iii contra Verrem, p. 61.

q Eutropius, v. 6. Valerius Max. ii. viii. 7. De Jure triumphandi. Cicero, xiii. Pro Lege Manilia, 3, 8. Plutarch, Sulla, xxxiv. Appian, B. C. i. 101. 99.

A. DCLXXII. *iv. et.* iii. K. Febr. B. C. 82—80.

Cycle vi. 9. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2 B. C. 80. Nund. Char. 5.

iv Kalendas Februarias January 28.
† iii Kalendas Februarias January 29.

Nundinal Januarii 5.

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xcvii. * i. *Q. Caecilius . Metellus . Pius . Pro . Cos*
Ex . Hispania

Ann. DCXXCII. *iii. K. Jan.* B. C. 71—70.

* ii. *Cn. Pompeius . Magnus . Pro . Cos*
ii. *Ex . Hispania . adhuc . Eques . Romanus* [r]

An. DCXXCII. *Prid . K. Jan.* B. C. 71—70.

Cycle vi. 18. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 17 B. C. 71. Nund. Char. 8.

* iii Kalendas Januarias February 28 B. C. 70.
Pridie Kalendas Januarias March 1.

Nundinal Decembris 3.

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xcviii. *Cn. Pompeius . Magnus . Pro . Cos*
iii. *Ex . Asia . Ponto . Cilicia . Paphlagonia* . Cappadoc'
Creta . Syria . Judaea . Armenia . Pirateis
De . Regib . Mithrid . et . Tigran . per . Bid [s]

A. DCXCII. *iii . Prid . K* . Octo. B. C. 61—60.

Cycle vii. 4. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 29 B. C. 61. Nund. Char. 8.

* iii Kalendas Octobres November 19.
Pridie Kalendas Octobres November 20.

Nundinal Septembris 3.

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xcix. * *C. Pomtinus . Pro . Cos*
De . Allobrogibus

Ann. DCXCIX. *iv. Non . Novembres.* B. C. 55 [t]—54.

Cycle vii. 11. 354. Kal. Jan. Dec. 16 B. C. 55. Nund. Char. 6.

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[r] Vell. Pat. ii. 30. Val. Max. viii. xv. 8. Magnifica. Florus, iii. 22. 1–10. Cicero, xiii. Pro Lege Manilia, 21, 62. Lucan, Pharsalia, vii. 13–19: viii. 810. Plutarch, Crassus, xi: Pompeius, xiv: xxii. Appian, B. C. 1. 80: 121. Zonaras, x. 2. 474 D—475 A.

[s] Vell. Pat. ii. 40. Dio, xxxvii. 21: cf. xxxviii. 30: xlii. 5. Pliny, H. N. vii. 27. 124: xxxvii. 6. p. 10: xii. 9: xxxiii. 54. Appian, Mithridatica, 116 –119. Plutarch, Pompeius, xliv: xlv. Solinus, lii. § 54. Eutropius, vi. 13. Florus, iv. 2 § 8. Zonaras, x. 5. 479 C —480 A. Syncellus, 566, 1–567. 2.

[t] Cicero Ad Atticum, iv. 16. Cf. Ad Q. Fratrem, iii. 4. which has the date iii Nonas Novembres: and that seems to have been the actual date. Cf. Livy, ciii: Dio, xxxvii. 47, 48: xxxix. 65.

iv Nonas Novembres October 9 B. C. 54.

Nundinal Novembris 6.

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c. i. Q. Fabius . Maximus . Cos
Ex . Hispania[u]

An. DCCIIX. iii. Idus. Octo. B. C. 46—45.

ii. Q. Pedius . Pro . Cos

Ex . Hispania

A. DCCI*x*. Idib. Dec.

Ann. Julianus i. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 46. Nund. Char. 1.

iii Idus Octobres October 11.
Idus Decembres December 11.

Nundinal Octobris 7 : Decembris 2.

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ci. C. Julius . Caesar . Dict. iiii.
vi . Ovans . ex . Monte . Albano

A. DCC*ix** (DCCIIX). vii. K. Feb. B. C. 45—44.

B. C. 45—44. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30. B. C. 45. Nund. Char. 3.

* vii Kalendas Februarias January 24.

Nundinal Januarii 3.

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cii. i. L. Munatius . Plancus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Gallia

An. *DCC*x. iiii. K. Jan. B. C. 44—43.

ii. M. Aimilius . Lepidus . iii. vir. R. P. *C.* Pro. Cos

Ex . Hispania[w]

A. DCCX. Pridie. K. *Jan.* B. C. 44—43.

B. C. 44—43. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 44. Nund. Char. 6.

iv Kalendas Januarias (Dec. 30) December 28 B. C. 43.
† Pridie Kalendas Januarias December 30 †

Nundinal Decembris 8.

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* This year by the rule of the Fasti should be DCCviii.

† In years of this description which had an extra day at the end of December, we do not know the style of this day. Probably it was the Pridie Kalendas Jan. repeated, or Bis Prid. Kal. Jan. In that case, the date of the first of these Triumphs was Dec. 29 Roman, Dec. 27 Julian, and that of the second Dec. 31 Roman, Dec. 29 Julian : and the latter was the day before the Nundinal day.

[u] Dio, xliii. 42. cf. Livy, cxvi.

[w] Appian, B. C. iv. 31. Cf. Dio, xlvii. 13.

ciii. P. Vatinius . Pro . Cos
De . Illurico

A. DCCX. *Prid. K. Jan.* B. C. 44–43.

B. C. 44–43. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 44. Nund. Char. 6.

† Pridie Kalendas Januarias Dec. 30 B. C. 43.

Nundinal Decembris 8.

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civ. L. Antonius . Cos.
Ex . Alpibus[x]

An. DCCXII=DCCXI. *K. Jan.* B. C. 42–41.

B C. 42–41. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 42. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Januariæ December 31 B. C. 42.

Nundinal Januarii 3.

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cv. i. L. Marcius . Censorinus . Cos
Ex . Macedonia

A. DCCXIIII=DCCXIII. K. Jan. B. C. 40–39.

B C. 40–39. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 40. Nund. Char. 8.

* Kalendæ Januariæ Dec. 31 B. C. 40.

Nundinal Januarii 8.

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ii. C. Asinius . Pollio . Pro . Cos
Ex . Parthineis[y]

An. DCCXIIII. viii. K. Novem. B. C. 40–39.

B. C. 40–39. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 40. Nund. Char. 8.

viii Kalendas Novembres October 24.

Nundinal Octobris 7.

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cvi. P. Ventidius . Pro. Cos.
Ex . Tauro . Monte . et . Partheis[z]

An. DCCXV. v. K. Decem. B. C. 39–38.

B. C. 39–38. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 39. Nund. Char. 3.

* v Kalendas Decembres November 26.

Nundinal Novembris 3.

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[x] Dio, xlviii. 4.

[y] Cf. Dio, xlviii. 41 : 34 : 42. Horace, ii. i. 13–16 : 17–20. Servius, ad Virg. Ecl. iii. 88 : iv. 1 : viii. 7–13.

[z] Vell. Pat. ii. 65. Valerius Max. vi. ix. 9 De Mutatione &c. Eutropius, vii. 3. Pliny, H. N. vii. 44. A. Gellius, xv. 4. Plutarch, Antonius, xxxiv. Dio, xliii. 51 : xlix. 21, 22. Juvenal, vii. 199–201.

cvii. i. Cn. Domitius . Calvinus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Hispania[a]

An. DCCXVII. XVI. K. Sextil. B.C. 37—36.

ii. Imp . Caesar . iii. vir. R. P. C. ii
ii. Ovans . ex . Sicilia[b]

An. DCCXVII. Idibus. Novembr. B.C. 37—36.

B.C. 37—36. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B.C. 37. Nund. Char. 8.

XVI Kalendas Sextiles July 16.
Idus Novembres Nov. 12.

Nundinal Julii 3: Novembris 8.

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cviii. i. T. Statilius . Taurus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Africa[c]

Ann. DCCXIX. Pridie. K. Jul. B.C. 35—24.

ii. C. Sosius . Pro . Cos
Ex . Judaea

An. DCCXIX. iii. Nonas . Septembr. B.C. 35—34.

B.C. 35—34. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31. B.C. 35. Nund. Char. 6.

* Pridie Kalendas Julias June 29.
† iii Nonas Septembres September 2.

Nundinal Junii 7: Septembris 3.

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iii. C. Norbanus . Flaccus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Hispania

An. DCCXIX. iiii. Id*us* . Octobr. B. C. 35—34.

B.C. 35—34. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 35. Nund. Char. 6.

* iv Idus Octobres October 11.

Nundinal Octobris 5.

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cix. i. *Imp. . Caesar . Cos. v*
iii. De . Pannonieis . Delmateis . Iapudibus . et . Galleis[d]

[a] Dio, xlviii. 42.
[b] Ibid. xlix. 15: (cf. xlviii. 54: xlix. 1:). Suetonius, Aug. xxii. 2. Cf. Orosius, vi. 18 ad fin.
[c] Cf. Dio, xlix. 14.
[d] Piranesi dates these Triumphs, viii. vii. vi. Idus Sextiles. The true date is recoverable from the Antiatine calendar, ad xix. Kal. Septembres. Cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12. 261, 262. Dio, li. 21.

ii. *C. Carrinas . Pro . Cos*
De . Morineis . Galleis . et . Sueveis

iii. *Imp. . Caesar . Cos. v*
iv. Ex . Macedonia . et . Actio

iv. *Imp. . Cæsar . Cos. v.*
v. De . Regina . Cleopatra . ex . Ægypto
Ann. DCCXXIIII. xix. Kal. Septembres. B. C. 29.

B. C. 29. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

xix Kalendas Septembres August 13.

Nundinal Augusti 7.

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cx. L. Autronius Paetus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Africa

An. DCCXXIIII. xvii. K. Septembr. B. C. 29.

B. C. 29. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

* xvii Kalendas Septembres August 15.

Nundinal Augusti 7.

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cxi. M'. Licinius . Crassus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Thraecia . et . Geteis[e]

A. DCCXXV. iv. Non. Jul. B. C. 29—28.

B. C. 29—28. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 29. Nund. Char. 6.

iv Nonas Julias July 3.

Nundinal Julii 1.

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cxii. M. Valerius . Messalla . Corvinus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Gallia[f]

A. DCCXXVI. vii. K. Oct. B. C. 27.

B. C. 27. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

vii Kalendas Octobres September 25.

Nundinal Septembris 5.

Strabo, xii. 3. Appian, Illyrica, 28. Suetonius, Aug. xxii. 3: xli. 2. Virgil, Æneid. viii. 714. Servius, in loc. Georgica, iii. 28 – 33. Orosius, vi. 20, dates this triple Triumph of Augustus, Octavo Idus Januarias; U. C. 725 of Varro B. C. 29. To shew that there is no error in his text here, he further observes that it was the date of the Epiphany of the Christians, (Jan. 6,) and the day on which he was first styled Augustus. We conjecture that the xix Kalendas Septembres was the last of these three days' triumphs, not the first; the date of the triumph De Ægypto, the greatest of all: on which principle they began Pridie Idus Sextiles, August 11.

[e] Cf. Dio, li. 23, 24, 25. B. C. 30–29.

[f] Appian, De Bello Civ. iv. 38. Tibullus, i. vii. 1–8: cf. ii. 1. 33: iv. i. 121–136.

cxiii. Sex . Appuleius . Pro . Cos
Ex . Hispania

A. DCCXXVII. vii. K. Febr. B. C. 26—25.

B. C. 25. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 6.

vii Kalendas Februarias January 26.

Nundinal Januarii 6.

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cxiv. L. Sempronius . Atratinus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Africa [g]

A. DCCXXXII. iiii. Idus. Oct. B. C. 21.

B. C. 21. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 8.

iv Idus Octobres October 13.

Nundinal Octobris 7.

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cxv. L. Cornelius . Balbus . Pro . Cos
Ex . Africa [g]

A. DCCXXXIV. vi. K. April. B. C. 19—18.

B. C. 18. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 8.

vi Kalendas Apriles March 28.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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cxvi. * *Ti . Claudius . Nero . Germanic . Cos. ii*
ii. De . Germaneis [h]

Ann. DCCXLVI = DCCXLV. K. *Jan.* B. C. 7.

B. C. 7. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 6.

Kalendæ Januariæ January 2.

Nundinal Januarii 6.

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cxvii. *Ti . Cæsar . Pro . Cos*
iii. De . Illurieis . Pannonieis . Delmateis . et . Germaneis [i]

A. DCCLXIIII. = DCCLXIII. *xvii. Kal. Febr.* A. D. 11—12.

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[g] Pliny, H. N. v. 5. 302. Solinus, xxix. 7. Cf. Virgil, Æneid, vi. 795. Super et *Garamantas* et Indos, &c. In the very year of Virgil's supposed death.

[h] Vell. Pat. ii. 97. 99. Dio, lv. 8. Suetonius, Tib. xvii. 3.

[i] Suetonius, Tiberius, xvii. xx. Cf. Dio, liv. 34. Vell. Pat. ii. 121. Strabo, vi. 4. Ovid. Fasti, i. 645: Tristia, iii. 12. 41-48: iv. 1. 1-4: 17—20: 21—56. 57. 58: 69—74: iv. 2. passim: De Ponto, ii. 1. 1. 2: 19-68: 2. 77: ii. 5. 27—34: ii. 8. 37—42: 49, 50: iii. 3. 85—92: 4. 1—44. This is the last Triumph in the Fasti. Piranesi dates it vi. Idus Mai. But the true date is ascertained by the Fasti Verrii Flacci, ad xvii Kal. Febr.

A. D. 11—12. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 11. Nund. Char. 3.

xvii Kalendas Februarias January 14.

Nundinal Januarii 3.

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cxviii. * Germanicus . Cæsar . Pro . Cos

De . Germaneis[k]

Ann. DCCLXIX. vii. Kal. Jun. A. D. 16—17.

A. D. 16—17. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 16. Nund. Char. 8.

vii Kalendas Junias May 24 A. D. 17.

Nundinal Maii 8.

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cxix. * Imperator . Caius . Cæsar . Germanicus . Cos. iii .

Ovans . Natali . suo[l]

Ann. DCCXCII. Pridie . Kal. Sept. A. D. 40

A. D. 40. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 6.

Pridie Kalendas Septembres August 31.

Nundinal Augusti 1.

It appears from this review that out of 56 Triumphs, from the first B. C. 507 to the last which is extant before the date of the Lex Hortensia, B. C. 286, four only fall on the Nundinal day; thirteen fall either the day before or the day after the Nundinal day; and the rest fall two days at least clear of it in every instance.

In like manner out of 42, from the date of the first later than the Lex Hortensia, to the date of the last which is extant in terms of the regular calendar, B. C. 222, only two fall on the Nundinal day; ten fall the day before or the day after it; and all the rest two days at least clear of it.

It is impossible therefore not to infer from these facts that the Nundinal Incidence must have been studiously avoided in fixing the dates of these Triumphs. They justify us also in suspecting the soundness of those dates which exhibit a Triumph on a Nundinal day; because they offend against a rule which is seen to hold good in every other instance.

[k] Tac. Ann. ii. 41. Suetonius, Caius, i. 2. Ovid, Fasti, i. 285: De Ponto, iii. iv. 87. 95 sq. Vell. Pat. ii. 129. Strabo, vii. 1. vi. 4.

[l] Suetonius, Vita, xlviii. xlix. 3. Cf. Vespasianus, ii. § 8. Caius, viii. Pliny, H. N. xxxii. 1. 673, 674. Dio, lix. 7. 20. Kalendarium Capranicorum ad Prid. Kal. Augusti.

In like manner for the irregular period of the calendar, there are 26 dates of Triumphs, two only of which fall on the Nundinal day; twelve fall the day before or the day after it; and all the rest fall clear of it entirely. These two cases of exception are the LXXXIVth and XCVIth; one of them the third day of the triumph of Æmilius Paullus, the other the second day of that of Sulla. But, as neither of these triumphs began on the Nundinal day, even these strictly speaking are no cases of exception to the rule. It must be admitted indeed that for the irregular period the dates have been so arranged as to fall clear of the Nundinal day. But that ought to be no objection. On the contrary, if such was the rule *de facto* established, and commonly observed as far as circumstances would permit, viz. not to celebrate a triumph on a Nundinal day; it is selfevident that no date of that kind could be correct which was not agreeable to such a rule: and that, in arranging the details of the irregular period in general, this too was one of the rules which we were bound to take along with us; viz. that no Dies Triumphi acti should fall on a Nundinal day.

For the period of the Julian correction, as far as we have carried the above review, there are 26 Triumphs at least; six of which fall on the day before or on the day after the Nundinal day: three fall upon it, and the rest fall clear of it altogether. Upon the whole then, from B. C. 507 to A. D. 40, there are 150 dates of Triumphs in all; of which only nine strictly speaking fall on the Nundinal day, forty-one fall on the day before it, or on the day after it, 100 fall two days clear of it at least. There cannot then be much question about the rule which must have been observed in this respect, from the earliest to the latest times; nor yet how strong a confirmation it is of the truth of our Nundinal Cycle, which agrees with it so uniformly from first to last.

SECTION VI.—*Application of the Inference to the dates of* Ædes Dedicatæ.

The dates of the dedication of Ædes Sacræ, howsoever far back they may go, may be considered some of the most authentic and trustworthy which Roman history has left on record. It appears to have been the rule from the first that

on whatsoever day the Fanum or Ædes, the chapel or temple, of a particular divinity happened to have been dedicated to it in the first instance, that day was ever after regarded as sacred to it. It became its proper feastday or holiday; and it was consigned to the calendar in that capacity. And for this reason, because the dedication of an Ædes to a particular object of worship, and in consequence of a vow to that effect made by a person in authority, entailed the appointment and recognition of a fresh holiday or *Dies Feriatus* in the calendar; nothing of that kind could properly be done under the republic without the sanction of the Roman senate: so much so that, according to Tertullian, there was only one exception to the contrary on record; that of the dedication of an Ædes to the Deus Alburnus by M. Æmilius, which appears to have been done without the approbation or sanction of the senate. Mentior si nunquam censuerat neque imperator fanum quod in prælio vovisset prius dedicasset quam senatus probasset; ut contigit M. Æmilio qui voverat Alburno Deo[m].

In this manner a great number of dies stati and festi became fixed in the old lunar calendar; and were retained in the Julian nominally the same as before: in the fragments of which and in the Fasti of Ovid they are still to be seen in repeated instances. One of the oldest of the kind was the day of the dedication of the Ædes of Diana In monte Aventino by Servius Tullius, the Ides of Sextilis or August; from which coincidence the Ides of that month were ever after sacred to her, and in the course of time she was even said to have been born on that day. In the same manner the Ides of Maius became sacred to Mercury; and the Ides of Quinctilis or Julius to Castor and Pollux. The recorded dates therefore of Ædes dedicatæ, in all cases wherein that was done by public authority, may be considered among the most authentic; attested as they are by the Calendar, both the old and the new.

It is not always however that both the year of a ceremony of this kind and the day happen to be known. Sometimes

[m] Opp. v. 145. Ad Nationes, i. 11. Also p. 15. Apologeticus Adv. Gentes, 5: Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus; ut M. Æmilius de deo suo Alburno. Cf. i. 32. Adv. Marcionem, i. 18. Also Cicero, Oratio xxix. Pro Domo, 49. 50–53.

the year admits of being ascertained but not the day; and sometimes the day but not the year. There are cases notwithstanding in which both are known: and though these are not numerous, yet for the reason just mentioned their authenticity may be depended upon; and therefore for our particular purpose, which is the application of the Nundinal test to such and such classes of dates, in order to discover whether the Nundinal Incidence was intentionally avoided in these instances or not, they are the most proper which we could select. Besides those dates of this kind which we consider to be ascertained on competent testimony, there are others of the same kind in general, ascertained by testimony also, which may be considered as highly probable if not as certain. We shall include these too in our review of such dates; distinguishing them however by an asterisk.

Dates of Ædes Dedicatæ in the Roman Calendar of the time being, from U. C. 207 *Varro* B. C. 547 *to* A. D. 790 A. D. 37.

i. i. Lunæ in Aventino.

* U. C. 207 Pridie Kalendas Apriles [n] B. C. 547.

ii. Dianæ in Aventino.

* U. C. 207 Idibus Sextilibus [o] B. C. 547.

Cycle vii. 22. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 26 B. C. 547. Nund. Char. 2.

Pridie Kalendas Apriles April 26.

* Idus Sextiles September 6.

Nundinal Martii 5: Sextilis 6.

ii. Fortunæ and Fortunæ Fortis.

U. C. 221 iii Idus Junias B. C. 533.

* viii Kalendas Julias [p].

Cycle viii. 12. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 17 B. C. 533. Nund. Char. 2.

* iii Idus Junias June 26.

[n] Ovid, Fasti, iii. 883. Kalendarium Prænestinum. Cf. Livy, xl. 2. Tacitus Ann. xv. 41.

[o] Kalendarium Capranicorum, Amiterninum, Antiatinum. Festus, xii. 277. 6 Nesi: xvii. 502. 6 Servorum dies. Livy, i. 44. 45. Dionysius, iv. 26. Varro, De Lingua Lat. i. 14. Valerius, Max. vii. iii. 1. De vafre dictis, &c. Auctor De Viris, Servius Tullius.

[p] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 569–636: 771–784. Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 56. Kalendarium Amiterninum, Exquilinum, Venusinum. Dionysius Hal. iv. 27. Cf. 40: 30: 34. Livy, x. 46. Valerius Max. i. viii. 11. De Miraculis.

viii Kalendas Julias July 9.

Nundinal Junii 4.

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iii. Capitolii, or Capitolini Jovis.
Dedication of the Capitol *.

i. U. C. 247 Idus Septembres B. C. 507.

Cycle ix. 14. 377. Kal. Jan. Feb. 19 B. C. 507. Nund. Char. 7.

* Idus Septembres September 28.

Nundinal Septembris 6.

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ii. U. C. 248 Idus Septembres B. C. 506.

Cycle ix. 15. 355. Kal. Jan. March 3 B. C. 506. Nund. Char. 6.

† Idus Septembres October 10.

Nundinal Septembris 5.

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iv. Ædes Saturni.

U. C. 257 = U. C. 258 Aulus Sempronius Atratinus
B. C. 497 = B. C. 496 M. Minucius Augurinus [q].

xiv Kalendas Januarii [r] (Februarii.)

Cycle x. 1. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 17 B. C. 496. Nund. Char. 7.

xiv Kalendas Januarias December 28.

Nundinal Decembris 5.

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* The date of the dedication of the Capitol is differently represented. The day, it is agreed, was the Ides of September [1]. As to the year, Livy [2], Polybius [3], Plutarch [4], make it the year of the expulsion of the kings, B. C. 508, or the year after it, B. C. 507. Dionysius makes it the third year after the expulsion, Coss. P. Valerio Poplicola iii M. Horatio Pulvillo ii [5]; i. e. B. C. 506. In the former year, the Ides of September fell on the day before a Nundinal day; in the latter they fell upon one. Notwithstanding this we are of opinion that Dionysius' date is the true one; and that there were special reasons, (which may appear hereafter,) why the dedication of the Capitol, accompanied as it was by the driving of a nail, should fall on the Nundinal day.

[1] Plutarch, Poplicola, xiv. xv.
[2] ii. 8: vii. 3. [3] iii. 22.
[4] Poplicola, xvi. xx.
[5] iii. 69: iv. 61: v. 21. 35. cf. Dio, Fragm. xxv. Tacitus, Histor. iii. 72. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 6. p. 24. Cicero, Oratio xxix. Pro Domo, 54. 139. Valerius Max. v. x. 1 De Fortibus Patribus. Seneca, i. 263. Ad Marciam, xiii. 1. Servius, ad Æneid. vi. 8: xi. 2. Augustin, De Civitate, v. 18.

[q] Dionysius, vi. 1. v. 77. cf. i. 34: iii. 32. Livy, ii. 21.

[r] Cf. Pliny, H. N. xv. 20. 216. Solinus, i. § 12. Festus, xvii. 484. 6. Saturno. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 8. 234.

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Ædes Mercurii.

U. C. 259=260 Appius Claudius Sabinus Regillensis
B. C. 495=494 P. Servilius Priscus [s].

Idus Maiæ [t] B. C. 494.

Cycle x. 3. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 19 B. C. 494. Nund. Char. 3.

Idus Maiæ June 2.

Nundinal Maii 2.

vi. Fortunæ Muliebris.

U. C. 268=269 Sp. Cassius Viscellinus iii
B. C. 486=485 Proculus Virginius Tricostus [u].

Pridie Nonas Quinctiles [w].

Cycle x. 12. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 17 B. C. 485. Nund. Char. 6.

Pridie Nonas Quinctiles * July 20.

Nundinal Quinctilis 1.

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vii. Ædes Castoris.

U. C. 270=271 L. Æmilius Mamercinus
B. C. 484=483 Kaiso Fabius Vibulanus [x].

Idus Quinctiles [x].

Cycle x. 14. 377. Kal. Jan. Feb. 19 B. C. 483. Nund. Char. 1.

Idus Quinctiles August 1.

Nundinal Quinctilis 4.

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* The first sacrifice to Fortuna Muliebris, according to Dionysius, viii. 55. 64. (cf. Livy, ii. 40.) took place on the Kalends of December, U. C. 268, Dec. 23 B. C. 486: not a Nundinal day.

[s] Dionysius, vi. 23.

[t] Livy, ii. 21. 27. Ovid, Fasti, v. 663–670. Festus, xi. 215. 4. Maiis. Valerius Max. ix. iii. 6. De Ira et Odio. Cf. Kalendarium Venusinum, xvii. Kal. Jun.

[u] Dionysius, viii. 55: 68. Livy, ii. 40, 41. Cf. Festus, xiv. 393. 4. Pudicitiæ. Plutarch, De Fortuna Rom. v. Coriolanus, xxxvii. xxxviii. Cf. Valerius Max. i. viii. 4. De Miraculis: Ibid. v. ii. 1. De Gratitudine. Augustin, De Civitate, iv. 19. Auctor De Viris, C. Marcius Coriolanus.

[w] Dionysius, viii. 55, 56. Dionysius dates the consecration at first Quinctilis 7, and then Pridie Nonas. Neither the 7th nor the 6th of that month was Nundinal this year.

[x] Dionysius, viii. 83: vi. 13. Livy, ii. 42: 20. Cf. Plutarch, Coriolanus, iii: Æmilius Paullus, xxv. Florus, i. 11. § 3, 4. Valerius Max. i. viii. 1. De Miraculis. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, iii. 5, 13. Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, x. 3. Auctor De Viris, A. Postumius.

viii. Jovis Fidii.

U. C. 288 = 289 Sp. Postumius Albus Regillensis
B. C. 466 = 465 Q. Servilius Priscus [y]

Pridie Nonas Junias [z]

Cycle xi. 8. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 13 B. C. 465. Nund. Char. 1.

Pridie Nonas Junias June 15.

Nundinal Junii 1.

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ix. Ara Jovis Pistoris in Capitolio.

* U. C. 366 Vestalibus v Idus Junias [a] B. C. 388.

Cycle iii. 13. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 388. Nund. Char. 6.

v Idus Junias July 7.

Nundinal Junii 4.

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x. Junonis Lucinæ.

U. C. 379 [b] Kalendis Martiis [c] B. C. 375.

Cycle iv. 2. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 375. Nund. Char. 2.

† Kalendæ Martiæ * March 8.

Nundinal Martii 1.

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xi. Ædes Concordiæ.

* U. C. 390 xvii Kal. Februarii [d] B. C. 364.

Cycle iv. 13. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10 B. C. 364. Nund. Char. 8.

xvii Kalendas Februarii January 23.

Nundinal Januarii 8.

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* This date therefore is suspicious. Pliny loc. cit. says the Ædes was about 450 years old in his time; which referred to U. C. 830 of Varro would give it U. C. 380: not U. C. 379. In that year, B. C. 374, the Kalendæ Martiæ fell March 21, and Martii 7 was Nundinal; not Martii 1. The true year was most probably U. C. 380 of Varro, B. C. 474.

[y] Dionysius, ix. 60: cf. Livy, iii. 2.

[z] Kalendarium Venusinum: cf. Dionysius, ix. 60. Ovid, Fasti, vi. 209. 213. Dionysius dates it on the Nones. But the true date, as we may see hereafter, seems to have been Pridie Nonas.

[a] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 349: 351—394. Lactantius, i. 20.

[b] Pliny, H. N. xvi. 85. 491.

[c] Festus, xi. 228. 9. Martias Kalendas. Ovid, Fasti, iii. 245—248. Fasti Verrii Flacci, ad Martii 1.

[d] Ovid, Fasti, i. 637—644. Kalendarium Prænestinum. Cf. Livy, vii. 2. Plutarch, Camillus, xli—xliii. Fasti Capitolini Consulares.

xii. Junonis Monetæ.

U. C. 410=411 C. Martius Rutilus iii
B. C. 344=343 L. Manlius Torquatus ii [e].

Kalendæ Juniæ [f].

Cycle v. 10. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 18 B. C. 343. Nund. Char. 2.

Kalendæ Juniæ June 15.

Nundinal Junii 6.

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xiii. Ædes Salutis.

U. C. 452 B. C. 302 M. Livius Denter
M. Æmilius Paullus [g].

Nonæ Sextiles [h].

Cycle vii. 3. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 303. Nund. Char. 5.

* Nonæ Sextiles August 23 *.

Nundinal Sextilis 6.

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xiv. Veneris in Circo.

U. C. 459 B. C. 295 xiv Kal. Septembres [i].

Cycle vii. 10. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 18 B. C. 295. Nund. Char. 6.

xiv Kalendas Septembres August 30.

Nundinal Sextilis 6.

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xv. Ædes Quirini.

U. C. 461 B. C. 293 iv Kal. Julias [k].

Cycle vii. 12. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 21 B. C. 293. Nund. Char. 1.

* The Fasti Triumphales (xxxvii. supra) had the Triumph of the Dictator, C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus, iii Kal. Sextiles this year, the day after a Nundinal day; as this Dedication was the day before one.

[e] Livy, vii. 28.

[f] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 183—186: 187—191. Kal. Maffæanum et Venusinum. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12. 260. Valerius Max. i. viii. 3. De Miraculis: vi. iii. 1. De Severitate.

[g] Livy, x. 1.

[h] Kal. Capranicor. Amiternin. Antiatin. Cicero, ad Att. iv. 1: Oratio xxxii. Pro Sextio, 63, 131. Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 7. 398. Valerius Max. viii. xiv. 6. De Cupiditate Gloriæ. Dionysius, xvi. 6.

[i] Livy, x. 31, 32. Kal. Maffæan. Capranic. Amitern. Antiatin. Cf. Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 57. Festus, xvi. 464. 4. Rustica. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 69. § 4. 242. Cf. vol. i. 293. The xiii Kal. Sept. would be August 31.

[k] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 795. Kal. Venusinum. Livy, x. 46: cf. 38. Pliny, H. N. vii. 60. 312: xv. 36. 252. Plutarch, Romulus, xxix.: Camillus, xx. Varro, De L. Lat. iv. p. 16. Auctor De Viris, Romulus. Servius, ad Æn. i. 292.

iv Kalendas Quinctiles or Julias July 13.

Nundinal Junii 5.

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xvi. Æsculapii in Insula.

* U. C. 464. B. C. 290 Kal. Januarias[l].

Cycle vii. 15. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 12 B. C. 290. Nund. Char. 2.

* Kalendæ Januariæ January 12.

Nundinal Januarii 2.

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xvii. Ædes Tempestatis.

* U. C. 496 B. C. 258 Kalendis Juniis[m].

Cycle viii. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19 B. C. 258. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Juniæ June 16.

Nundinal Junii 7.

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xviii. Ædes Juturnæ.

* U. C. 514 B. C. 240 iii Id. Januarias[n].

Cycle ix. 17. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 240. Nund. Char. 1.

iii Idus Januarias January 24.

Nundinal Januarii 1.

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xix. Ædes Fontis, sive Fontanalia.

* U. C. 525 B. C. 229. iii Idus Octobres[o].

Cycle x. 4. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 13 B. C. 229. Nund. Char. 1.

iii Idus Octobres October 17.

Nundinal Octobris 7.

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xx. Ædes Concordiæ in arce Tarpeia.

U.C. 539 C. Terentius Varro
B.C. 215 L. Æmilius Paullus[p].

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[l] Ovid, Fasti, i. 289. Kal. Prænestinum. Cf. Dionys. Hal. v. 13. Livy, xi. cf. x. 47. B.C. 293 exeunte: xxix. 11. Festus, ix. 188. 12. Pliny, H. N. xxix. 22. 394: 8. 351. Valerius Max. i. viii. 2. De Miraculis. Auctor De Viris, Æsculapius.

[m] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 193. Cf. Selden, De Diis Syris, Prolegomena, cap. 3. pag. 59, 60. Lipsiæ, 1668.

[n] Ovid, Fasti, i. 461: cf. 459. Servius, ad Æn. xii. 139. Valerius Max. i. viii. 1. De Miraculis.

[o] Maffæan and Amiternine calendars. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, iii. 20, 52. Valerius Max. iii. vi. 5: cf. Fasti Triumphales, supra, lxxv. Varro, De Ling. Lat. v. 1, 57.

[p] Livy, xxiii. 20. 21. Cf. xxii. 33.

Nonis Februariis [q].

Cycle x. 18. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 26 B.C. 215. Nund. Char. 2.

† Nonæ Februariæ February 28 *.

Nundinal Februarii 5.

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xxi. Veneris Erycinæ.

U.C. 539 B.C. 215 ix Kal. Maias [r].

Cycle x. 18. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 26 B.C. 215. Nund. Char. 2.

ix Kalendas Maias May 15.

Nundinal Aprilis 2.

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xxii. Mentis in Capitolio.

U.C. 539 B.C. 215 [s].

vi Idus Junias [t].

Cycle x. 18. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 26 B.C. 215. Nund. Char. 2.

vi Idus Junias June 30.

Nundinal Junii 6.

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xxiii. Fortunæ Primigeniæ in colle Quirinali.

U.C. 560 B.C. 195—194 [w] viii Kal. Junias [x].

Cycle i. 15. 355. Kal. Jan. Sep. 5 B.C. 195. Nund. Char. 3.

viii Kal. Junias January 24 B.C. 194.

Nundinal Maii 6.

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* Though this date falls on the Nundinal day, we do not think that in this instance an objection to its truth. There were probably special reasons for fixing on a Nundinal day in this instance; because of what was always done Nonis Februariis in arce. The context of Livy clearly determines the time to the end of the consular year of Paullus Æmilius and Terentius Varro, which would expire on the day before the Ides of March U.C. 539.

[q] Kal. Prænestinum. Concordiæ in arce.

[r] Ovid, Fasti, iv. 865—877. Cf. 862. Livy, xxiii. 30, 31: 32: xxii. 10. Strabo, vi. 2. Servius, ad Æn. i. 720.

[s] Livy, xxiii. 30—32: xxii. 10. Lactantius, i. 20. Cf. Plutarch, De Fortuna Rom. v. x.

[t] Ovid, vi. 241—248. Kal. Maffæan. et Venusin.

[w] Livy, xxxiv. 53: xxix. 36: 11.

[x] Kalendarium Amiternin. Exquilin. Venusin.

xxiv. Jovis in Insula.

* U.C. 561 [y] B.C. 194—193 Kalendis Januariis [z].

Cycle i. 16. 354. Kal. Jan. Aug. 26 B.C. 194. Nund. Char. 2.

* Kalendæ Januariæ Aug. 26.

Nundinal Januarii 8.

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xxv. Junonis Sospitæ in Foro Olitorio.

U.C. 561. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus ii
B.C. 194—193. Ti. Sempronius Longus [a].

Kalendis Februariis [b].

Cycle i. 16. 354. Kal. Jan. Aug. 26 B.C. 194. Nund. Char. 8.

Kalendæ Februariæ Sept. 24.

Nundinal Februarii 3.

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xxvi. Ædes Fauni in Insula.

U.C. 561 B.C. 194—193 [c] Idibus Februariis [d].

Idus Februariæ Oct. 6 B.C. 194.

Nundinal Februarii 3.

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xxvii. Ædes Pietatis.

* U.C. 573. P. Cornelius Cethegus
B.C. 182—181. M. Bæbius Tamphilus [e].

Kalendis Decembribus [f].

Cycle ii. 4. 378. Kal. Jan. Sep. 29 B.C. 182. Nund. Char. 7.

* Kalendæ Decembres Sept. 12 B.C. 181.

Nundinal Decembris 2.

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xxviii. Ædes Larium Permarinorum.

U.C. 575. L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus
B.C. 180—179. Q. Fulvius Flaccus [g].

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[y] Livy, xxxiv. 53. Cf. xxxv. 41.

[z] Ovid, Fasti, i. 289. 290. Kalend. Prænestin.

[a] Livy, xxii. 30: xxxiv. 42—44. 53. Cf. Obsequens, cxv. U.C. 664 B.C. 90. Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 44, 98.

[b] Ovid, Fasti, ii. 55.

[c] Livy, xxxiv. 53. Cf. xxxiii. 42.

[d] Ovid, Fasti, ii. 193.

[e] Livy, xl. 17. 18: 35. Valerius Max. ii. v. 1. Cf. Pliny, H. N. vii. 36. 156. U.C. 604 B.C. 150. Solinus, i. §. 125.

[f] Kalend. Amiterninum. Cf. Festus, xiv. 346. 1. Pietati.

[g] Livy, xl. 43. 44. 53. Cf. 53. 59.

xi Kalendas Januarias [h].

Cycle ii. 6. 378. Kal. Jan. Oct. 1 B.C. 180. Nund. Char. 2.

*xi Kalendas Januarias October 4 B.C. 179.

Nundinal Decembris 5.

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xxix. Veneris Verticordiæ.

U.C. 642 B.C. 113—112. Kal. Aprilibus [i].

Cycle v. i. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 19 B.C. 113. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Apriles April 8 B.C. 112.

Nundinal Aprilis 5.

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xxx. Ædes Vejovis.

U.C. 661 B.C. 94—93 Nonis Martiis [k].

Cycle v. 20. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 8 B.C. 94. Nund. Char. 3.

Nonæ Martiæ March 2 B.C. 93.

Nundinal Martii 4.

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xxxi. Herculi Custodi Fidio in Circo Flaminio.

U.C. 674 B.C. 80 Pridie Non. Jun. [l]

Cycle vi. 9. 378. Kal Jan. Jan. 2 B.C. 80. Nund. Char. 5.

Pridie Nonas Junii June 25.

Nundinal Junii 2.

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xxxii. Summani Statua restituta.

U.C. 691 B.C. 63—62 iii Nonas Decembres [m].

Cycle vii. 2. 378. Kal. Jan. Febr. 26 B.C. 63. Nund. Char. 5.

iii Nonas Decembres Feb. 12 B.C. 62.

Nundinal Decembris 8.

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[h] Livy, xl. 52. Morcelli, Tom. ii. p. 9. De Stilo Inscriptionum Latinarum. Macrobius, i. 10. 241. Kal. Maffæan. ad x K. Jan.

[i] Ovid, Fasti, iv. 157. Obsequens, xcvii. Solinus, i. §. 126. Val. Max. viii. xv. 12 Magnifica. Servius, ad Æn. i. 720: viii. 636.

[k] Ovid, Fasti, iii. 429. Kal. Prænestinum. Pliny, H. N. xvi. 79. 474. A. Gellius, v. 12.

[l] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 209–212. Kalend. Venusinum. Dionys. Hal. ii. 49: iv. 58. Plutarch, Sulla, xxxv. Appian, B.C. i. 102. 103. Servius, ad Æn. viii. 301.

[m] Cicero, in Catilin. iii. 8, 18—9, 22: De Divin. i. 10, 16: 12, 19: ii. 20, 46: 21, 47. Dio, xxxvii. 9. 10. 34. Obsequens, cxxii. Arnobius, vii. 245. Lactantius, iii. 17. Cf. Festus, xiv. 390. 7 Provorsum.

xxxiii. Veneris Genetricis and Forum Cæsaris[n].

U.C. 708 B.C. 46 vi Kal. Octobres[o].

Cycle vii. 19. 445. Kal. Jan.-Oct. 11 B.C. 47. Nund. Char. 6.

* vi Kalendas Octobres July 22.

Nundinal Septembris 2.

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xxxiv. Ædes Divi Julii.

U. C. 725 B. C. 29 xv Kal. Sept.[p]

B. C. 29. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

xv Kalendas Septembres August 17.

Nundinal Augusti or Sextilis 7.

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xxxv. Victoriæ in Curia.

U. C. 725 B. C. 29 v Kal. Septembres[q].

v Kalendas Septembres August 27.

Nundinal Sextilis 7.

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xxxvi. Ædes Apollinis in Palatio.

U. C. 726 B. C. 28 viii Idus Octobres[r].

B. C. 29–28. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B.C. 29. Nund. Char. 6.
viii Idus Octobres October 7.

Nundinal Octobris 5.

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[n] Dio, xliii. 22. cf. 43: xlv. 6. Livy, cxvi. Appian, B.C. ii. 102. cf. 68, 69. 76: iii. 28. Cf. Suetonius, Julius, xxvi. 4: lxi: lxxviii: cf. lxxxiv. 1. Pliny, H. N. viii. 64. 496: ix. 57: xxxv. 9: 40. §. 30. p. 519: 45. p. 546: xxxvii. 5. p. 9. Obsequens, cxxviii. Solinus, xlv. 10: liii. 28. Servius, ad Æn. i. 720: vii. 637. Scholia in Nubes Arist 52.

[o] Kalendarium Pincianum.

[p] Kal. Amiternin. Antiatin. Ancyran. Mon. Livy (Ruperti) iv. 792. Dio, li. 22 (20): cf. xliv. 6: 51: xlvii. 18, 19: li. 19: liv. 35. Appian, B. C. i. 4: Caius, 106: 148. Sueton. Aug. ci. 7: De Prodigiis. Plin. H. N. xxxv. 36. § 15. p. 475. Tacitus, Hist. i. 42. Servius, ad Æn. i. 290: iii. 58: v. 45.

[q] Kalendarium Maffæanum. Dio, li. 22. (20. 23). Sueton. Aug. ci. 3. Historia Aug. Alexander Severus, 14: Probus, 12. Symmachi Relatio, and the Responsio Ambrosii.

[r] Dio, liii. 1, 2. Kalendarium Antiatinum. Marmor Ancyranum, iv. 791. Suetonius, Aug. xxix. 3. 8. Livy, iii. 64: cf. iv. 29 (25): vii. 20. Obsequens, cvii: cxii. Velleius Pat. ii. 81. Ovid, Tristia, iii. 1. 59–64. Propertius, iv. vi. 11: 15–68: 75–84. Asconius, p. 115. In Orat. in Toga Candida. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 4. § 2. 605. Servius, ad Æn. vi. 69: viii. 720. Appian, Illyrica, 30. Horace, Od. i. xxx: Epp. i. iii. 17.

xxxvii. Forum Vetus Instauratum.

U. C. 731 B. C. 23 Kalendis Augustis[s] ór Sextilibus.

B. C. 23. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Augusti August 1.

Nundinal Augusti 7.

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xxxviii. Ara Fortunæ reducis.

U. C. 735 C. Sentius
B. C. 19 Q. Lucretius[t].

iv Idus Octobres[u].

B. C. 19. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 6.

*iv Idus Octobres October 12.

Nundinal Octobris 5.

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xxxix. Ara Pacis Augustæ.

U. C. 741 Tib. Claudius Nero
B. C. 13 P. Quinctilius Varus[w].

iv Nonas Julias[w].

B. C. 13. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 6.

iv Nonas Julias July 4.

Nundinal Julii 1.

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xl. Vesta in Palatium recepta.

U. C. 742 C. Valgius Rufus
B. C. 12 P. Sulpicius Quirinus.

iv Kalendas Maias[x].

B. C. 12. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 8.

iv Kalendas Maias April 29.

Nundinal Aprilis 6.

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xli. Theatrum Marcelli.

U. C. 743 B. C. 11. iv Nonas Maii[y].

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[s] Pliny, H. N. xix. 6. p. 311. Cf. Propertius, iii. xvi. 11–20. Suetonius, Aug. xxix. 4. Plutarch, Marcellus, xxx. Vell. Pat. ii. 93.

[t] Dio, liv. 10 : cf. 34. Sueton. Aug. lvii. 6.

[u] Kalendarium Amiterninum. Cf. also ad xviii Kal. Januarias.

[w] Kalendarium Amiternin. and Antiatin. Cf. Dio, liv. 25.

[x] Kalendarium Prænestinum. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 945 : 949–954 : Metam. xv. 864.

[y] Pliny, H. N. viii. 25. Marmor Ancyranum. Livy, Ep. cxxxviii. Suetonius, Aug. xxix. 4 : 11 : xliii. 13. Plutarch, Marcellus, xxx. Dio, liv. 26 : cf. xliii. 49 : liii. 30. 33.

B. C. 11. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 3.

* iv Nonas Maii May 5.

Nundinal Maii 3.

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xlii. Ara Lugdunensis.

U. C. 744 B. C. 10 Kalendis Augusti[z].

B. C. 10. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 6.

* Kalendæ Augusti August 2.

Nundinal Augusti 2.

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xliii. Ara Pacis Augustæ.

U. C. 745 Nero Claudius Drusus
B. C. 9 T. Quinctius Crispinus.

iii Kalendas Februarias[a].

B. C. 9. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 3. Nund. Char. 8.

iii Kalendas Februarias February 1.

Nundinal Januarii 8.

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xliv. Ædes Martis.

U. C. 752 B. C. 2. Kalendis Augusti[b].

B. C. 2. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 5.

† Kalendæ Augusti August 1.

Nundinal Augusti 1.

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xlv. Ædes Castoris et Pollucis.

U. C. 759 A. D. 6 M. Æmilius Lepidus
L. Arruntius[c].

vi Kalendas Februarias[d].

A. D. 5–6. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30. A. D. 5. Nund. Char. 2.

* vi Kalendas Februarias January 25 A. D. 6.

Nundinal Januarii 2.

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[z] Sueton. Caius, xx. 1. Dio, liv. 32 (28): (cf. xlvi. 50: liv. 22: 25). Livy, cxxxvii. Suetonius, Claudius, ii. Cf. Juvenal. i. 44. Strabo, iv. 3. Seneca, Opp. iv. 387. De Morte Claudii Cæs. vi. 1: Epp. xci. Opp. iv. 161. Kalendarium Capranicor. Antiatinum.

[a] Kalendarium Prænestinum. Ovid, Fasti, i. 709—711.

[b] Vell. Pat. ii. 100. Dio, lx. 5. Cf. Marmor Ancyranum: Livy, iv. 793. Sueton. Aug. xxix. 3—7: Claudius, iv. 1: xiii. 3: Julius, xliv. 2. Servius, ad Æn. i. 292.

[c] Dio, lv. 27: 25. Suetonius, Tiberius, xx. 3.

[d] Kalendarium Prænestinum. Ovid, Fasti, i. 705—708: Consolatio ad Liviam, 283—288.

xlvi. Aræ Cereris et Opis.

U. C. 760 A. D. 7. Cretico et Longino[e].

iv Idus Augusti[e].

A. D. 6–7. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 6. Nund. Char. 5.

* iv Idus Augusti August 8.

Nundinal Augusti 1.

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xlvii. Concordiæ Augustæ.

U. C. 763 A. D. 10 P. Cornelius Dolabella
C. Junius Silanus.

xvii Kalendas Februarias[f].

A. D. 9–10. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 9. Nund. Char. 5.

xvii Kalendas Februarias January 14.

Nundinal Januarii 5.

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xlviii. Ædes Augusti.

U. C. 790 A. D. 37. iii Kalendas Septembres
Pridie Kalendas Septembres[g].

A. D. 37. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 5.

iii Kalendas Septembres August 30.
Pridie Kalendas Septembres August 31.

Nundinal Augusti 1.

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[e] Kalend. Amiternin. Capranicor. Antiatin. Ovid, Tristia, ii. i. 23.

Ipse quoque Ausonias Cæsar matresque nurusque
Carmina turrigeræ dicere jussit Opi.
Jusserat et Phœbo dici quo tempore ludos
Fecit quos ætas aspicit una semel.

Cf. Dio, lv. 30. 31 : from whom it may be collected that the moving cause of this dedication was a scarcity at the time. The viii Kal. Sept. (Maff. Capran. Pinc. Allifan. Kal.) was sacred to Ops. Also the xiv Kal. Jan. (Amiternin. and Maffæan.)

[f] Kalendarium Prænestinum. Dio, lvi. 25 : lv. 8. Suetonius, Tiberius, xx. 3.

[g] Dio, lix. 7. 6 : lvi. 33 : 46. Tacitus, Ann. i. 11 : vi. 45. Pliny, H. N. xii. 42. 613 : xxxv. 10. 407 : 40 § 28. 514. Suetonius, Tiberius, xlvii. 1 : Caius, xxi. 1.

SECTION VII.—*Application of the Nundinal test to other dates in the Roman Calendar.*

i. *Those of the first celebration of particular ceremonies.*

i. The Lectisternium Primum. The first Lectisternium is dated by Livy in the year of the military tribunes M. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus, C. Duilius, L. Atilius Longus[h], and their colleagues, U. C. 355 of Varro, B. C. 399, which we consider to answer to U. C. 356 B. C. 398. It is related by Dionysius[i], on the authority of Piso, that this first ceremony of its proper kind lasted seven days. Livy[h] makes it continue eight days.

There is every reason to believe that the ceremony of the Lectisternium had a stated date in the calendar; determined in every subsequent instance of the same kind by the particular time at which the first of all happened to have been celebrated: and there is every reason too to believe that this stated date was the Ides of November. The Ides of the month at least appear to have been appropriated both to this ceremony and to that of the Epulum Jovis. Arnobius observes[k], Jovis Epulum cras est...Lectisternium Cereris erit Idibus proximis. The characters LEC... may still be read in the fragments of the Antiatine calendar, opposite to the Ides of December; and the Jovis Epulum in the Capranic and Antiatine opposite to the Ides of September; and Epulum indicitur in the Maffæan and Antiatine opposite to the Ides of November[l].

The ostensible cause of this first ceremony of the Lectisternium at Rome was a pestilence which had prevailed during the preceding part of the summer; Gravis pestilensque... aestas[h]; and that must determine it to the autumnal quarter of the year in general: to which in fact the context of Livy's account[m] contributes to fix it. The difference in the statements respecting the duration of the first ceremony of this kind, which has been adverted to, appears to us to imply that it took up one Nundinal cycle, and either began on one

[h] v. 12. 14. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 17.
[i] xii. 9. 10.
[k] vii. 238.
[l] Cf. also the Kalendarium Rusticum, Gruter, cxxxviii.-cxxxix. and the Constantian calendar: the Jovis Epulum on the Ides of November.
[m] v. 12. 14.

Nundinal day and ended on the day before the next, or began the day after one Nundinal day, and ended on the day before the next. In the former case it must have lasted eight days, as Livy supposes it to have done; in the latter seven, the length assigned it by Piso and Dionysius. Let us see then how far the calendar confirms this conjecture; the date of the ceremony being assumed to have been the Ides of November, U. C. 356 B. C. 398.

Cycle iii. 3. 378. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 399. Nund. Char. 5.

Idus Novembres Nov. 28.

Nundinal Novembris 5.

The Ides of November then this year were Nundinal. Consequently if the ceremony really began on the Ides of November, it is probable that it lasted eight days, as Livy supposes it to have done, i. e. just one Nundinal cycle; from Nov. 28 inclusive to December 5 inclusive. This is not inconsistent even with Piso's account of its length, understood of the interval between the two Nundinal days, Nov. 28 and Dec. 6, actually occupied by it.

This ceremony then of the first Lectisternium, when it comes to be inquired into, turns out to be a striking confirmation of the Nundinal cycle of our Calendar. There were many other instances of the same kind of ceremony, of later date than this[n]. But all these were cases of its repetition: and their date was no doubt a fixed one, determined by that of the first; in which no regard could be paid to the Nundinal cycle any longer.

ii. The Equitum Transvectio*.

U. C. 450 B. C. 304 Idibus Quinctilibus[o].

* The ceremony of the Clavifigium should properly come next; the first instance of which in Livy is Cn. Genucius Aventinensis L. Æmilius Mamercinus ii U. C. 392 B. C. 362: vii. 3. But we omit this for a reason which may appear hereafter.

[n] Livy, vii. 2. (the 3rd according to Livy, cf. vi. 21.) 27: viii. 25. (the 5th): xxii. 1: xxiv. 10: xxix. 14: xxxvi. 1: xl. 59: xlii. 30. Cf. also Obsequens passim. Macrobius, Saturn. i. 6. 221.

[o] Livy, ix. 46. 45. Dionysius, vi. 13. Valerius Max. ii. ii. 9. De Magistratuum Off. Pliny, H. N. xv. 5. 153. Suetonius, Aug. xxxviii. 3. Caius, xvi. 5. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 83. Cf. 53. 59. Martial, Epigramm. v. 42. 5. Auctor, De Viris, Q. Fabius Rullianus.

Cycle vii. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 305. Nund. Char. 1.

Idus Quinctiles July 30.

Nundinal Quinctilis 2.

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iii. Defossio Galli et Gallæ, Græci et Græcæ.

U. C. 526 B. C. 228[o] v Kalendas Decembres[p].

Cycle x. 5. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2 B. C. 228. Nund. Char. 6.

v Kalendas Decembres* December 12.

Nundinal Novembris 7.

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iv. Jovis Epulum Indictum.

U. C. 546 M. Claudius Marcellus
B. C. 208 T. Quinctius Crispinus[q].

Idibus Novembris[r].

Cycle i. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 209. Nund. Char. 1.

Idus Novembres November 25.

Nundinal Novembris 2.

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v. Jejunium Cereris.

B. C. 192–191 M. Acilius Glabrio[s]
U. C. 563 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

iv Nonas Octobres[t].

Cycle i. 18. 377. Kal. Jan. Aug. 4 B. C. 192. Nund. Char. 3.

* iv Nonas Octobres May 22 B. C. 191.

Nundinal Octobris 3.

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* Some of our authorities date the first instance of this Defossion, U. C. 521 B. C. 233. In that year Nov. 26 Roman fell Nov. 26 Julian, the day after a Nundinal day. The first instance of this sacrifice however seems to have been B. C. 228; and it may explain the confusion on this point that Fabius Maximus Verrucossus was consul B. C. 228 as well as B. C. 233.

[o] Orosius, iv. 13. 248. Zonaras, viii. 19. 403 B. Cf. Plutarch, Marcellus, iii. Dio, Fragm. xii. Scholia ad Lycophron, 603–609. Minucius Felix, xxx. § 4. Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, lxxxiii. Pliny, H. N. xxxvii. 3. 121. 122.

[p] Plutarch, Marcellus, iii.

[q] Livy, xxvii. 36.

[r] Kalendarium Maffæan. et Antiatinum.

[s] Livy, xxxvi. 37. Cf. Obsequens, liv.

[t] Kalendarium Amiterninum.

ii. Those of the first celebration of certain *Ludi.*

i. The Quinquatrus Minores.
U. C. 443 C. Junio iii
B. C. 311 Q. Æmilio ii[t].

Idibus Juniis[u].

Cycle vi. 18. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 26 B. C. 311. Nund. Char. 2.

* Idus Juniæ July 5.

Nundinal Junii 6.

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ii. Floralia.
U. C. 516 B. C. 238[w] iv Kalendas Maias[x].

Cycle ix. 19. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 16 B.C. 238. Nund. Char. 5.

iv Kalendas Maias June 1.

Nundinal Aprilis 7.

This is Pliny's account of the institution of these Ludi, according to Varro. Velleius Paterculus dates their first institution three years after U. C. 510 Torquatus et Sempronius[y]; i. e. U. C. 513 B. C. 241.

Cycle ix. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B.C. 241. Nund. Char. 4.
* iv Kalendas Maias May 18.

Nundinal Aprilis 4.

Ovid on the other hand dates it in the consular year of L. Postumius Albinus M. Popillius Laenas, U. C. 581 B. C. 174–173[z].

Cycle ii. 12. 377. Kal. Jan. Oct. 9 B. C. 174. Nund. Char. 3.

iv Kalendas Maias February 22.

Nundinal Aprilis 5.

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t Livy, ix. 30. 33. Ovid, Fasti, vi. 651–692. 710. Valerius Max. ii. v. 4. De Frugalitate. Auctor, De Viris, Appius Claudius Cæcus.

u Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. p. 56. Pliny, H. N. xxviii. 3. 119. Festus, xi. 243. 7. Minusculæ. Censorinus, De Die Natali, xii. Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, lv. has the Ides of January for the Ides of June.

w Pliny, H. N. xviii. 69. § 3. 240. Cf. Scholia ad Germanici Cæsaris Aratea Phænomena, p. 116, 117.

x Pliny, loc. cit. Kalendarium Præneſtinum: Maffæan: Constantianum. Lactantius, i. 20.

y i. 14. Cf. Ovid, Fasti, v. 285 sqq. Festus, xiv. 393. 1. Publicius. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 49. Cf. Varro, iv. 22.

z Fasti, v. 311–330. Cf. 183. 378. 414, 415. 417. Livy, xli. 28. xlii. 1.

And it must be admitted that no time of the year could have agreed better to the reason which he assigns for the institution itself.

> Convenere patres et si bene floreat annus
> Numinibus nostris annua festa vovent.
> Adnuimus voto. consul cum consule ludos
> Postumio Laenas persoluere mihi[a].

In which too he is virtually confirmed by the Fasti Verrii Flacci, in the note attached to this day iv Kalendas Maias, Propter sterilitatem frugum. Yet after all we are of opinion that Varro's date is the true one of the first institution.

iii. Saturnalia, attached to the xiv Kalendas Januarias.

U. C. 537 Cn. Servilius Geminus
B. C. 217 C. Flaminius ii.[b]

Cycle x. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 217. Nund. Char. 6.

* xiv Kalendas Januarias Jan. 1 B. C. 216.

Nundinal Decembris 8.

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iv. Ludi Apollinares.

These games were first instituted U. C. 542 B. C. 212, Q. Fulvius Flaccus iii. App. Claudius Pulcher[c]; but were first celebrated on a stated day, B. C. 208[d]. And this day according to Livy was iii Nonas Quinctiles; though in the fragments of the Julian calendar, which still remain[e], it is the ii Nonas, or Pridie Nonas.

Cycle i. 1. 377. Kal. Jan. Dec. 29 B. C. 209. Nund. Char. 1.

iii Nonas Quinctiles July 20.

Nundinal Quinctilis 2.

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v. Sacrum Matris Idææ.

The reception of the Mater Idæa at Rome took place U. C. 550 B. C. 204, M. Cornelio Cethego P. Sempronio

[a] v. 327.
[b] Livy, xxii. 1 (2): xxi. 57.
[c] Ibid. xxv. 12. 2. 3: cf. xxvi. 23: xxvii. 11. Festus, xvii. 476. 1 Salva res est. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 17. 289. Servius, ad Æn. vi. 70.
[d] Livy, xxvii. 23. 21, 22.
[e] The Maffæan, Amiternine, Antiatine. Also the Constantian.

Tuditano Coss.[f] The day first kept in honour of her was Pridie Idus Aprileſs[g].

Cycle i. 5. 356. Kal. Jan. Dec. 13 B. C. 205. Nund. Char. 4.

† Pridie Idus Apriles March 22 B. C. 204.

Nundinal Aprilis 4.

This day therefore was Nundinal: and yet that is no objection in this instance. The day was taken from the Phrygian calendar, and could not be dispensed with. In the Phrygian calendar it fell on the 22nd of March; as we hope to shew some time or other. This case then is a very decided one to prove that, when a well authenticated date of this kind in the first instance fell on the Nundinal day, there was a reason for it—which for that time and that occasion superseded the rule.

vi. Ludi Scenici Megalesia.

The Megalesia properly so called were first celebrated U.C. 560 B.C. 195–194[h], P. Cornelione Scipione Africano ii Ti. Sempronio Longo Coss. Their stated date in the calendar was Pridie Nonas Apriles[i].

Cycle i. 15. 355. Kal. Jan. Sept. 5 B. C. 195. Nund. Char. 3.

* Pridie Nonas Apriles Dec. 5 B. C. 195.

Nundinal Aprilis 3.

iii. Those of some cases of *Feriæ Conceptivæ.*

i. The Feriæ Latinæ.

i. U. C. 542 B. C. 212 v Kal. Maias[k].

Cycle x. 21. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 17 B. C. 212. Nund. Char. 3.

* v Kalendas Maias May 10.

Nundinal Aprilis 3.

ii. U. C. 578 B. C. 177–176 iii Nonas Maii[l].

Instauratæ iii Idus Sextiles[l].

[f] Livy, xxix. 14. (11. 13): cf. xxxvi. 36.

[g] Kalendarium Prænestinum, Prid. Idus Apriles.

[h] Livy, xxxiv. 42. 54: xxxvi. 36. Val. Max. ii. iv. 3 De Spectaculis. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 179. 255—348.

[i] Cf. Ovid, loc. cit. Kal. Maffæan. and Prænestinum.

[k] Livy, xxiv. 2, 3. 12.

[l] Ibid. xli. 16. 14.

Cycle ii. 9. 356. Kal. Jan. Oct. 15 B. C. 177. Nund. Char. 4.

iii Nonas Maii February 13.

Nundinal Maii 7.

* iii Idus Sextiles May 21.

Nundinal Sextilis 4.

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iii. U. C. 583 B. C. 172–171 Kalendis Juniis[m].

Cycle ii. 14. 355. Kal. Jan. Oct. 11 B. C. 172. Nund. Char. 6.

* Kalendæ Juniæ March 8 B. C. 171.

Nundinal Junii 2.

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iv. U. C. 586 B. C. 169–168 Pridie Idus Apriles[n]

Pridie Kal. Apriles.

Instauratæ iv. iii. Pr. Idus Nov.[o]

Cycle ii. 17. 378. Kal. Jan. Oct. 2 B. C. 169. Nund. Char. 7.

† Pridie Kal. Apriles January 20 B. C. 168.

Pridie Idus Apriles February 1.

Nundinal Martii 7 : Aprilis 8.

iv Idus Novembres August 27 B. C. 168.

Nundinal Novembris 7.

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v. U. C. 691 B. C. 63 xvi Kal. Martias[p].

Cycle vii. 2. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 26 B. C. 63. Nund. Char. 5.

xvi Kal. Martias Merkedonii 14 May 2.

Nundinal Merkedonii 1.

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vi. U. C. 698 B. C. 56 Kal. Aprilibus[q].

Cycle vii. 9. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 6 B. C. 56. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Apriles April 4.

Nundinal Aprilis 3.

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ii. The Compitalia.

Compitalia dies attributus Laribus ut alibi: ideo ubi viæ competunt tum in compiteis sacrificatur. quotanneis is dies

[m] Ibid. xlii. 35 : 28, 29 : 32 : 36.

[n] Ibid. xliv. 19. 22. Acta Diurna apud Dodwell, Dissertationes Cyprianicæ. See supra, p. 45.

[o] Livy, xlv. 3.

[p] Cicero, De Divin. i. 11, 18.

[q] Ibid. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 4–6 : Ad Fam. i. 7.

concipitur[r]—Compitalia, festa quæ in compitis agebant[s]—Compitalitiis Lares ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis[t]—Ob id Compitalia et ludos Laribus primum instituisse (Servium creditum, Laris familiaris filium[u])—Ἔπειτα κατὰ πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στενωποὺς ἱερὰς κατασκευασθῆναι καλιάδας ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων ἥρωσι προνωπίοις, καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐνομέθησεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν, πελάνους εἰσφερούσης ἑκάστης οἰκίας . . . ἣν ἔτι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῶν Κρονίων . . . Κομπιτάλια προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στενωπῶν· κομπίτους γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς καλοῦσι[w]. The Paganalia were instituted at the same time: Ἵνα δὲ καὶ τούτων (the Pagi) ἡ πληθὺς μὴ δυσεύρετος . . ᾖ . . βωμοὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι θεῶν ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ φυλάκων τοῦ πάγου, οὓς ἔταξε θυσίαις κοιναῖς γεραίρειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἅμα συνερχομένους, ἑορτήν τινα καὶ ταύτην ἐν ταῖς πάνυ τιμίαις καταστησάμενος, τὰ καλούμενα Παγανάλια· καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων οὓς ἔτι διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι συνέγραψεν[x].

Macrobius[y] ascribes the institution of the Compitalia to Tarquinius Superbus, in honour of the Lares and of the Dea Mania. According to him too it was usual at first to propitiate this goddess by the actual sacrifice of one of the Vernæ of the family, Pro familiarium sospitate; which is incredible, except of a sacrifice in effigy[z]. He continues[y]; Quod sacrificii genus Junius Brutus Consul Tarquinio pulso aliter constituit celebrandum. nam capitibus allii et papaveris supplicare jussit . . . factumque est ut effigies Maniæ suspensæ pro singulorum foribus periculum si quod immineret familiis expiarent. ludosque ipsos ex viis compitorum in quibus agitabantur Compitalia adpellitaverunt. We do not hesitate however to refer the institution to Servius Tullius.

In one of the preceding testimonies, a double celebration of the Compitalia seems to be implied; one in the spring the other in the summer. Ovid (Fasti, v. 130) and the Venu-

[r] Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 58. Cf. Festus, x. 199. 8 Laneæ Effigies. Servius, ad Georg. ii. 382.

[s] Festus, i. 90. 2 Compitalia.

[t] Suetonius, Aug. xxxi. 6: cf. Nero, lvii. 3.

[u] Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 70. 788.

[w] Dionysius Hal. iv. 14. De Servio Tullio.

[x] Dionysius, iv. 15.

[y] Saturnalia, i. 7. 232, 233.

[z] Cf. Festus, x. 199. 8 Laneæ Effigies. xiv. 346. 11. Pilæ.

sine calendar have the feast or holiday of the Lares surnamed Præstites on the Kalends of May*; and there is a day in the Antiatine Kal. (the Ides of October,) opposite to which is Vern-Dies Festus. The Ides of August too were Servorum Dies Festus. Probably in the course of time it had come to be usual to celebrate a kind of Compitalia on both these days. The proper time of this festival however, though conceptive, was the end or beginning of the Roman year; in the winter season, or the early spring. Sunt qui et allium et ulpicum inter Compitalia ac Saturnalia seri aptissime putent[a] — Hoc amplius Saturnalibus et Compitalibus[b]. In Dionysius' time they were commonly celebrated soon after the Saturnalia. They lasted only one day[c]. A. Gellius has preserved the form of words in which it was usual to make the day known: Verba sollemnia Prætoris . . . quibus more majorum ferias concipere solet quæ appellantur Compitalia: ea verba hæc sunt: Die . Noni . Popolo . Romano . Quiritibus . Compitalia . Erunt . Quando . Concepta . Fverint . Nefas[d]. This clearly recognizes the use of the cycle of nine days, before the institution of this ceremony; but we think it may also be inferred from it that the *ninth* day in this instance could never have fallen on the Nundinal day: particularly if the Nundinal day was Nefastus from the first. In that case it must have been superfluous to announce that the incidence of the Compitalia on it would make it Nefastus. Cases of the Compitalia then would be among the most decisive tests of the Nundinal cycle; so far at least that no Compitalician day should be found to have fallen on a Nundinal day. They are however rare of occurrence in the contemporary history.

* Cf. Tibullus, ii. i. 59.

> Rure puer verno primum de flore coronam
> Fecit, et antiquis imposuit Laribus.

[a] Pliny, H. N. xix. 34. 399.
[b] Cato, De Re Rustica, lvii. 2.
[c] Festus, xv. 412. 8. Quinquatrus.
[d] x. 24: cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 4 ad fin.

i. U. C. 694 B. C. 60—59 Pridie Kal. Januarias [e].

Cycle vii. 5. 354. Kal. Jan. Feb. 18 B. C. 60. Nund. Char. 5.

Pridie Kalendas Januarias Feb. 6 B. C. 59.

* Nundinal Decembris 8.

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ii. U. C. 695 B. C. 59—58 iii Kalendas Januarias [f].

Cycle vii. 6. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 7 B. C. 59. Nund. Char. 3.

* iii Kalendas Januarias January 26 B. C. 58.

Nundinal Decembris 5.

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iii. U. C. 705 B. C. 50—49 iv Nonas Januarias [g].

Cycle vii. 16. 354. Kal. Jan. Nov. 14 B. C. 50. Nund. Char. 4.

iv Nonas Januarias Nov. 15 B. C. 50.

Nundinal Januarii 4.

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iv. U. C. 821 A. D. 68 Kal. Januariis [h].

B. C. 68. 366 * Kal. Januariæ Jan. 1 B. C. 68. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Januariæ Jan. 1.

Nundinal January 3.

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iv. Those of the Initia of Magistrates.

i. Initia Consularia.

U. C. 260=261 Sp. Cassius Viscellinus ii

B. C. 494=493 Postumus Cominius Auruncus ii [i].

Kalendis Septembribus [i].

Cycle x. 4. 378. Kal. Jan. Feb. 9 B. C. 493. Nund. Char. 8.

Kalendæ Septembres Sept. 5.

Nundinal Septembris 7.

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ii. Initia Tribunitia Prima.

U. C. 261 B. C. 493 Sp. Cassius Viscellinus ii

Postumus Cominius Auruncus ii.

iv Idus Decembres [k] December 12.

Nundinal Decembris 6.

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[e] Cicero, ad Attic. ii. 2, 3.

[f] Ibid. Oratio xxxvii. in L. Pison. 4, 8. Asconius, 123: cf. Dio, xxxviii. 13. B. C. 58.

[g] Cicero, ad Attic. vii. 7.

[h] Suetonius, Nero, xlvi. 5: l. 1.

[i] Dionysius, vi. 49. 91. Livy, ii. 33.

[k] Dionysius, vi. 89. 34–48. 49. Livy, ii. 32, 33: xxxix. 52 (xxxviii. 56).

iii. Initia Decemviralia Prima.

U. C. 304 B. C. 450 Appius Claudius Crassus
Ti. Genucius Augurinus.

Idibus Maiis [l].

Cycle xi. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Feb. 16 B. C. 450. Nund. Char. 7.

* Idus Maiæ May 30.

Nundinal Maii 6.

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iv. Abdication of the Tribuni Militares Plebeii Primi.

U. C. 311 B. C. 443 Pridie Kalendas Martias [m].

Cycle i. 6. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 14 B. C. 443. Nund. Char. 3.

Pridie Kalendas Martii March 11.

Nundinal Februarii 6.

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v. Initia Tribunitia Militaria.

U. C. 353 B. C. 401 Kalendis Octobribus [o].

Cycle ii. 24. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 9 B. C. 401. Nund. Char. 4.

* Kalendæ Octobres October 1.

Nundinal Octobris 2.

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vi. Initia Tribunitia Militaria.

U. C. 364 B. C. 390 Kalendis Quinctilibus [p].

Cycle iii. 11. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 8 B. C. 390. Nund. Char. 3.

Kalendæ Quinctiles July 27.

Nundinal Quinctilis 3.

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vii. Initia Consularia.

U. C. 424 B. C. 330 L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas ii
C. Plautius Decianus [q].

Kalendis Quinctilibus [q].

Cycle v. 23. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 19 B. C. 330. Nund. Char. 5.

Kalendæ Quinctiles July 15.

Nundinal Quinctilis 4.

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[l] Supra, Decemviral Correction, vol. i. 400.
[m] Supra, Intercalary years, i. 518.
[o] Livy, v. 9.
[p] Ibid. 31, 32.
[q] Ibid. viii. 19: 20.

v. Those of Coloniæ *deductæ*.

i. Saticulam.

U. C. 441 B. C. 313 Kalendis Januariis [r].

Cycle vi. 16. 355. Kal. Jan. Jan. 25 B. C. 313. Nund. Char. 6.

Kalendæ Januariæ Jan. 25.

Nundinal Januarii 6.

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ii. Brundisium.

U. C. 510 B.C. 244 Nonis Sextilibus [s].

Cycle ix. 13. 377. Kal. Jan. Jan. 10. B. C. 244. Nund. Char. 2.

* Nonæ Sextiles Sept. 1.

Nundinal Sextilis 4.

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iii. Placentiam.

U. C. 536 B. C. 218—217 Pridie Kal. Januarias [t].

Cycle x. 15. 378. Kal. Jan. Jan. 12 B. C. 218. Nund. Char. 8.

Pridie Kalendas Januarias Jan. 24 B. C. 217.

Nundinal Decembris 3.

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iv. Bononiam.

U. C. 565 B. C. 190—189 iii Kalendas Januarias [u].

Cycle i. 20. 355. Kal. Jan. Aug. 29 B. C. 190. Nund. Char. 8.

iii Kalendas Januarias Aug. 16 B. C. 189.

Nundinal Decembris 2.

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vi. Those of certain occasions in the life of Julius Cæsar, Augustus, or Tiberius.

i. (Augustus Cæsar.) Toga Virilis Sumta.

U. C. 707 B. C. 48—47. xv Kal. Novembres [w].

r Festus, xvii. 483. 1. Saticula.

s Vell. Pat. i. 14. Livy, xix. Eutropius, ii. 9. Florus, i. 20. 1. Polybius, x. 1. § 9. Zonaras, viii. 7. 380 C. D. Cicero, xxxii. Pro Sextio, 63, 131: Ad Attic. iv. 1.

t Asconius, 120, 121. Livy, xxi. 25. Polybius, iii. 40 § 3–5. 66 § 9. Vell. Pat. i. 14. cf. Tacitus, Historiæ, iii. 34.

u Livy, xxxvii. 57: 48: 50. Vell. Pat. ii. 15.

w Kalendarium Antiatinum. Cf. Suetonius, Vita, viii. 2. Dio, xlv. 2. Nicolaus Damascenus, Vita, iv.: *Orellii*, Lipsiæ. 1804.

Cycle vii. 18. 354. Kal. Jan. Oct. 22 B. C. 48. Nund. Char. 8.

xv Kalendas Novembres July 31.

Nundinal Octobris 7.

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ii. Julius Cæsar Deus invictus appellatus.

U. C. 709 B. C. 45 vii Kalendas Junias [x].

B. C. 46—45. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 46. Nund. Char. 1.

vii Kalendas Junias May 24.

Nundinal Maii 8.

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iii. (Augustus.) Primus Imperii dies.

U. C. 711 B. C. 43 vii Idus Januarias [y].

B. C. 44—43. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 44. Nund. Char. 6.

* vii Idus Januarias Jan. 5.

Nundinal Januarii 6.

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iv. Ludi Victoriæ Cæsaris.

U. C. 711 B. C. 43 xiii Kalendas Augustas [z].

B. C. 44—43. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 44. Nund. Char. 6.

xiii Kalendas Augustas July 18.

Nundinal Julii 1.

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v. Consulatus Primus.

U. C. 711 B. C. 43 xiv Kal. Septembres [a].

* xiv Kalendas Septembres August 17.

Nundinal Augusti 2.

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[x] Kalendarium Amiterninum. Dio, xliii. 45: xliv. 6: xlv. 6. Cf. Suetonius, Tib. xvii. 4. Lydus, De Mensibus, ii. 2. 166. l. 10.

[y] Gruter, ccxxix. 1. Pliny, H. N. xi. 73. p. 424. Tacitus, Ann. i. 10. Suetonius, Aug. xlv. 2. Obsequens, cxxix. Cicero, Philippica, v. 17. 48: cf. vi. 1–2: 6, 16. 17: ix. 1. 2. Dio, xlv. 15. 16. 17: xlvi. 29. The motion was past January 4 Roman. But Augustus was at Spoletum in Umbria—where the news probably reached him on the 7th, the distance being three days' journey.

[z] Kalendarium Maffæanum et Amiterninum. Dio, xlv. 6, 7: App. B. C. iii. 28. Cicero, Ad Attic. xv. 2. Ad Fam. xi. 27, 28. Suetonius, Aug. x. 3: cf. Jul. lxxxviii. 2.

[a] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12. 261, 262. Suetonius, Aug. xxvi. 2: xxxi. 2: xcv. 2. Dio, xlvi. 41—46: lv. 6: lvi. 30. Marmor Ancyranum, iv. 782. Vell. Pat. ii. 65. 61. Livy, cxix. Appian, B. C. iii. 94. Tacitus, i. 9. Solinus, i. 32. Plutarch, Cicero, xlv. xlvi. Brutus, xxvii.

vi. Triumvir i. R. P. C.

U. C. 711 B. C. 43 Ex ante d. V. Kal. Decembres [b].

v Kalendas Decembres Nov 25.

Nundinal Novembris 6.

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vii. Natalis Divi Julii primum publice celebratus.

U. C. 712 B. C. 42 iv Idus Julias [c].

B. C. 43—42. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 43. Nund. Char. 8.

* iv Idus Julias July 11.

Nundinal Julii 3.

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viii. Tribunicia Potestas.

U. C. 723 B. C. 31 v Kal. Julias [e].

B. C. 32—31. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 B. C. 32. Nund. Char. 6.

v Kalendas Julias June 26.

Nundinal Junii 7.

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ix. Augustus Obsidionali Corona donatus a Senatu.

U. C. 724 B. C. 30 Idibus Septembribus [f].

B. C. 30. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

† Idus Septembres Sept. 13.

Nundinal Septembris 5.

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[b] Lapis apud Sigonium in Fastos Consulares, p. 549. Oxonii, 1801. Suetonius, Aug. xxvii. 1. Appian, B. C. iv. 2. Dio, xlvi. 54, 55.

[c] Kalend. Amiternin. et Antiatinum. Dio, xlvii. 18. 16: xliv. 4, 5.

[e] Vell. Pat. ii. 103. Dio, li. 19: cf. liii. 32. Another date seems to be assigned it by Dio also, (liii. 32,) viz. U. C. 731 B. C. 23: cf. Tacitus, i. 9, and the Ancyran Monument, p. 790. In that year, the first of June Roman coincided with the first of June Julian, and June 4 was Nundinal. Consequently v Kal. Jul. June 27 was the day before a Nundinal day.

[f] Pliny, H. N. xxii. 6. 213. 214. Fasti Consulares, Sigonius. This day falls on a Nundinal day. But the Ides of the month was a stated day of the meeting of the senate.

x. Nomen Imperatoris.

U. C. 725 B. C. 29 xvi Kal. Maias [g].

B. C. 29. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

* xvi Kalendas Maias April 15.

Nundinal Aprilis 1.

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xi. Nomen Augusti.

U. C. 727 B. C. 27 Idibus Januariis
xvii Kal. Februarias
xvi Kal. Februarias [h].

B. C. 27. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

Idus Januariæ Jan. 13
† xvii Kal. Febr. .. 16
* xvi .. .. .. 17.

Nundinal Januarii 8.

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xii. Pontifex Maximus.

U. C. 742 B. C. 12 Pridie Non. Martias [i].

B. C. 12. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 8.

* Pridie Nonas Martias March 7.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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xiii. Augustalia.

U. C. 743 B. C. 11 iv Idus Octobres [k].

B. C. 11. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 3.

iv Idus Octobres October 13.

Nundinal Octobris 2.

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[g] Dio, lii. 1. 41. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 673. 677.

[h] Ovid, Fasti, i. 589: cf. 591—616. Kalendarium Prænestinum. Censorinus, De Die Natali, xxi. Appian, B. C. 1. 5. Dio, liii. 16. (18). 20: 1, 2. Marmor Ancyranum, iv. 802. Livy, cxxxiv. Vell. Pat. ii. 91. Suetonius, Aug. vii. 4: cf. xcv. 1. Florus, iv. 12. 66. Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 72. p. 101. l. 11.

[i] Kalendarium Prænestin. et Maffæan. Ovid, Fasti, iii. 419. Marmor Ancyr. iv. 787. Suetonius, Aug. xxxi. 1. Dio, xlix. 15: liv. 15. 27. 28. Appian, B. C. v. 131.

[k] Kalendarium Maffæan. et Amiterninum. Dio, liv. 10. 34. (30, 31, 32): lvi. 29. 28. 46, 47: lviii. 12. Suetonius, Claudius, vi. 4. Galba, viii. 1. Tacitus, Ann. i. 15. 54, 55: iii. 64: Histor. ii. 95. Suidas, Αὔγουστος. Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 86. p. 107. l. 15.

xiv. Pater Patriae.

U. C. 752 B. C. a Nonis Februariis[l].

B. C. 2. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 5.

* Nonae Februariae Feb. 6.

Nundinal Februarii 6.

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xv. Judicia Plebis Decurionibus conjuncta.

U. C. 764 A. D. 11 Pridie Kalendas Junias[m].

A. D. 10—11. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 10. Nund. Char. 8.

* Pridie Kalendas Junii May 29.

Nundinal Maii 8.

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xvi. Honores cœlestes Augusto decreti.

U. C. 767 A. D. 14 xv Kal. Octobres[n].

A. D. 13—14. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 13. Nund. Char. 8.

xv Kalendas Octobres Sept. 15.

Nundinal Septembris 5.

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xvii. Tiberius. Toga Virilis sumta.

U. C. 727 B. C. 27 viii Kal. Maias[o].

B. C. 27. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

viii Kalendas Maias April 24.

Nundinal Aprilis 6.

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xviii. Adoptio.

U. C. 757 A. D. 4 v Kal. Julias[p].

A. D. 3—4. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 31 A. D. 3. Nund. Char. 4.

v Kalendas Julias June 25.

Nundinal Junii 5.

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[l] Ovid, Fasti, i. 119—144. Kalendarium Prænestinum. Suetonius, Aug. lviii. 1. Historiæ Aug. Adrian. 6.

[m] Gruter, clxxix. 1. Suetonius, Augustus, xxxii. 7.

[n] Kalendarium Amiterninum. Tacitus, Ann. i. 11. Dio, lvi. 46. 30: 42, 43.

[o] Kalendarium Prænestin. Suetonius, Tib. vii. 1. Dio, lvii. 2. 18. Kalendarium Antiatinum, ad xvi. Kal. Dec.

[p] Vell. Pat. ii. 103, 104: 112. Kalendarium Amiternin. Suetonius, Tib. ix. 5: xi. 10: xiv. 1: xv. 1, 2: xvi. 1. Tacitus, Ann. i. 3. Dio, lv. 9. 13: lvi. 28.

xix. Pontifex Maximus.

U. C. 768 A. D. 15 vi Idus Martias[q].

A. D. 14—15. 365. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A. D. 14. Nund. Char. 3.

vi Idus Martias March 8.

Nundinal Martii 8.

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vii. Those of certain *Dies Insigniores.*

i. Aqua Julia respondere cœpit.

U. C. 714 B. C. 40 Pridie Kal. Januarias[r].

U. C. 721 B. C. 33 Pridie Kal. Januarias[s].

B. C. 41—40. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 B. C. 41. Nund. Char. 6.

* Pridie Kalendas Januarias Dec. 29†

Nundinal Decembris 8.

B. C. 33. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

Pridie Kalendas Januarias December 30.

Nundinal Decembris 2.

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ii. Aqua Virgo respondere cœpit.

U. C. 735 B. C. 19 v. Idus Junias[t].

B. C. 19. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 6.

v. Idus Junias June 9.

Nundinal Junii 7.

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iii. Pompa Prolata.

U. C. 749 B. C. 5 iii Idus Apriles[u].

B. C. 5. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 4.

* iii Idus Apriles April 11.

Nundinal Aprilis 2.

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† On the supposition that December this year had 32 days, and that Pridie Kal. Jan. properly meant the 31st day.

[q] Kalendarium Prænestinum. Cf. Dio, liv. 28: lvi. 31.

[r] Dio, xlviii. 32, 33, 34: xlix. 14.

[s] Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 162, 9.

[t] Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 162. l. 10. Pliny, H. N. xxx. 25. 597: xxxvi. 24. § 9: 713. Dio, liv. 11. (10). Suetonius, Aug. xlii. 1.

[u] Pliny, H. N. vii. 11. p. 77.

iv. Feriæ ex S. C. propter Libonem.

U.C. 769 A.D. 16 Idibus Septembribus[w].

A.D. 15—16. 366. Kal. Jan. Dec. 30 A.D. 15. Nund. Char. 6.

Idus Septembres September 11.

Nundinal Septembris 2.

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v. Feriæ ex S. C. propter Sejanum.

U.C. 784 A.D. 31 xv Kalendas Novembres[x].

A.D. 31. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 5.

xv Kalendas Novembres October 18.

Nundinal Octobris 4.

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vi. Funus Corvi.

U.C. 788 A.D. 35 v Kalendas Apriles[y].

A.D. 35. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

* v Kalendas Apriles March 28.

Nundinal Martii 5.

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vii. Inferiæ Agrippinæ.

U.C. 790 A.D. 37 xv Kalendas Novembres[z].

A.D. 37. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 5.

xv Kalendas Novembres October 18.

Nundinal Octobris 4.

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viii. Natalis Caii praetermissus.

U.C. 792 A.D. 39 Pridie Kalendas Septembres[a].

A.D. 39. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

† Pridie Kalendas Septembres August 31.

Nundinal Augusti 7.

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[w] Kalendarium Amiterninum. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 27–32 : cf. 1 : 41. Vell. Pat. ii. 129, 130. Suetonius, Tib. xxv. 2. 7. Dio, lvii. 15.

[x] Fasti Consulares. Tacitus, Ann. vi. 25. Dio, lviii. 9—11 : 12 : 14 : 17.

[y] Pliny, H. N. x. 60. 130.

[z] Cf. Suetonius, Tiber. lxxiii. 1. 2. Claudius, ix. 1. Caius, xiii. xiv. 1–4 : xv. 1–3. Tac. Ann. vi. 25. 1. Dio, lix. 3 : 6.

[a] Kalendarium Capranicor. Suetonius, Caius, xxvi. 3 : viii. 1. Dio, lix. 20 : 7 : 6. His birthday this year fell on a Nundinal day; and that was probably the reason of its being passed over.

ix. Inferiæ Germanico.

U.C. 794 A.D. 41 vii Idus Octobres [b].

A.D. 41. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

vii Idus Octobres October 9.

Nundinal Octobris 7.

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x. Natale Imperii Claudii a voluntariis celebratum.

U.C. 795 A.D. 42 ix Kal. Februarias [c].

A.D. 42. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 3.

ix Kal. Februarias January 24.

Nundinal Januarii 3.

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xi. Nuptiæ Claudii et Agrippinæ.

U.C. 802 A.D. 49 Kalendis Januariis [d].

A.D. 49. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 5.

Kalendæ Januariæ January 2.

Nundinal Januarii 5.

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xii. Honos Pallanti a Senatu decretus.

U.C. 805 A.D. 52 iv Kalendas Februarias [e].

A.D. 52. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 6.

* iv Kalendas Februarias January 30.

Nundinal Januarii 6.

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xiii. Aquæductus a Caio inchoatus a Claudio consummatus.

U.C. 805 A.D. 52. Kalendis Augustis [f].

A.D. 52. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 2. Nund. Char. 6.

† Kalendæ Augustæ August 2.

Nundinal Augusti 1.

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[b] Kalendarium Antiatinum. Suetonius, Claudius, xi. 6, 7.

[c] Dio, lx. 12. (10): Suetonius, Caius, lviii. 1: Claudius, x. 6. 7: xi. 1–10.

[d] Tacitus, Ann. xii. 5. cf. 1: xi. 23. Suetonius, Claudius, xxix. 4. Cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 4. 8.

[e] Pliny, Epp. viii. 6: vii. 29. Tacitus, Ann. xii. 53: 52: 58.

[f] Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 164, 165: 201. § 116. Suetonius, Claudius, xx. 2: Caius, xxi. 2. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 24. § 10. p. 714. Cf. Tacitus, Ann. xi. 13. (11. U.C. 800 A.D. 47.) Victor, Epitome, in Claudio.

xiv. Capitolii Fundamenta jacta.

U.C. 823 A.D. 70 xi Kalendas Julias[g].

A.D. 70. 365. Kal. Jan. Jan. 1. Nund. Char. 8.

xi Kalendas Julias * June 21.

Nundinal Junii 1.

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xv. Capitolii Fundamenta denuo jacta.

U.C. 833 A.D. 80 vii Idus Decembres[h].

A.D. 80. 366. Kal. Jan. Jan. 3. Nund. Char. 2.

vii Idus Decembres * December 9.

Nundinal Decembris 2.

* It is observable that both these dates fall on the same feria of the Nundinal Cycle, viz. the feria 5ta: and possibly that might be purposely regarded in the second because it had previously been the case in the first.

[g] Tacitus, Hist. iv. 52: 38, 39. Dio, lxvi. 10: 24. Suetonius, Vespasianus, viii. 12: Titus, viii. 9: Domitianus, v. 1. Plutarch, Poplicola, xv.

[h] Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 377.

DISSERTATION VIII.

On the Rectification of the Fasti Consulares *adapted to the Varronian epoch of the Æra of the City.*

CHAPTER I.

Section I.—*Date of the first Consulate.*

The most authentic date of the first consulate in our opinion is that which Polybius had occasion to specify, in the account of the different treaties between the Romans and the Carthaginians which he had premised to his history of the first Punic war. These treaties were preserved in the Roman Capitol[i]; and the first, it appears, was dated Coss. Lucio Junio Bruto Marco Horatio (Pulvillo): whom Polybius styles Τοὺς πρώτους καταστα θέντας ὑπάτους[k] μετὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων κατάλυσιν: and by whom, he adds, Συνέβη καθιερωθῆναι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου. ταῦτα δέ ἐστι πρότερα τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τριάκοντα ἔτεσι λείπουσι δυοῖν[i].

As the date of the passage of Xerxes was certainly B. C. 480; the date of the first consulate 28 years before it must have been B. C. 508.

The next in point of authenticity to this of Polybius, (if it is not in fact the same with it,) we consider to be that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[l]; Olympiad 68. 1, in the Archontic year of Isagoras. The 68th Olympiad began at midsummer, B. C. 508. The Archontic years at Athens at this time

[i] Lib. iii. 22. 2 ad princip.: iii. 26.

[k] Cf. Livy, ii. 8.

[l] v. 1: cf. 74, 75. and iv. 85.

still began on the first of Gamelion; though it is very probable that Dionysius was under an impression that they began even now on the first of Hekatombæon: as they did in his own time, and had done long before it. On this principle each of his notes of time too would fix the first consulate to midsummer B. C. 508; and so far there would seem to be no difference between his date of that event and Polybius'. And this would appear further from his reckoning 120 years, or 30 Olympic cycles complete, between this date of the first consulate Olympiad 68. 1 (B. C. 508) and the date of the capture of the city by the Gauls, Olympiad 98. 1[m] (B. C. 388). According to him too, the consular year of Marcus Valerius (brother of Poplicola) and Publius Postumius Tubertus was the fifth from the Regifuge, and yet coincided with Olympiad 69. 1, Acestorides ii[n]: i. e. B. C. 504: and that also makes the date of the first consulate B. C. 508.

But Dionysius did in reality date the first consular ingress four months before the end of the Roman year current at the time[o]; Polybius more probably four months after its beginning: the year being the same in either case, B. C. 508 ex Kalendis Januariis. According to Dionysius then, and according to the place of the month Februarius in the calendar at this time, the date of the first consulate was on or about the Kalends of October, B. C. 508; and that being little more than six months before the Palilia B. C. 507, there must have been, on that supposition, 243 years, six months, or 244 years in round numbers, 61 Olympic cycles complete, between his date of the Foundation, Olympiad vii. 1 B. C. 751 ex Palilibus, and his date of the first consulate Olymp. 69. 1 B. C. 507 ex Palilibus also[p].

SECTION II.—*On the verification of the date of* B. C. 508. *On the* Regifugium *of the Roman Calendar.*

The date of the *Consulatus primus* at Rome is necessarily that of the expulsion of the kings; and the act or effect of this expulsion *a priori* would appear to be capable of being expressed by such a term as *Regifugium*; i. e. *Regis fuga.*

[m] i. 74. [n] v. 37. Cf. Livy, ii. 16. [o] v. 1. [p] Cf. i. 75: iv. 85.

Regifugium sacrum dicebant, says Paullus[q], quo die Tarquinius fugerit e Roma. Ausonius too:

> Nec Regifugium pulsis ex arce tyrannis
> Lætum Romanis fas reticere diem[r].

It would seem from Ovid that in the Julian calendar of his time this term of the Regifugium stood opposite to the vi Kalendas Martias February 24 Roman; and from his own observations on that day it is very clear that he construed the term itself in its apparently literal and obvious meaning of the *Flight of the king;* i. e. of the Tarquins.

> Nunc dicenda mihi Regis fuga. traxit ab illa
> Sextus ab extremo nomina mense dies[s].

The history of the expulsion follows[t]. It may be summed up in the last two lines.

> Tarquinius cum prole fugit. capit annua consul
> Jura. dies regnis illa suprema fuit[u].

But this term of the Regifugium was either distinctly attached to certain days in the calendar or was to be understood as so attached; and these days were those which had the characters Q. R. C. F. after them, the meaning of which we explained supra[w]. When the Rex sacrorum or sacrificulus had performed the part assigned him on these days, and in the Comitium; it was usual for him to make a precipitate retreat from the scene of the sacrifice, i. e. the Comitium: as if pursued by some one or in danger of being so. And hence the name of the Regis fuga or Regifugium, connected with such days also: *Ἔστι γοῦν τις ἐν ἀγορᾷ θυσία πρὸς τῷ λεγομένῳ Κομητίῳ πάτριος, ἣν θύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τάχος ἄπεισι φεύγων ἐξ ἀγορᾶς*[x]. The number of days so characterized in the calendar from the beginning to the end of the year cannot be known at present. Three however occur even in the fragments which still remain, and in the first six months; the vi Kalendas Martias[y], the viii Kalendas Apriles[z],

[q] Apud Festum, xvi. 431. 11 Regifugium.
[r] Eclogæ, 385. De Feriis Romanis, verse 13.
[s] Fasti, ii. 685.
[t] Ibid. 687—852.
[u] Ibid. 851, 852.
[w] Page 51. Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. i.
[x] Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, lxiii.
[y] Ovid, loc. cit: and the Maffæan Calendar.
[z] Kalendarium Maffæanum, Prænestinum, and Vaticanum.

and the ix Kalendas Junias[a]: and very probably there was one more, the Nones of Februarius[b]; though it does not appear in the calendar, followed by these characters.

On this principle, if the Regifugium of the calendar was capable of denoting or implying the expulsion of the kings *virtute termini* merely; there must have been *four* days at least, any of which would have as good a right to be considered the date of that event as another. In the Prænestine calendar however, or Fasti Verrii Flacci as it is sometimes called, there is a note opposite to one of these days, the viii Kalendas Apriles, March 25 Roman; which as filled up by the editor Foggini must have been purposely intended to correct any such inference as this from the occurrence of these characters merely: Hunc diem plerique, perperam *litteras* Q. R. C. F. interpretantes, putant appellari *ita* quod eo die ex Comitio fugerit *Rex Tarquinius*. nam neque Tarquinius abiit ex Comitio, *et* alio quoque mense eadem *sacra* fiunt.

The truth is it was well known to some of the learned Romans that these two things, the Regifugium of the calendar, and the expulsion or flight of the Tarquins, were perfectly distinct. Regifugium dies notatur in Fastis vi Kalendas Martias, ut ait Verrius ita dictus quia eo die rex Tarquinius Roma fugerit. quod falsum esse arguit Cincius in libro Fastorum, et Tullius de Feriis; qui Saliares Virgines et Salios adesse dicunt regi sacrorum cum facit sacrificium in Comitio, quo facto statim fugit: quod verum cognoverit esse qui legerit (in) Fastis dies tales quales notantur sic, Q. Rex C. F. id est, Quando Rex Comitiavit Fas, id est ad Comitium itat. his enim tantum feriis regi sacrorum in Comitium nec in aliis ire licet: qui mos videtur adscitus ex Etruria[c].

It does not appear indeed that the characters Q. C. R. F. were attached to the vi Kalendas Martias; though in the Maffæan calendar, which is the only one entire for the month of Februarius, the term Regifugium is attached to it. Possibly therefore this day was open to a misconstruction, to which no other day in the calendar besides, which had the

[a] Kalendarium Maffæanum, Exquilinum, Venusinum. Cf. Ovid, Fasti, v. 727.

[b] Festus, xv. 408. 3: Q. R. C. F. Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 54.

[c] Festus, xv. 432. 1 Regifugium. Cf. Fragmenta, p. 43, 44.

characters in question actually attached to it, was liable; viz. that of being confounded with the traditionary date of the Regis Fuga in the literal and historical sense of the words: which would so far excuse both Ovid, and as it would seem the learned grammarian Verrius Flaccus also, for having actually put a construction on this note of the Regifugium here which they would never have put on the characters Q. C. R. F: as if those had denoted Quando Rex (Tarquinius) Comitio Fugit. Yet that the note of the Regifugium really implied no more in this instance than those characters in any other instance may be fairly inferred from the explanation of Festus, just adduced. And with respect to the term itself, he proceeds to tell us[e] it was to be seen in the calendar attached to a very different day from the vi Kalendas Martias, viz. the Kalends of June: Regifugium item dies notatur in Fastis Kalendis Juniis: qui dies quia totus nefastus non est legi debet cum nota N P non N, quod ille dies sit e Nefasto Fastus*.

Now that this word Regifugium applied to the Kalends of June meant a very different thing from what it implied as attached to the vi Kal. Martias may be inferred from the testimony of Macrobius; which ascertains the fact that the Kalends of June were the traditionary date of the expulsion: and therefore that the note of the Regifugium attached to that day must have been intended in the literal and historical sense. Nonnulli putaverunt Junium mensem a Junio Bruto, qui primus Romæ consul factus est, nominatum: quod hoc mense id est Kalendis Juniis pulso Tarquinio sacrum Carnæ deæ in Cœlio monte voti reus fecerit[f]. The

* It is here to be observed that Festus says this day *ought* to be read with the characters N P; not that it was so. And this implies that it was actually read in the Fasti with the character N: and that is its character in the Maffæan calendar, the only one entire for the month of Junius. We think too it may be inferred from this remark of Festus that he attached to the note of Regifugium in this instance just the same meaning as he would have attached to the characters Q. R. C. F. had they been found in the calendar there. In that case he mistook its meaning in this instance. Its meaning here is historical; and the same as Regis fuga in the sense of the expulsion of the king.

[e] Loco citato. [f] Saturnalia, i. 12. 260.

Kalendæ Juniæ were sacred to the Dea Carna[g]. A sacrifice to the Dea Carna made on the proper day must have been made on the Kalends of June: and a sacrifice to this goddess on her proper day and on the day of the expulsion also, and in commemoration of the expulsion itself, is a demonstrative proof that the day of the expulsion must have been the Kalends of June.

It thus appears that there was another Regifugium in the calendar, in the proper sense of the Regis or Regum fuga, the feast day of the Dea Carna, the Kalends of June, the Kalendæ Fabariæ as the same day was also called, from the nature of the sacrifice made to the Dea Carna upon it[h]. That this was the true date of the expulsion, handed down by tradition, may be argued from various additional considerations. i. From the mistatement of Dionysius itself, that the first consuls were appointed four months before the end of the year, Τεττάρων μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπολειπομένων[i]. If that statement was founded in fact, the traditionary date of the expulsion must have been attached to the Kalends of October; a day connected with the Regifuge, so far as we know, in no manner whatsoever. But, if it confounded four months from the end, with four months from the beginning, of the proper year, it would be partly true and partly false; and rightly understood it would be a strong confirmation of the true date of the expulsion, the Kalends of June: just four months by the calendar of this time after the Kalends of January the same year.

ii. From the date of the triumph of Poplicola, after the battle in which Brutus fell[k]. This date in the Fasti Triumphales is the Kalends of March[l]: and Plutarch[m] must have so read it there. Both the death of Brutus and the triumph of Poplicola certainly came within the compass of the first consular year. Brutus was still consul when he fell in the battle; and Poplicola when he triumphed the day after. That could not have been possible if this first year had borne

[g] See vol. i. 300. Diss. iii. ch. iii. sect. vi. v.

[h] Vol. i. 300.

[i] v. 1. [k] v. 17. Livy, ii. 7.

[l] See supra, p. 67.

[m] Poplicola, ix. It appears also from the context of Plutarch that the time of the year, at which the battle was fought just before, was still more or less the winter season, when the weather was bad. The Kalends of March, B. C. 507, fell on March 20.

date from the vi Kal. Martias, B. C. 508; though it might have been, if it had borne date from the Kalends of October B. C. 508. It is evident too from the contemporary accounts[n] that even after the triumph of Valerius and the funeral of Brutus the consular year had still some time to run. It deserves to be mentioned also that the mourning of the matrons for Brutus, limited as it was according to rule, in such cases, to ten months[o], would begin in this instance on the Kalends of March, and last to the end of December; in the most exact conformity to the ancient rule of the Nundinal calendar, which under the circumstances of the case was possible.

iii. It is agreed among the historians of these events[p] that very soon after the expulsion, and just at the time when the conspiracy of the Aquillii and the Vitellii for the restoration had been detected and punished; wheat harvest for the climate of Rome either had begun already or was now at hand. The moving cause of the conspiracy was the embassy sent by the Tarquins, De bonis restituendis. Among these bona was the produce of the *ager* or field, before the private property of Tarquin, but from this time forward dedicated to Mars; and ever after known by the name of the Campus Martius. A crop of wheat was growing on it at the time, either just cut down or now ready for the sickle; of the disposal of which Livy gives the following account: Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi: quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul inmissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aqua ut mediis caloribus solet[p].

This account is authenticated by the formation of the well known *insula* in the midst of the Tiber; afterwards known by the name of the insula Æsculapii: the materials cast into the river on this occasion having been stopped as they were floating down the stream, and fixed upon that locality in the bed of the river itself. The season of the year is determined to midsummer by the testimony of Livy. It remains only

[n] Dionysius, v. 19. Livy, ii. 8. Plutarch, Poplicola, x-xii.

[o] Cf. vol. i. p. 71.

[p] Livy, ii. 5. Dionysius, v. 13. Plutarch, Poplicola, viii.

to shew that midsummer and about a month after was the ordinary season of wheat harvest also, for this part of Italy; that is, the vicinity of Rome.

i. Sed cum matura fuerit seges antequam torreatur vaporibus æstivi sideris qui sunt vastissimi per ortum Caniculæ celeriter demetatur[q] — Ab exortu Vergiliarum (v Idus Maias) ad solstitium quod fit ultimo mense Junio circa octavam partem Cancri fere examinant alvei . . . . tuncque peracto solstitio usque ad ortum Caniculæ, qui fere dies triginta sunt, pariter frumenta et favi demetuntur[r] — (*De Bubus*) Itaque hibernæ stabulationi eorum praeparanda sunt stramenta, quæ mense Augusto intra dies triginta sublatæ messis præcisa in acervum exstrui debent[s] — His diebus (the latter half of July) locis temperatis et maritimis messis conficitur, et intra dies triginta quam desecta est stramenta præcisa in acervum congeruntur[t] — ii. Quarto intervallo inter solstitium et Caniculam[u] plerique messem faciunt; quod frumentum dicant quindecim diebus esse in vaginis, quindecim florere, quindecim exarescere cum sit maturum[w]—iii. In the Kalendarium Rusticum[x], the Messis Hordearia et Fabaria is assigned to Julius, the Messis Frumentaria to Augustus. Palladius has barley harvest in the first half of June; and wheat harvest in the second[y]: and the completion of wheat harvest in the first half of July[z]. In the Geoponica the harvest season of both kinds, including the threshing, is supposed to extend from the ix Kal. Julias[a], (June 23 Roman, midsummer-day at that time,) to the ix Kal. Septembres[b], August 24 Roman: i. e. through the two summer months properly so called.

iv. Inde loci sequitur calor aridus et comes una
Pulverulenta Ceres et Etesia flabra Aquilonum[c].

At rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur æstu[d],
Et medio tostas æstu terit area fruges.

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q Columella, ii. xxi. § 1.
r Ibid. ix. xiv. § 5.
s Ibid. vi. iii. § 1. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 67. 3: 71.
t Columella, xi. ii. 54. Barley harvest is dated in the latter half of June; i. e. a month earlier, xi. ii. § 50.
u Varro, De Re Rustica, i. xxviii. 2.
w Varro, De Re Rustica, i. xxxii. p. 197. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 10 § 4: § 6.
x Gruter, cxxxviii: cxxxix. Morcelli, i. 76, 77. SS. Rustici, p. 853.
y vii. Tit. ii. § 1. z viii. Tit. 1.
a iii. 6. b iii. 11 ad fin.
c Lucretius, v. 740.
d Virgil, Georgica, i. 297.

Magnaque cum magnò veniet tritura calore [e].

Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum:
Astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus, et quo
Duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem [f].

On which Servius, Ad mensem adludit Julium, qui dictus est in honorem Cæsaris: quo et uvæ et frumenta maturescunt.

Rura colam, frugumque aderit mihi Delia custos,
Area dum messes sole calente teret [g].

Rura ferunt messes, calidi cum sideris æstu
Deponit flavas annua terra comas [h].

Sed cum maturis flavescit messis aristis,
Atque diem gemino Titan extenderit astro,
Hauserit et flammis Lernæi brachia Cancri [i]—

Siccas insana Canicula messes
Jamdudum coquit, et patula pecus omne sub ulmo est [k].

Albæ Leone flammeo calent luces,
Tostamque fervens Julius coquit messem [l].

Certe non Latiæ jam miscent jurgia leges,
Et pacem piger annus habet; messesque reversæ
Dimisere forum [m].

Nudus membra dehinc solares respicit horas
Junius, ac Phœbum flectere monstrat iter.
Idem maturas Cereris designat aristas,
Floralesque fugas lilia fusa docent [n].

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[e] Virgil, Georgica, i. 190.
[f] Virgil, Eclogæ, ix. 47.
[g] Tibullus, i. v. 21.
[h] Ibid. ii. i. 47.
[i] Columella, x. De Cultu Hortorum, 311.
[k] Persius, iii. 5.
[l] Martialis, Epigr. x. 6. 26.
[m] Statius, Silvæ, iv. iv. 39: Midsummer is meant, and the month of July, when the sun was in Leo: vers. 12–22: 27–29. This was vacation time at Rome. Cf. Suetonius, Claudius, xxiii. 1: xiv. 4. Galba, xiv. 8. Augustus, xxxii. 6. Seneca, iv. 390. De morte Claudii Cæsaris, vii. 3, 4: where Claudius is speaking to Hercules; Nam si memoria repetis ego eram qui tibi ante templum tuum jus dicebam totis diebus mense Julio et Augusto: cf. cap. xii.

Ferulæque tristes sceptra pædagogorum
Cessent, et Idus dormiant in Octobres.
Martial, Epigr. x. 62. 10.

[n] Ausonius, Tetrasticha De Mensibus.

Κάρκινον ἠέλιος μετανείσεται ἀστάχυας δὲ
Καρφαλέους κείρει γειοπόνος δρεπάνῃ [o].

Quatuor æqualî cœlum discrimine signant
In quibus articulos anni deus ipse creavit,
Ver Aries; Cererem Cancer; Bacchumque ministrans
Libra; Caper brumam genitosque ad frigora menses [p].

Tunc Cererem fragili properant destringere culmo:
Graius et in patrias denudat membra palæstras,
Et tepidum pelagus siccatis languet in undis [q].

Lastly, The truth of the preceding account is strikingly confirmed by the testimony of our calendar; on the supposition that the date of the Regifuge was actually the Kalends of June B. C. 508. B. C. 508, cycle ix. 13. 355, the Kalends of January fell on March 1, and the Kalends of June on June 29; i. e. on what in this year was midsummer-day itself. It could not therefore fail to be the case that wheat harvest if not already begun must have been at hand, on the very day of the expulsion; and by the time of the detection of the conspiracy (some days later *) must have been actively going on. Nor among the other arguments of the true day of the expulsion must we omit to mention the tradition alluded to *supra* [r]; that the first Nundinal conventus among the Romans took place after the Regifuge. The foundation of this tradition was probably the fact that the very first day after the expulsion was a Nundinal day; for the character of the year (B. C. 508) being 2, and the year itself being

* It is clear from the context of Livy, ii. 3–5. that even after the arrival of the embassy several days elapsed before the detection of the conspiracy. Dionysius, v. 13, mentions a period of twenty days, after the detection, during which any of the Romans who had accompanied the Tarquins were to be at liberty to return home; but not after it.

[o] Anthologia, iii. 19 Μῆνες Ῥωμαίων. The threshing season is assigned to July.

[p] Manilius, ii. 656.

[q] Ibid. iii. 629 De Cancro.

We may observe on this subject, that Livy, xxiii. 32. 31: U. C. 539 B. C. 215, mentions a decree of the consul Q. Fabius Maximus, passed that year, Consulto prius senatu; ut frumenta omnes ex agris ante Kalendas Junias primas in urbes munitas conve-herent. This was meant of the corn of that year; and of the Kalends of June next ensuing. Cf. xlii. 21. 9. B. C. 172. The Kalends of June B. C. 215 fell on June 23; not long before midsummer-day at that time. It seems then that the corn was fit to be carried by the end of June, B. C. 215. Cf. also xxiv. 20. 9. B. C. 214. Tacitus too will shew that the corn was ripe in Italy, A. D. 69, before the xv Kal. Aug. July 18, at least: Histor. ii. 91: 87. [r] Page 11.

common, the character of Junius was 2 : i. e. the day after the Kalends of June was Nundinal. No doubt Brutus took advantage in some manner or other of this coincidence to confirm the act of the expulsion, and to establish the new order of things; and that might give occasion to its passing with posterity for the first instance of the Nundinal conventus itself. It was at least the first Nundinal conventus under the Republic.

We will assume therefore that Polybius' date of the first consulship, confirmed as it is by these circumstantial coincidences, is the true one. That point being established, we have it in our power to determine the absolute interval of time from the first consulate to the capture of the city by the Gauls; which will also determine the absolute number of consular years from one of those extremes to the other.

SECTION III.—*On the absolute length of the interval from the first Consulate to the capture of the City by the Gauls.*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus when laying before his readers the proofs on which he rested the truth of his date of the Foundation, Ol. vii. 1 B. C. 751 ex Palilibus, referred to the Tabulæ Censoriæ in general, or to some one of them in particular; still preserved in his own time, and dated in the 119th year from the Regifuge[s]. Δηλοῦται δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Τιμητικῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, ἃ διαδέχεται παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς, καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐσομένοις ὥσπερ ἱερὰ πατρῷα παραδιδόναι. πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν τιμητικῶν οἴκων ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς οἱ διαφυλάττοντες αὐτά. ἐν οἷς εὑρίσκω δευτέρῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς ἁλώσεως τίμησιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δήμου γενομένην, ᾗ παραγέγραπται καθάπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρόνος οὗτος· Ὑπατεύοντος Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου Ποτίτου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου Καπιτωλίνου μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἐνὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ ἔτει κ᾽,τ.λ. And this we may presume was all which was actually found in the tablet; if even so much as this, (unless it was afterwards inserted,) in what relates to the length of time before the capture when the census was held, and to the surname of one of the consuls, Capitolinus; neither of which could possibly have been inserted in this document at first. What follows, (whether right or

[s] i. 74.

wrong in itself,) is an inference of Dionysius for himself, concerning the date of a later event, from what he had found to be thus recorded of that of a former one; *Ὥστε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔφοδον, ἣν τῷ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν τίμησιν ἔτει γενομένην εὑρίσκομεν, ἐκπεπληρωμένων τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν γενέσθαι.*

The Regifuge being dated B. C. 508 whether from the Kalends of June, June 29, or from the Kalends of January, March 1, that year; the 119th year after it would begin to be current on the Kalends of June June 28, or on the Kalends of January Jan. 8, B. C. 390: in either case, according to these Tables, in the consular year of L. Valerius Potitus and T. Manlius Capitolinus. These consuls are mentioned by Livy in their proper order[t]. The census alluded to in this document, and in their year, is virtually recognized by him also[t]. Yet these consuls in the Fasti, according to Varro, stand as the representatives of U. C. 362 B. C. 392; two years earlier than the date assigned them in this contemporary document, the 119th year from the Regifuge, B. C. 390. There is some error then either in the Fasti or in this testimony; and in order to discover in which, we must endeavour to fix the true date of this consular year: for which purpose we will begin with considering what events are on record between the appointment of these two consuls and the capture of the city by the Gauls.

SECTION IV.—*On the date of the Consular year of* L. Valerius Potitus *and* Titus Manlius Capitolinus; *and on that of the Capture of the City by the Gauls.*

It may be assumed that, as a general rule, whatsoever exceptions there might be to it for particular reasons in certain instances, the date of the consular ingress at this period of Roman history was the Ides of December. It may be assumed also at present that the year of Valerius and Manlius, according to its rectified date, entered on the Ides of December, U. C. 363 Jan. 1 B. C. 391.

The first event related of their year is the celebration of the Ludi Magni which had been vowed by Camillus Veienti bello; and the dedication of the Ædes of Juno Regina, which also had been vowed by him on the same occasion[u].

[t] v. 31. [u] Livy, v. 31.

There is next an expedition In Æquos in Algido, followed by a triumph of Valerius and an ovation of Manlius; both which are restored in the Fasti Triumphales, but without the dates of the days. The next thing is a war with the Volsinienses; and coincident with it a drought and a pestilence[u]; the latter of which (if every thing which preceded it is related in its proper order of time) would bring us to the end of the summer or to the beginning of autumn at least, in this consular year, B. C. 391.

The next event was the death of the censor, C. Julius, and the appointment of a censor suffectus in his stead, M. Cornelius: Quæ res, observes Livy[w], postea religioni fuit; quia eo lustro Roma est capta: nec deinde unquam in demortui locum censor subficitur. This was no doubt one of the censors to whom the Tables quoted by Dionysius were attributed. He died therefore most probably after the census was over. If so, not before the Kalends of January B.C. 390, the 119th year from the Kalends of January B. C. 508.

Livy proceeds[u]: Consulibusque morbo implicitis placuit per interregnum renovari auspicia: for which purpose he supposes these consuls to have abdicated; and after three interregnums (15 days only at the utmost) the creation of Sex tribuni militum, consulari potestate: Ut etiamsi cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset copia magistratuum reipublicæ esset. And these tribunes, according to him, entered on office Kalendis Quinctilibus[x]; yet still in the consular year of Valerius and Manlius. Consequently on July 14 B. C. 391. Yet they were the same whose names appear in the Fasti U. C. 363 B. C. 391; the year after that of Valerius and Manlius, U. C. 362 B. C. 392: though it is clear from the context of Livy that *this* year was cut short by the abdication of these consuls, and that these six tribunes were elected and entered upon office in the same year of the city which in the Fasti was assigned to those consuls.

Under these tribunes there was an expedition against the Volsinienses, followed by a peace or truce for twenty years[x]; and after that the announcement of the voice of Aius Locu-

[u] Livy, v. 31. [w] Ibid. Cf. ix. 34. B. C. 310. [x] v. 32.

tius by M. Cædicius*: and lastly the trial of Camillus and his voluntary departure into banishment, arising out of the disposal of the spoils of Veii; all which things, to judge from the context of Livy[x], must have followed so soon one after another that, if the appointment of the six tribunes made part of the year of Valerius and Manlius, these events must have done so too.

Immediately however after the expatriation of Camillus, ambassadors arrived from Clusium, Auxilium adversus Gallos petentes[y]; which led to the mission of the three deputies[z] the sons of M. Fabius Ambustus, Qui senatus populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis: and as a consequence of that, with little or no delay, to the act of aggression on the Gauls, committed by one of the deputies, Q. Fabius[z], in particular. And this was instantly followed by the demand of redress, on the part of the Gauls, for such an offence against the law of nations; ambassadors being sent to Rome for that purpose: a demand however so far from being granted that according to Livy, even while these ambassadors were still on the spot and urging their suit, Quorum de pœna agebatur tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem annum crearentur[a]; their names following, as in the Fasti for U. C. 364 B. C. 390.

Now Clusium, according to Polybius[b], was only three days' journey from Rome; which must be understood as meant *ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ*: since it appears from Strabo[c] that it was in reality 800 stades, or 100 Roman miles, distant from the city. Yet even that distance was not greater than an army was capable of accomplishing in six days' time, by making a forced march at least; as the Gauls made on this occasion:

* In reference to which Juvenal,

> Templorum quoque majestas præsentior, et vox
> Nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem,
> Litore ab oceani Gallis venientibus, et Dîs
> Officium vatis peragentibus, his monuit nos.—xi. 111.

[x] v. 32. [y] v. 33. [z] Ibid. 35, 36. [a] v. 36. Cf. Appian, iv. Gallica, iii. who also dates the election of these military tribunes, including Fabius, after the arrival of the Gallic ambassadors at Rome. Cf. also Dio, Fragm. cxli. 2: and Diodorus, xiv. 114. 110.

[b] ii. 25, 2.

[c] v. 2. D'Anville makes it 95 Roman miles direct.

since it is agreed that upon the return of their ambassadors they set out without delay and with all speed for Rome. And as the day of the battle of Allia is known (Postridie Idus Quinctiles, Quinctilis 16), and the distance of Allia from the city is known (90 stades or 11 Roman miles*), and the Romans are said to have marched out and encountered the Gauls on the day of their arrival there, or the day after, (Quinctilis 16th at the latest)†; it follows that the appointment of the six tribunes, including Fabius, could not have been later than 12 or 14 days before the 16th of Quinctilis: and, if it took place while the deputies of the Gauls were still on the spot, in all probability it was so timed that these tribunes like their predecessors entered upon office on the first of Quinctilis itself.

If we stop then here to review the preceding accounts, it is evident from them that the year of Valerius and Manlius is supposed to have had two sets of magistrates; one which came in at the usual time but went out prematurely, before its year was half over; another which came into office at an unusual time, viz. on the Kalends of Quinctilis, but served an entire year, from the Kalends of Quinctilis in this year to the same time or near it in the next, when they were succeeded by magistrates of the same denomination, who also came into office either on the Kalends of Quinctilis or between that day and the fourth of the month at the latest: and under whom the city was taken, before they had been a month in office.

On this principle the date of the capture must have been as nearly as possible a year and six months after the ingress of the official year of Valerius and Manlius; the former being supposed to have been the 18th of Quinctilis, the latter the Ides of December. Now this conclusion is contradictory

* Cf. Livy, v. 37: Eutropius, i. 19: Diodorus, xiv. 114: Plutarch, Camillus, xviii. Vibius Sequester, De Fluminibus, p. 220: Allia Salaria via ad mil. xiiii. a Roma, ubi Galli victoria sunt potiti de Romanis.

† This is distinctly asserted in the Fragments of Dio Cassius, (SS. Dep. Vaticana Coll. ii. 154. cap. xxvi.) *Ὅτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεξαμένοις τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον οὐδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὥσπερ εἶχον καταστάντες ἔπταισαν.*

in the first place to the testimony of Dionysius, who supposes an interval of two years between the census, recorded in the official year of Valerius and Manlius, and the capture, and two years complete; reckoning the former at the beginning of the 119th year from the Regifuge, and the latter at the end of the 120th. It is contradictory in the next place to the testimony of Livy himself; who within less than six months after the capture, and therefore less than two years after the ingress of the year of Valerius and Manlius, speaks of Marcus Manlius, the saviour of the Capitol, as the same individual Qui triennio ante consul fuerat [d]. Triennio ante could not imply less than two years complete; though it might not necessarily imply more.

Now since the primary source of all this inconsistency in the subsequent account of these things is the supposition that the consuls of this year abdicated before the expiration of their official year, or at least before the Kalends of Quinctilis in their proper year; it appears to us that we have no alternative except to call this supposition in question. Nor do we see any reason why that *one* assumption may not be considered to be in error, without involving the rest of these accounts in the same category with itself. It is very possible that Valerius and Manlius might have served their whole year; and yet, (if we consider the pestilence or sickness which is said to have been prevalent in the latter half of their year,) that no comitia might have been held nor any magistrates appointed against the ensuing year, at the usual time of such things: so that the next who appear in the Fasti, the six military tribunes of U.C. 363 B.C. 391, might not actually enter on office before the Kalends of Quinctilis in their proper year.

On this principle every thing will be rendered consistent: only the proper year of these six tribunes will bear date Ex Kalendis Quinctilibus B.C. 390; and that of the next six Ex Kalendis Quinctilibus B.C. 389. Valerius and Manlius therefore would represent not only one full consular year, but the first six months also of another; for, if there were no magistrates ἐπώνυμοι from the Ides of December at the end

[d] Livy, v. 47.

of their year to the Kalends of Quinctilis in the next, the intervening six months, as far as the dates of the public proceedings were concerned, must have been considered and treated as still belonging *de facto* to them.

And this is the best (and in fact the only) explanation of the date of that censorian document, referred to by Dionysius, in the 119th year from the Regifuge, yet under these consuls notwithstanding. The years of the æra of the Regifuge being reckoned from the Kalends of January, the 119th year of that æra would actually bear date on the Kalends of January B. C. 390; at which time the proper official year of Valerius and Manlius, dated from the Ides of December, B. C. 391, must have been over: but, if no successors to them had yet been appointed, an act, like this of the closing or consummation of the census, could not possibly be dated under any magistrates but those of the last year. We say the close or consummation of the census; for we shall probably see hereafter that, according to the rule which was observed in that respect at this time, the signing or sealing of this census would be the last thing done by these censors, before they went out of office; and 18 months after they came into office. The date of the censorian ingress appears to have been the Ides of Quinctilis: and the term of the office of censor was 18 months. The censors of this Lustrum (which was the 33rd) entered office on the Ides of Quinctilis B. C. 392; and went out of office on the Ides of December B.C. 391: and, on or after that day, this census was sealed with the names of the consuls of B. C. 391, at the very end of the 118th year of the æra of the Regifuge, and at the very beginning of the 119th *.

* It is possible too that because of the unsettled state of things at the end of their proper year, B.C. 391, produced by the pestilence and mortality then prevailing, Valerius and Manlius might be purposely retained in office for the first half of B.C. 390; and might abdicate at last only against the comitia of the six tribunes who first entered office on the Ides of Quinctilis that year. It is observable too that Plutarch (Camillus xiv) dates the death of the censor Julius after the banishment of Camillus; and not long before the arrival of the deputies from Clusium. If so, he must have died as we conjectured some time in the first six months of B.C. 390; after the close of the census.

It is asserted indeed by Dionysius that the date of the capture, received σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων [e], was Olympiad 98. 1, Pyrgio; B. C. 388—387. Polybius may be considered to imply the same thing, by dating it apparently in the same year as the peace of Antalcidas; the 19th year after the battle of Ægospotamos, the 16th before that of Leuctra [f]: both meeting in B. C. 387. According to Diodorus too [g] the invasion of the Gauls, the capture of Rome by them, and the peace of Antalcidas, were all events of one year; that of Theodotus, (Olymp. 98. 2) B. C. 387. Dionysius therefore had doubtless good grounds for saying that chronologers had generally acquiesced in this date. The Greek chronologers are probably meant: and as the difference between their date, considered as Olymp. 98. 1 B. C. 388 reckoned from midsummer, and the true B. C. 389 reckoned from the same season of the year also, amounts only to one year; this consent of opinion among them on this point may be regarded as a confirmation of the true date. That the true year was actually B. C. 389, not B. C. 388, may be further made to appear by means of two facts, one of them mentioned by Livy, the other by Plutarch; which we shall proceed to subjoin.

i. Corn harvest, according to Livy [h], was not yet over, when the city was taken. Part of the crops of the year was still on the ground after the battle; which the Romans hastily secured and carried to Veii. Now, according to Livy also, the city was occupied the day after the battle [i]; and the date of the battle according to him too having been Quinctilis 18th [k], on this principle the day of the occupation of the city must have been Quinctilis 19. It has been seen [l] that wheat harvest for this part of Italy began in July, and lasted till August. B. C. 389, Cycle iii. 12, the Kalends of January fell January 21; the Kalends of Quinctilis July 16; and the 19th of Quinctilis August 3: at which time wheat harvest round about Rome must have been critically in the state in

[e] i. 74.
[f] i. 6, 1, 2: ii. 18, 22, 5. Cf. Strabo, vi. 4. Justin, vi. 6. § 5: xx. 5. § 4. Orosius, ii. 19: iii. 1. Appian, iv. Gallica, ii.
[g] xiv. 113–117. Cf. 110. 109: and 2. xiv. 3: 117. xv. 2, 3.
[h] v. 43.
[i] v. 37–39. 40–41.
[k] vi. 1.
[l] Supra, p. 140.

which Livy supposes it to have been; begun indeed and almost completed, but not quite over. The next year however Quinctilis 19th is seen to have fallen on the 15th of August; at which time it may very well be questioned whether any part of the harvest could still have been found on the ground.

ii. It appears from Plutarch that the battle of Allia itself was fought about the full of the moon: Ἐγένετο δ' ἡ μάχη περὶ τροπὰς θερινὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον· ᾗ καὶ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ μέγα πάθος συνέβη τὸ περὶ τοὺς Φαβίους· τριακόσιοι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀνῃρέθησαν. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἥττης Ἀλιάδα μέχρι νῦν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμόν[m]. The day of the battle indeed is not uniformly represented. A. Gellius[n] and Macrobius[o], (both following the same ancient authorities the historians Gellius and Cassius Hemina,) make it July or Quinctilis 16. The fragments of the Julian calendar[p], Livy[q], Tacitus[r], Servius[s], the Auctor De Viris Illustribus[t], make it July 18. Plutarch makes it July 16[u].

Among these dates, the greatest degree of authority in our opinion is due to that of A. Gellius and Macrobius, not only as the oldest of all, (being in fact that of the two old Roman historians, Gellius and Cassius,) but as authenticated and confirmed by the prejudice against the Postridie Idus*;

* We are entirely of opinion that the testimony of these two ancient historians, and the prejudice against the Postridie Idus, which from this time forward took possession of the minds of the Romans, ought to decide the question whether the true date of the battle of Allia was the day after the Ides or not: though the Dies Alliensis of the calendar is certainly not the Postridie Idus; but a different day: which no doubt gave occasion to Plutarch's remark, Ἄλλῃ τε γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μάχην ἡττήθησαν ἣν Ἀλλιάδα διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καλοῦντες ἀφοσιοῦνται[1]. This *other* day in all probability was the Dies Alliensis of the calendar in his time, the xv Kalendas Julias or Quinctiles; Quinctilis 18.

Alliensis dies, observes Varro[2], ab Allia fluvio dictus; nam ibi exercitu nostro fugato Galli obsederunt urbem. The Dies Alliensis then

[m] Camillus, xix.
[n] v. 17.
[o] Saturnalia, i. 16. 28o.
[p] The Amiternine and the Antiatine.
[q] vi. 2.
[r] Historiar. ii. 91. Cf. Ann. xvi. 41.
[s] Ad Æneid. vii. 717.
[t] Camillus.
[u] Camillus, xix. xxx. Cf. Quæstiones Romanæ, xxv.

[1] Quæstiones Romanæ, xxv. [2] De Lingua Latina, v. 6o. Cf. Festus, i. 20. 5.

which is to be ultimately resolved into the circumstance that the unfortunate battle of Allia had been fought on that day

could never be intended of any thing but the day of the defeat at Allia.

Hæc est in Fastis cui dat gravis Allia nomen,
Quæque dies Ibin publica damna tulit [3].

Tum licet incipias qua flebilis Allia luce
Vulneribus Latiis sanguinolenta fuit [4].

In one of his letters to Atticus Cicero observes Majores nostri funestiorem diem esse voluerunt Alliensis pugnæ quam urbis captæ; quod hoc malum ex illo: itaque alter religiosus etiam nunc dies alter in vulgus ignotus [5]. It may be inferred from this observation that he considered the date of the occupation and destruction of the city after the battle a very uncertain point; about which probably few of the learned themselves were correctly informed, much less the common people. And it must be admitted that statements do vary on this point. Livy supposes the Gauls to have marched from Allia to Rome on the day of the battle, and to have arrived a little before sunset, and to have occupied the city the next day [6]. And as he dates the battle *post diem tertium* of the Postridie Idus [7] (Quinctilis 18) this supposes him to have dated the capture on the 19th of Quinctilis. And that seems to have been Tacitus' opinion also; as he too dates the burning of the city on the xiv Kal. Sextiles, and Allia on the xv Kalendas the day before [8].

Yet to date the occupation of the city the day after the battle is clearly contradictory to better testimony. According to Polybius the city was taken *three* days after the battle [9]; according to Plutarch [10], on the *third* day after the battle; according to Diodorus [11], on the *fourth*. Probably it errs as much in one extreme to suppose three days' interval between the two events, as to suppose none, or only 24 hours. The truth appears to us to be most clearly expressed by the statement of Plutarch [10], that the city was occupied on the *third* day after the battle; that is, the date of the battle being the 16th Quinctilis, the date of the occupation was the 18th. And this being the xv Kalendas Quinctiles, and the calendar date of the Dies Alliensis; it follows that this date must have been really intended of the day of the occupation and destruction of the city, not of the day of the defeat. And, notwithstanding what Cicero observed on that point, every one must admit that the day of the actual capture and destruction of Rome itself was in reality *dies funestior*, and every way more likely to go down to posterity in that character, than the day of the defeat at Allia. It is certain that there was a competent interval between the battle and the advance

3 Ovid, Ibis, 219.
4 De Arte Amandi, i. 413.
5 ix. 5.
6 v. 39–41. 7 v. 2.
8 Ann. xv. 41. Cf. Hist. ii. 91.
9 ii. 18. 2.
10 Camillus, xxii. Cf. xxx.
11 xiv. 115.

of the month. On this principle its true date in the Roman calendar must have been Quinctilis 16th. With regard then to Plutarch's two further criterions of the same day, the summer solstice and the full moon, it may be admitted that the former might perhaps have been equally applicable to any day about the middle of Quinctilis, and in any year, at this period of the history of the Roman calendar; and yet it will still be true that the Kalends of Quinctilis fell 12 days nearer to the actual date of the summer solstice B. C. 389 than B. C. 388: for they fell in the former year on July 16, and in the latter on July 28. But with respect to the full of the moon; it will appear from our General Lunar Tables that B. C. 388, Period xii. xv. 7. the first of Ab fell on August 8 at midnight; and that moon was only 5 days old on August 12 at midnight, the Julian date of Quinctilis 16 the same year. But B. C. 389, the year before, the new moon of Thamuz fell July 20 at midnight; and that moon was eleven days old at least July 31 at midnight, the Julian date of Quinctilis 16 that year.

If then Plutarch derived this coincidence from tradition, and assigned the lunar character of the day of Allia histori-

of the Gauls on Rome; during which the Romans had an opportunity of securing their families and their effects, and of removing both to a place of safety [12]. Twenty-four hours would not have sufficed for that purpose; though 48 possibly might do so: especially as the nights were light at that time, the moon being near the full.

The name of the river Allia is commonly written with the double l. And yet its true orthography appears to have been Alia. Plutarch has Ἀλία for the river, and Ἀλιάδα for the day called after it [13].

Quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen [14]:

On which Servius: Allia fluvius haud longe ab urbe est: juxta quem Galli Brenno duce decimo quinto Kalendarum Augustarum die deleto exercitu post triduum deleverunt etiam urbem excepto Capitolio. sane Alia dicitur; cui additur unum l propter metrum, sicut *reliquias* et *relliquias*. unde apparet bene dixisse Lucanum,

Quas Aliæ clades [15].

12 Cf. vol. i. 169, note.

13 Camillus, xviii: xix.

14 Virgil, Æneid, vii. 717.

15 Pharsalia, vii. 633. In his construction of the sense of *Aliæ* in this verse of Lucan's Servius was mistaken. Allia occurs in Lucan too, vii. 409.

Et damnata diu Romanis Allia Fastis.

cally; it must be decisive that the year was B. C. 389, not B. C. 388. Nor is there any reason why he should not be supposed to have derived it from tradition, especially as he states the fact absolutely and without qualification of any kind; though we admit that, as labouring like the rest of his contemporaries under the mistaken idea that the Idus in the Roman month corresponded to the *πανσέληνον* in the Grecian, he might have spoken of any day a little before or a little after the Ides, as *περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον**.

SECTION V.—*On the absolute number of pairs of Consuls from the Regifuge to the capture of the City.*

The date of the Regifuge having been established, and that of the capture of the city having been determined also, the

* It may be observed on this subject generally that according to Lydus, De Mensibus, the stated time at Rome, when the dogs were subjected to an annual punishment for the supposed neglect of their duty as sentinels when the attempt was made on the Capitol, was iii Nonas Augustas or Sextiles: *Ὅτι τῇ πρὸ τριῶν νωνῶν Αὐγούστων ἀνήρουν ἀκωλύτως ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς κύνας, εἰς τιμὴν τῶν χηνῶν, ὅτι τὸ Καπετώλιον οἱ μὲν κύνες προέδωκαν ὑπνώσαντες, οἱ δὲ χῆνες ἐγρηγορότες διέσωσαν.* He adds indeed *Οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι τοῦτο ἐποίουν ἵνα μὴ ὀχληρὰ τοῖς νοσοῦσι νυκτὸς γίνωνται, οἱ δὲ ἵνα μὴ λυττῶντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους βλάπτωσι. τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σείριος ἀνατέλλει, ὃς καὶ δοκεῖ τῆς λύττης αὐτοῖς αἴτιος εἶναι*[1]. But the rising of Sirius for the latitude of Rome is dated in the calendar long before August 3. The same fact of this treatment of the dogs at Rome, and for the same reason, as handed down traditionally, is attested by Pliny[2]; Eadem de caussa supplicia annua canes pendunt, inter ædem Juventutis et Summani vivi in furca sambucea arbore fixi. Even Lydus himself elsewhere[3] implies that the custom had been transmitted from the time itself: having been first instituted by Manlius the defender of the Capitol. Now Livy gives us to understand[4] that the attempt was made by the Gauls nocte sublustri, on a star-light, not a moon-light, night: and Sextilis 3 August 18 B. C. 389 was actually such a night; the *τριακὰς* of that month itself. We admit indeed that the context of Livy would determine the time of the attempt to a later period of the siege: but that may be no insuperable objection. Cf. Servius ad Æn. viii. 652, who says the first ceremony of this kind in honour of the geese, and for the punishment of the dogs, was actually performed the day after the deliverance of the Capitol.

1 iii. 40. p. 46. Cf. De Ostentis, 7. 282. 2–4.
2 H. N. xxix. 14.
3 De Magistratibus, i. 50. p. 161. 19.
4 v. 47. Cf. Virgil Æneid, viii. 655. 661: Defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacæ.

number of years between these two events is ascertained. If the former was the Kalends of June B. C. 508 and the latter was Quinctilis 18 B. C. 389, this number must have been 119 exactly. If then one pair of consuls may be assumed for every one of these years, the absolute number of such pairs for the same interval of time must have been 119. Such is the number which appears in the Fasti, adapted to the Varronian epoch of the Foundation; from L. Junius Brutus L. Tarquinius Collatinus, reckoned as the first, down to the six military tribunes of the year before the capture, reckoned as the last. In the sum total of consular years then and of pairs of consuls for this particular period the Fasti stand in no need of correction. Neither could have been either more or less than that which they actually exhibit. Nor is it difficult to verify the details of this intermediate period, (i. e. the number contained in particular portions of the interval,) by means of statements and testimonies still on record.

i. For example, it is reckoned by Cicero[w] ten years *fere* from the date of the Regifuge to that of the appointment of the first dictator, Titus Lartius: and that would be agreeable to the truth and to the number of consular years between those extremes, if he adopted for this first appointment not Livy's date[x], the ninth consular year from the Regifuge, Postumus Cominius and Titus Lartius[y], but Dionysius'[z], the 12th consular year, Q. Clœlius and Titus Lartius, eleven years after the Regifuge.

ii. It is reckoned by Dionysius[a] 14 years from the Regifuge to the end of the war with the Latins, and to the decease of Tarquinius Superbus at Cumæ soon after it, yet in the consular year of Aulus Postumius and T. Verginius[b]; the 14th pair of consuls from those of the year of the Regifuge reckoned inclusively.

iii. The creation of the first tribunes of the people is dated by Cicero[c] in the 16th year from the Regifuge, yet Postumo

[w] De Republica, ii.
[x] ii. 18.
[y] Cf. Dionysius, v. 50.
[z] v. 59. 70. 72, 73.
[a] vi. 21. 24: cf. iv. 7. Livy, ii. 21. Eutropius, i. 11. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 15.
[b] vi. 2. (23). Livy, ii. 21.
[c] De Republica, ii.: cf. the Oratio Pro C. Cornelio, p. 970. Asconius, p. 105. Eutropius, i. 13.

Cominio Sp. Cassio consulibus[d]. These were strictly the 17th pair from the Regifuge; yet their year of office notwithstanding began in the 16th year from that event; because, as Livy tells us, Per secessionem plebis consulatum inierunt: and, as Dionysius further explains it[d], on the Kalends of September, Θάττον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν. The number of consular years between the Regifuge and this first appointment of Tribuni plebis was consequently only 16; yet the number of pairs of consuls, including both the first and the last, was 17[e]. This 17th pair entered on the Kalends of September B. C. 493; the first Tribuni plebis were elected on the iv Idus Decembres, December 10 Roman, the same year.

iv. Dionysius again reckons 12 pairs of consuls between the time of Sp. Cassius B. C. 485, and the agrarian law then first promulgated[f], and the consulship of Manlius and Furius, B. C. 473[g].

v. In the speech of Appius, in the course of the proceedings which arose out of the accusation of Coriolanus[h], it is reckoned at that time the 19th year since the publication of the laws of Poplicola; i. e. since the Regifuge and the first consulate. The 19th pair of consuls from that date are those of B. C. 490, M. Minucius Augurinus ii A. Sempronius Atratinus ii[i], under whom these proceedings were instituted.

vi. The restoration of the consular form of government after the deprivation of the last body of Decemvirs is dated by Cicero[k] Sexagesimo anno post libertatem recuperatam. The first consuls after the Decemvirs were L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus and M. Horatius Barbatus, the 61st pair from the consuls of the year of the Regifuge inclusive, the 60th exclusive.

[d] Cf. Dionysius, vi. 49. 91: vii. 1. Livy, ii. 33. Diodorus, xi. 68.

[e] Cf. Dionysius himself, vi. 74.

[f] viii. 71. 77. 68.

[g] Cf. ix. 33. 36. 37: x. 38. Livy, ii. 54. Cf. also Dionysius, ix. 51. The same law had been 30 years under discussion in the consular year of T. Romulius and C. Veturius, B. C. 454: x. 33. 35. B. C. 454 is reckoned the 30th year from the consulship of Caius Aquillius and Titus Sicinius, B. C. 486. x. 36. 37. 38: and the fifth, since the first proposal about the appointment of legislators, B. C. 460. x. 41. 1. 2. These calculations however are not strictly correct.

[h] Dionysius, vii. 52. 41.

[i] Ibid. 20. Cf. Livy, ii. 34. 35.

[k] De Finibus, ii. 20. 66.

CHAPTER II.

On the Rectification of the Fasti.

SECTION I.—PERIOD i. *From* B. C. 508 *the date of the Regifuge to* B. C. 389 *the date of the capture of the City by the Gauls.*

The first consulate is dated in the Fasti according to Varro B. C. 509. Its true date was B. C. 508. The year of the tribunes, under whom the city was taken, in the Fasti is B. C. 390. The year of the capture was B. C. 389. Though then the Fasti are right in the sum total of consular years from one of these extremes to the other, (and even in the number of years for intermediate parts of the interval,) they anticipate a year on the truth at the beginning, and a year on the truth at the end, of the period in question. That they require a correction therefore for this period is evident; and what the amount of that correction must be, and in what manner it is to be applied to them, cannot be doubtful. The consular initia being fixed to their proper epoch, that of the Regifuge, (whether the Kalends of June or the Kalends of January B. C. 508,) the first consulate of the Fasti is brought down from B. C. 509 to B. C. 508; and the 120th from B. C. 390 to B. C. 389: and all between these are similarly reduced by one year. On this principle the date of every consulship in the Fasti according to Varro, from the first inclusive to the 120th inclusive, is raised one year in the æra of the city and lowered one year in the æra vulgaris; but no change is made in the number of such consuls themselves.

The necessity of this correction has been made to appear. In two instances it is in our power to confirm it by the testimony of the calendar; and these two examples of it may be taken as specimens of the rest, and of what is equally necessary in every other instance.

i. It has been seen from the testimony of Varro[1] that the consular year of L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus and P. Furius Fusus was intercalary. These consuls are the 38th pair in

[1] Vol. i. p. 501.

the Fasti; and they represent U. C. 282 of Varro B. C. 472: which answered to cycle xi. 1 of the calendar of the time, and consequently was a common year not an intercalary one. But correct the year, according to the rule just prescribed, and it becomes U. C. 283 B. C. 471, the second year of the same cycle; and consequently intercalary.

ii. It has been demonstrated[m] that the epoch of the Decemviral correction of the calendar of Numa was December 29 B. C. 449–448; the second year of the Decemviral form of government *exeunte*. It follows that the first consular year after the restoration and the first year of the Decemviral correction must have coincided. That year is represented in the Fasti by the 61st pair L. Valerius and M. Horatius; U. C. 305 of Varro B. C. 449: a year too early for the coincidence in question. Correct it however according to the rule, and it becomes U. C. 306 B. C. 448; exactly such as the nature of the case requires.

The correction of the Fasti then, from the date of the first consulate to that of the 120th, which is necessary, is simply *this*, of raising every pair of consuls one year in the Æra of the City and lowering it one year in the Æra Vulgaris. By these means we get the date of the first pair, L. Junius Brutus L. Tarquinius Collatinus, (the first in the Fasti at least,) U. C. 246 B. C. 508; and the 120th, represented by the six military tribunes under whom the city was taken by the Gauls, Q. Fabius Ambustus, Kæso Fabius Ambustus, C. Fabius Ambustus, Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas iv, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, U. C. 365 B. C. 389.

With regard to any further correction, and later than the last of these dates, to determine whether it is necessary, and if so to what extent; we must reason as follows.

SECTION II.—*On the date of the rebuilding of the City; and on the length of the official year of the first Tribunes after the capture.*

It appears from Livy[n] that Camillus was recalled and appointed dictator Comitiis curiatis, some time in the course of

[m] Vol. i. Diss. iv. ch. i. sect. v. ix.

[n] v. 46.

the siege of the Capitol[b]. The context determines the time to a late period of the siege, not long before the liberation of the Capitol itself; and the date of that event may be assumed as fixed by that of Camillus' triumph, or supposed triumph, for his victory over the Gauls, the Ides of February[p]. And this would be consistent with the statements on record respecting the duration of the siege, or the length of time for which the city was occupied, previously; six months according to Varro[q], and Florus[r], and Orosius[s]; seven according to Polybius[t], Plutarch[u], Polyænus[w], and Zonaras[x]; eight according to Servius[y]. For, by the Decemviral calendar of this time, the interval from the Ides of Quinctilis in one year to the Ides of February in the next would be just seven months complete: though, as the actual length of the occupation of the city must have been somewhat less than this, probably Varro's statement of the length of that occupation, (six months from first to last,) comes nearest to the truth[z]. Under these circumstances the actual time of Camillus' appointment might be as nearly as possible that of the ordinary consular ingress; the Ides of December: which B. C. 389 cycle iii. 12 fell on December 24.

In the next place it appears from Livy[a] that Camillus did not abdicate the dictatorship as soon as he had liberated the city and celebrated his triumph; but continued in office at least until the decision of the question concerning the removal of the seat of empire to Veii: the proceedings in reference to which it is evident were soon instituted and soon concluded. The decision of this question then could not have been long after the date of his triumph, the Ides of February, February 20 B. C. 388.

The measures determined on for the rebuilding of the city were so expeditiously carried into effect that *intra annum*, as we are told[b], all had been completed; wherein Livy is corroborated by Plutarch[c]: so much so that the actual conclusion

[o] Cf. Plutarch, Camillus, xxiv. xxv.
[p] Ibid. xxx. Cf. Livy, v. 49.
[q] Fragmenta, p. 243.
[r] i. 13. § 15.
[s] ii. 19. Cf. vii. 39.
[t] ii. 22, 5.
[u] Camillus, xxviii–xxx.
[w] viii. vii. Camillus 2. Cf. viii. xxv. Romani, 1.
[x] vii. 23. 357 C.
[y] Ad Æneid. viii. 652.
[z] Cf. Livy, v. 52.
[a] Ibid. 49–55. [b] Livy, vi. 4.
[c] Camillus, xxxii.

of the work of restoration coincided with the time of holding the comitia at which the magistrates for the next year are supposed to have been elected; the six military tribunes who represent in the Fasti U. C. 367 B. C. 387.

If this account is consistent with itself and correct throughout, it follows that the year of these tribunes must have been the next to that of the liberation of the city: and *that* year having been B. C. 388 *this* must have been B. C. 387. It could not be otherwise, if the city was rebuilt in *one* year; and began to be rebuilt in seven months after its destruction. If it was destroyed on or about the Ides of Quinctilis B. C. 389 it must have begun to be rebuilt on or about the Ides of February B. C. 388. And these tribunes, who came into office a year after, must have come into office B. C. 387.

It follows however from this fact that in the year of these six tribunes, (the first after the liberation of the city, both in the Æra of the City and in the Æra Vulgaris,) the Fasti as they stand are correct. Yet, up to the date of the capture and up to the year of the tribunes who entered on office just before that event, on or about Quinctilis 1 B. C. 389, they required a correction of a year. How then could it have happened, it may well be demanded, that within less than two years of the same time they should stand in no need of correction at all? The explanation of this anomaly is that either the tribunes under whom the city was taken, or the next to them, had only a six months' term of office; though the Fasti allow a full year to each. And this may be made to appear as follows.

The six tribunes who come in the Fasti next to the consular year of Valerius and Manlius, entered upon office on the Kalends of Quinctilis, B. C. 390. The six who succeeded them did the same, B. C. 389. These were in office when the city was taken on the 18th of Quinctilis; and they were still in office when Camillus was appointed dictator, within six months afterwards. Nor could the appointment of a dictator *extra ordinem* have superseded the ordinary magistrates of the year in this instance any more than in any other, before or after it; nor does it appear that it did: since it may be plainly collected from Livy[d] that the expiration of the

[d] vi. i.

official year of one of the number at least, Q. Fabius, was later than the appointment of Camillus, later than the liberation of the city, and later even than the commencement of the work of rebuilding it. Under these circumstances, if the year of these tribunes bore date Kalendis Quinctilibus, B. C. 389, it would last to the Kalendæ Quinctiles, B. C. 388. The dictatorial administration of Camillus *extra ordinem* and the jurisdiction of these tribunes *secundum ordinem* must have gone on simultaneously from the middle of their year to its end. Yet in the Fasti Camillus has a year to himself, U. C. 365 B. C. 389; distinct both from that of the tribunes of the year of the capture, U. C. 364 B. C. 390, and from that of the tribunes of the year of the restoration, U. C. 366 B. C. 388. In this arrangement, it appears to us, the Fasti are decidedly in error; though possibly it may seem to be justified at first sight by the statement of Livy[d] that Camillus was kept in office a whole year against his will—Neque enim abdicare se a dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt: a statement which comes in just after the decision of the question about the migration to Veii, and therefore appears to be meant of the whole of the year next after the capture, B. C. 388; and, if understood of that, to be true.

And yet it is clear even from Livy himself that Camillus could not have continued in office for the whole of this year. The comitia for the election of the next military tribunes were held by an Interrex; and that would not have been the case had a dictator been still in office. His statement then must be understood of one of two things only; either that Camillus was not allowed to abdicate before the expiration of the ordinary year then current, the official year of the tribunes of the capture, or, (as we apprehend to have been more probably the case,) before the regular period appointed by law for the expiration of the dictatorship itself: which though tenable for six months was seldom retained except for particular reasons more than a few weeks or even a few days. The ordinary official year indeed, dated Kal. Quinctilibus, and the term of the dictatorship, dated on or about the Ides of December next after them, would expire nearly at the same time, B. C. 388; though probably the dictatorship

[d] vi. 1.

would do so first: and that would explain the fact that an Interrex, and not the dictator, presided at the next comitia. It appears too from Livy[e] that a little before the time of these comitia even the tribunes under whom the city had been taken were still in office; though, for the reason assigned by him[e], it was not thought proper that any of them should preside at the comitia: and therefore they purposely went out of office a little before their time to make way for an Interrex[e]. It is to be observed also that B. C. 388, (cycle iii. 13 of the calendar,) was an intercalary year; and therefore there must have been seven months complete, not six merely, between the Ides of December, B. C. 389, and the Kalends of Quinctilis, B. C. 388: and that both might and very probably would make a difference of a month in the time of the resignation of the dictatorship, relatively to that of the comitia, B. C. 388.

On the supposition then that the stated day of the ingress at present was the Kalends of Quinctilis not the Ides of December, there is every reason to conclude that the election of these six military tribunes *per interregnum*[e] took place only a very short time before the Kalends of Quinctilis B. C. 388; especially as they are said to have entered on office *extemplo*. The proper date of their official year was consequently the middle of U. C. 366 B. C. 388. And as to its duration subsequently; we are decidedly of opinion that they had only a six months' term of office; and that their successors (the six who represent U. C. 367 B. C. 387 of the Fasti) were so elected as to enter on the Ides of December, B. C. 388; the day which up to the consular year of Valerius and Manlius, U. C. 363 B. C. 391, had been the usual date of the ingress.

The necessity of this supposition requires no further proof. On no other principle could it have been possible for the comitia of these Tribunes (those of U. C. 367 B. C. 387) to have

[e] vi. 1. It makes no difference to the argument that the second Interrex, on this occasion, and he who is supposed to have actually presided at the comitia, was M. Furius Camillus; that is, Camillus himself. He did not preside as Dictator, but as Interrex; and as only the second Interrex in his turn. He must therefore have ceased to hold the Dictatorship, and again have become a private person, before he was appointed Interrex, and presided at these comitia.

come within the compass of the year devoted to the rebuilding of the city. It is a further argument that the tribunes, appointed *per interregnum* as Livy relates [f], were the first to be appointed in due course of things after the capture and the liberation of the city, and that their appointment was later than the close of Camillus' tenure of the dictatorship, that the motion *De Religionibus* [g], (the first thing done in the transaction of the ordinary business of their office,) one effect of which was to declare certain days from that time forward *atri* or *religiosi*, was brought forward by them, not by Camillus. For why should not this motion have come from him, if he was still in office as dictator at the time?

If a reason be required why the tribunes who had thus entered upon office on the Kalends of Quinctilis should have been made to go out again on or before the Ides of December the same year; it was probably because, after the experience of recent events, the Kalends of Quinctilis had come to be suspected as an inauspicious day for the commencement of the official year: and it was thought better to return to the old rule of the Ides of December; though the effect of so doing would be to abridge the official year of the magistrates for the time being of half its legitimate duration. Yet this had doubtless been often done before.

Livy indeed, between the appointment of these tribunes of B. C. 388 [f] and that of those of the next year B. C. 387 [h], has related a Volscian war, and a fresh nomination of Camillus to the dictatorship, to command in it; and a war with the Æqui, and even an Etruscan war: in all which too Camillus is supposed to have commanded, and to have been victorious. These things may or may not have been the case. But neither their truth nor their falsehood will affect the conclusion to which we have just come; and it may be some argument even of their truth that, taking this second dictatorship of Camillus for the last half of this year along with the former in the first half, we should have him in office as Dictator nearly the whole of B. C. 388; as it may be collected from Livy that in some sense or other he must have been.

The correction then which the Fasti require for these three years, B. C. 389, B. C. 388, and B. C. 387, is *this*; The year

[f] vi. 1. [g] Ibid. 2. Cf. vol. i. 485. [h] vi. 4.

which is assigned to Camillus as dictator, U. C. 365 B. C. 389, must be brought down to U. C. 366 B. C. 388, and divided between Camillus as Dictator, from the Ides of December or about that time U. C. 365, and the military tribunes of U. C. 365 also ex Kalendis Quinctilibus; that is the first six months of this year, U. C. 366, or nearly so, must be considered to have belonged equally to both. The tribunes, who represent in the Fasti the whole of U. C. 366 B. C. 388, are entitled to the half of it only; from the Kalends of Quinctilis to the Ides of December. On the Ides of December *these* went out; and *those* came in who represent in the Fasti U. C. 367 B. C. 387. And in the date of *this* year the Fasti it is evident are correct as they stand; or with no further difference than that, according to *their* rule, *this* year must be considered to have borne date from the Kalends of January U. C. 367, though it did so in reality from the Ides of December U. C. 366.

SECTION III.—*On the date of the commencement of the motions of* Licinius Stolo; *and on that of the first Plebeian Consulship.*

The Fasti being rectified, in the manner which has been prescribed for that purpose, from the Kalends of January U. C. 246 B. C. 508 to the Kalends of January U. C. 367 B. C. 387, they stand in no need of any further correction, so far as we have been able to discover, down to U. C. 383 B. C. 371, the fifth year in the course of the agitation of the motions of Licinius Stolo[i].

It is evident from Livy's account of these proceedings[i] that it is correct to date their beginning in the consular year which the Fasti assign to the six military tribunes of whom Ser. Sulpicius was one. But it is equally so that they began at the *end* of this year; at the usual time of the ingress of the Tribuni Plebis. The first thing done by the authors of these proceedings, C. Licinius and L. Sextius, was to get themselves elected Tribuni Plebis; and then in that capacity to bring forward their three celebrated motions[i]. Now the Tribunician Ingress, from first to last, was always the same day; the iv Idus Decembres: and this day, U.C. 378, Cycle

[i] Livy, vi. 34, 35.

iv. 1. answered to Dec. 21 B. C. 376. The στάσις of Licinius and Sextius then, if στάσις it is to be called, bore date from Dec. 21 B. C. 376 U. C. 378 *exeunte.*

Now it is said to have lasted ten years *, before it was terminated by the election of the first consul De Plebe[k]: and the principal point in dispute having been this very thing, the election of a plebeian consul, if the contest began at the ingress of one consular year, and continued ten years with this result at last, it must have terminated at the end of another, and must have taken up ten years complete between. That is, between vi. 35, the commencement of these proceedings in Livy, and vi. 42, the end of them, there could not have been less than ten years of the city complete. If the former then bore date B. C. 376 *exeunte* the latter must have borne date B. C. 366 *exeunte.* And on this principle the first consular year, shared by any plebeian consul, should have been B.C. 365; which nevertheless the Fasti shew U. C. 388 B. C. 366.

SECTION IV.—*On the duration of the ἀναρχία, or of the suspension of Curule Magistrates.*

Now the reason of the error in the date of the close of

* The exact duration of these proceedings is stated in one of the fragments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus at ten years, xiv. 22: Λικίνιος Στόλωνος, ὁ δεκάκις δημαρχήσας, καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰσηγησάμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δεκαέτης στάσις ἐγένετο, ἄλουὺς ἐν δίκῃ κ', τ.λ. See also Diodorus, xiv. 22. It would not be difficult to make out this interval from the account of Livy, vi. 34, 35 to vi. 42; were it necessary to do so. The eighth reappointment of the tribunes is alluded to vi. 86, in the year of M. Fabius and his colleagues, which the Fasti shew U. C. 384 B. C. 370; though the context would make it only the seventh, even dated from U. C. 378 B. C. 366, unless the year of these military tribunes was really U. C. 385 B. C. 369. The ninth year of the contest is mentioned vi. 38, 39; and the tenth reelection of the tribunes, vi. 40—42: both however in *one* year, that which the Fasti assign to the Dictators Camillus and Manlius, U. C. 386 B. C. 368: and under the next military tribunes, those of U. C. 387 of the Fasti B. C. 367, the contest is supposed to have been terminated: vi. 42: vii. 1. On this principle it must have extended even into the eleventh tribunician year of Licinius and Sextius. But that may very well be doubted. One thing however is certain. It could not have lasted less than ten years complete. If then it began B. C. 376 *exeunte* it must have ended B. C. 366 *exeunte*; and the first plebeian consulship must have borne date B. C. 365.

[k] Livy, vi. 42.

these proceedings which thus appears in the Fasti, though they were not in error in that of their commencement, is explained by the following fact. There was a certain period in the course of these proceedings, during which the Republic was destitute of Curule Magistrates of every kind, and of the magistrates *ordinarii* or ἐπώνυμοι among the rest; the authors of the contest, Licinius and Sextius, after procuring their own election as tribunes of the people and bringing forward their motions in that capacity, having acted on the principle of systematically opposing the reelection of any of the regular magistrates besides, until these motions should be carried. The question is merely how long they persisted in this opposition. Livy asserts it was for five years[l]. Haud irritæ cecidere minæ. comitia præter ædilium tribunorumque plebis nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt. eaque solitudo magistratuum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et his comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quinquennium urbem tenuit. And it was only in the sixth year, according to him[m], and because of the alarm for the safety of Tusculum, which then began to be felt, that the tribunes relaxed in their opposition; so that in *this* year military tribunes were elected for the *first* time since the commencement of these proceedings: those which represent in the Fasti U. C. 383 B. C. 371; though, on this principle, they were truly the representatives of U. C. 384 B. C. 370.

It cannot indeed be denied that by many of the ancients this period of the ἀναρχία, as it is called, is reckoned to have been four years[n]; but these are for the most part those who follow the Varronian scheme of the Fasti, to which an ἀναρχία of four years only is absolutely necessary. The same necessity is equally true of the Capitoline scheme of the Fasti, from the first consular year, coincident with the Capitoline date of the Regifuge, down to this point of time; and therefore, though the Capitoline Fasti Consulares are imperfect at this point of time, and it cannot be known for certain what

[l] vi. 35. [m] Ibid. 36.
[n] Eutropius, ii. 1: Breviarium Sexti Rufi, cap. 2: Historiæ Aug. SS. Tacitus, 1. Cassiodorius, In Chronico, &c. Lydus however estimates it at 5 years: De Magistratibus, i 35. 147. l. 18. Cf. 38. 151. 1—4.

their actual arrangements for these ten years must have been, yet we fully concur in the opinion that they recognized only an anarchia of four years not of five. We are persuaded however that the truth in reference to this point is correctly represented by Livy: and without insisting at present on any other proofs of the fact which possibly might be adduced; that there must have been a period of five years, in the course of these proceedings, which as not being represented by magistrates ἐπώνυμοι of any kind was likely to be overlooked in general and summary statements of the chronology of these times before and after, may be inferred from a remarkable omission of that kind, and to that extent exactly, which appears even in so accurate a writer as Polybius.

In the second book of his history[o] Polybius enters on a summary review of Gallic and Roman chronology in conjunction; from the capture or rather the evacuation of the city by the Gauls down to the period which immediately preceded the second Punic war. In this the following statements occur.

	Years.
i. From the evacuation of the city[p] to the second invasion of the Gauls, εἰς Ἀλβαν[q]	30 ..
ii. From this second invasion to the third[r]	12 ..
iii. An interval after this of ἡσυχία, which lasted[s] ..	13 ..
iv. A peace[t] which lasted	30 ..
v. To the fourth invasion of Gauls and Samnites after this, and the battle with the Romans *in agro Camertino,* in which the Gauls were victorious, and then that *in agro Sentinate,* in which the Romans were so[u]	4 ..
vi. To the next inroad of the Gauls, and the siege of Arretium by them[w]	10 ..
Total ..	99 years

[o] ii. 18, 6-9.
[p] Cf. i. 6, 1-3: ii. 22, 5.
[q] Cf. Livy, vi. 42. Dionysius, xiv. 12-19. Appian, iv. Gallica, 1. and supra, Fasti Triumphales, xii.
[r] Cf. Dionysius, xv. 1, 2. Livy, vii. 23: 25: 26. Eutropius, ii. 2, 3. Appian, iv. Gallica, 1, 2.
[s] Cf. Livy, viii. 17. B. C. 332.
[t] ii. 19. § 1. [u] § 5, 6. [w] § 7.

The Romans gave the Gauls battle on this occasion also; but were defeated and lost their commander whom Polybius styles simply Lucius[x]: but he adds that he was succeeded by M'Curius (Dentatus). Sigonius infers from his account that it was the consul who fell in this battle with the Gauls; Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, colleague of C. Servilius Tucca, U. C. 470 B. C. 284; and in his scheme of the Fasti he exhibits him accordingly in that year as In prælio occisus, and as succeeded by M'Curius Dentatus: though it must be admitted that according to other accounts it was the prætor, L. Cæcilius, not the consul who was killed in battle on this occasion; but it makes no difference to the year which of the two it was.

Now if we assume B. C. 388 as the date of the evacuation of the city, according to Polybius, and subtract 99 years from it, we get the year of the death of this consul B. C. 289, five years before its true date. But if we increase the absolute number of years between the evacuation and this battle, according to the above account, by five, and subtract it from B. C. 388; it gives the consular year of this Lucius (Cæcilius), in which he fell in battle, B. C. 284, exactly in accordance with the truth. Five years then must have been omitted in the above reckoning; which in all probability were the five of the consular *ἀναρχία* — B. C. 375 to B. C. 370 — interposed in the midst of it. And that the consular year both of this Lucius and of his successor M'Curius was actually supposed by Polybius to have been this year, B. C. 284, may be proved from his own testimony. He mentions next first the defeat of the Gauls by Dentatus[y], and the plantation of the colony at Sena*; both no doubt this same year, B. C. 284: then an invasion of the Boii along with the Etrusci[z], which must be supposed an event of the next year, B. C. 283[a]: and the next year[b] (B. C. 282) a fresh invasion,

* This colony is not noticed by Velleius Paterculus, i. 14, 15, where he assigns the dates of the foundation of so many others. In the Epitome of Livy, xi. it is dated some time in the course of that Book; which begins B. C. 292 and ends B. C. 286 or 285.

[x] ii. 19. § 7, 8. Cf. Livy, Epitome xi. Orosius, iii. 22. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 17.

[y] ii. 19, 8. 12.

[z] ii. 20. § 1–3.

[a] Cf. Florus, i. 13. § 21: cf. Appian, Samnitica, iii. vi. § 1, 2. iv. Gallica, xi. Dionysius, xviii. 5: 7.

[b] ii. 20, 4–6.

and a fresh defeat, followed by their submission and acceptance of terms of peace, which he dates Τῷ τρίτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Πύρρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πέμπτῳ δὲ τῆς Γαλατῶν περὶ Δελφοὺς διαφθορᾶς.

The invasion of Pyrrhus is to be dated at the end of B. C. 281[c]; which is the same thing as the beginning of B. C. 280: and the third year before B. C. 280 will describe B. C. 282. The inroad of the Gauls (into Europe) is dated by Pausanias[d] Olymp. 125. 2, Ἦν Λάδας Ἀργεῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον, in the Archontic year of Anaxicrates, B. C. 279–278: and their passage into Asia the next year, B. C. 278–277, in the Archontic year of Democles. The attempt on Delphi was an intermediate event; and since from the circumstances which have been left on record concerning that it appears to have been made towards the end of the autumnal quarter, or the beginning of the winter quarter, of the natural year[e]; it must have been made at the very end of B. C. 279, or the very end of B. C. 278. Polybius seems to have assumed for it the latter date; four years before which must consequently bring us to the end of B. C. 282, as the date of that last defeat of the Gauls by the Romans, of which he was speaking*.

The peace subsequently concluded lasted 45 years[f]; i. e. from B. C. 282 exeunte to B. C. 237 exeunte. In the *fifth* year after its termination he dates the division of the Ager Picenus, Μάρκου Λεπίδου στρατηγοῦντος[g]. This must have

* It appears from Dionys. of Hal. xviii. 5: that the date of this second battle was the consular year of Fabricius B. C. 282: and that of the former the consular year of Publius Cornelius Dolabella B. C. 283: cf. Eutropius, ii. 5. Florus, i. 13, 21: Orosius, iii. 12.

[c] Cf. Polybius, i. 6. § 5. Τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφόδου, τῶν τε περὶ Δελφοὺς φθαρέντων, καὶ περαιωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

[d] x. xix. 4—xxiii. 9: cf. xxi. 1: i. iv. 4, 5: viii. x. 4. Cf. Livy, xxxviii. 16.

[e] Photius, Bibliotheca, Codex 224. p. 226. 38: 227. 40: 228. 4: Memnon of Heraclea. Diodorus Sic. Fragm. lib. xxii. Pausanias, loco cit. Callimachus, Hymnus in Delum, 171 sqq. Justin, xxiv. 7: 8. § 9–14. Livy, xl. 58. Cicero, De Divin. i. 37, 81. Appian, Illyrica, 4.

Torrida sacrilegum testantur lumina Brennum,
Dum petit intonsi Pythia regna dei.
At mons laurigero concussus vertice diras
Gallica Parnasus sparsit in ora nives.
Propertius, iii. xiii. 51: cf. ii. xxxi. 11.

[f] ii. 21. § 1.

[g] ii. 21, 7–9.

been B. C. 232, when a Marcus Æmilius Lepidus appears in the Fasti as consul. The Bellum Gallicum Cisalpinum arose out of that division; but in the eighth year after it: Ἔτει μετὰ τὴν χώρας διάδοσιν ὀγδόῳ[h]: i. e. B. C. 225, when L. Æmilius C. Atilius, it appears, were consuls[i]: and these are the consuls of the Fasti U. C. 529 of Varro, B. C. 225.

SECTION V.—*On the Rectification of the* Fasti, *Period ii,* B. C. 371 *to* B. C. 333: *and on the Consuls of* B. C. 333.

The duration then of the period for which the republic was destitute of Curule magistrates was five years, not four. The consequence however of reckoning it at four years in the Fasti according to Varro is that whereas the consular series even in them was regular from U. C. 367 B. C. 387 to the beginning of the sedition, U. C. 378 B. C. 376 *exeunte,* and regular down to the fifth year of the sedition, U. C. 383 B. C. 371; it begins to be irregular in that very year, and to antedate every pair of consuls, as before, one year before the proper time.

The consular years of the Fasti according to Varro therefore, beginning U. C. 383 B. C. 371, will require to be raised as before one year in the Æra of the City, and to be lowered as before one year in the Æra Vulgaris, down to U. C. 420 B. C. 334; the consuls of which year by these means will be brought down to U. C. 421 B. C. 333. Before this point of time, we have discovered nothing which would lead us to suspect that excepting this *one* correction at last, affecting the consular year which corresponded to U. C. 421 B. C. 333, the details of the series were any where in error; or that the absolute number of pairs of consuls, from U. C. 383 B. C. 371 to U. C. 421 B. C. 333, was either greater or less than that which appears in the Fasti even as they stand at present.

With regard however to the consuls of this year, U. C. 421 B. C 333, those who represent it in the Fasti according to Varro are L. Papirius Cursor C. Pœtilius Libo Visolus; and such a pair of consuls actually appears in Solinus[k]; in whose year he dated the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt. Alme-

[h] ii. 21, 9: 23, 1. § 8: 32, 1: 34, 1.
[i] ii. 23. § 1–6. 26. § 1: 27. § 1: 28. § 1–10: cf. 31.
[k] xxxii. 42.

loveen notwithstanding observes of these consuls, *in anno,* Hos ignorat Livius et alii. It is certain that Livy does not recognize them. He has the consuls of U. C. 420 B. C. 334[l], agreeably to the Fasti; but the next pair which he mentions are A. Cornelius ii and Cn. Domitius[m], who appear in the Fasti U. C. 422 B. C. 332. Nor were these consuls known to Diodorus[n]. We are altogether of opinion that they are a spurious pair; necessary indeed to fill up the details of the Fasti, according to the scheme of Varro from U. C. 383 downwards, but totally destitute of any right to stand in the succession of consuls where they do*. They must therefore be eliminated from the consular series altogether; and this being done accordingly, the consuls of U. C. 420 of Varro B. C. 334 will be brought down into their room, and will represent U. C. 421 B. C. 333: after which, as far as we ourselves are aware, even the Fasti according to Varro stand in

* The Fasti Capitolini Consulares are defective both before and after U. C. 420 of their notation, U. C. 421 of Varro. It cannot therefore be known for certain, whether they too recognized these consuls or not. Yet we are of opinion that they did. That Solinus recognizes them is a strong proof that *they* did so; for Solinus follows their reckoning. In fact whatsoever corrections are necessary for the Fasti according to Varro are necessary also for the Capitoline Fasti; which agree with the Varronian in the year of the first consulate, B. C. 509, not B. C. 508.

Frontinus De Aquæductis did not recognize these consuls. P. 159: He observes Ab urbe condita per annos cccc xxxxi contenti fuerunt Romani usu aquarum quas aut ex Tiberi aut ex puteis aut ex fontibus hauriebant.... M. Valerio Maximo P. Decio Mure Coss. (U. C. 442 of Varro B. C. 312) anno post initium Samnitici belli xxxi, (that war began U. C. 411 of Varro B. C. 343,) aqua Appia inducta est ab Appio Claudio Crasso censore, cui postea Cæco fuit cognomen. The date of Appius' censorship was certainly B. C. 312. On this principle Frontinus made 30 years complete, and no more, between the date of this censorship, and the beginning of the Bellum Samniticum; i. e. he dated this war, B. C. 312 + 30 = B. C. 342; which would be the true consular year of M. Valerius Corvus iii A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina, under whom that war is known to have begun, corrected as we are supposing downwards from B. C. 371, or reckoned back from B. C. 312, as we are supposing, with the omission of the pair of consuls which at present stand opposite to B. C. 333 in the Fasti.

[l] viii. 16. [m] 16, 17. [n] Cf. xvii. 62. Aristophon, B. C. 330: and xvii. 49, Aristophanes, B. C. 331.

no need of any further correction; or of none which would go to the extent of a year at least. The consuls who stand in the Fasti for U. C. 422 B. C. 332 will take up the succession; and the consular series, from that time forward, will proceed according to the received arrangement, more or less in conformity to the truth: and will differ from it only accidentally throughout.

The rule of the Fasti of Varro is to date every consular year from the Kalends of January; though the actual Consular Ingress was first attached to the Kalends of January in U. C. 601. It is usual too, in all the modern arrangements of the Fasti according to the Varronian reckoning of the Æra of the City, to treat the Kalends of January as almost the same with the first of January perpetually; though the actual Kalends of January, at various points of the interval from U. C. 421 B. C. 333 to U. C. 709 B. C. 45, were sometimes many months earlier, and sometimes some months later, than the first of January. This discrepancy however between the positive or hypothetical ingress of every consular year in the Fasti of Varro and the true, from B. C. 333 to B. C. 45, does not affect the sum total of such years, between the extremes in question; which neither was nor could have been either more or less than 288, the number which actually appears in the Fasti. It affects nothing but the beginning of particular years; which under such circumstances was sometimes earlier than the epoch of the Fasti and sometimes later. The possession however of the calendar both for the regular and for the irregular part of this period, and the knowledge of the general rule of the Consular Ingress at the different points of time over which it extends, enable us easily to rectify all these accidental anomalies; and to assign every consular year its proper limits, and its proper place in the Æra of the City and in the Æra Vulgaris in conjunction.

Meanwhile certain years of this intervening period are fixed in a manner which cannot be called in question; at least as those of such and such consuls in particular: some by the testimony of the calendar; as Cycle viii. 22 U. C. 495 B. C. 259, the consular year of L. Cornelius Scipio C. Aquillius Florus: Cycle ix. 22 U. C. 519 B. C. 235, the consular year of T. Manlius Torquatus C. Atilius Bulbus ii: some by

astronomical characters of the most decisive kind; as U. C. 537, the consular year of Servilius and Flaminius by the eclipse of Feb. 17 B. C. 217; U. C. 552, the consular year of M. Servilius Geminus and Tib. Claudius Nero, by the eclipse of October 19 B. C. 202; U. C. 564, the consular year of L. Scipio and C. Lælius, by the eclipse of March 14 B. C. 190; U. C. 586, the consular year of Lucius Æmilius Paullus ii and C. Licinius Crassus, by the eclipse of June 21 B. C. 168; U. C. 691, the consular year of M. Cicero and C. Antonius, by the eclipse of May 3 B. C. 63: U. C. 694, the consular year of L. Afranius and Q. Metellus, by the eclipse of March 16 B. C. 60; U. C. 705, the consular year of C. Marcellus and L. Lentulus, by the eclipse of August 9 B. C. 49. Any one of these years being given, an epoch or *punctum stans* is given; down to which and after which every thing will both require to be arranged, and must admit of being arranged, accordingly.

It is possible too to verify parts of the series from B. C. 389 to B. C. 322, by particular statements; as we did before, from B. C. 508 to B. C. 389. For example; speaking of the death of Camillus (an event of the consular year U. C. 389 B. C. 365 of the Fasti) Livy dates it 25 years from the restitution of the city: Par deinde per quinque et viginti annos, (tot enim postea vixit,) titulo tantæ gloriæ fuit[n]. The true date of this consular year in the Æra Vulgaris was B. C. 364; 24 years complete, 25 current, after B. C. 388, the year of the restitution.

Again, speaking of the consuls C. Sulpicius Peticus iii M. Valerius Poplicola[o], (who represent in the Fasti U. C. 399 B. C. 355,) he observes: Quadringentesimo anno quam urbs Romana condita erat, quinto tricesimo quam a Gallis reciperata, ablato post undecimum annum a plebe consulatu, patricii consules ambo ex interregno magistratum inierunt. B. C. 355=354 was the 12th year from B. C. 365, the date

[n] vii. 2. Plutarch, Camillus, xl. xli. dates Camillus' last dictatorship (the vth) 13 years after the capture of the city by the Gauls. The true reading of his text was probably 23 years, B. C. 389−23=B. C. 366, the date of that dictatorship: the next year, B. C. 365, the first plebeian consulate; the next year, B. C. 364, the death of Camillus. Cf. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 17. Orosius, iii. 4. 157. Livy, vi. 42: vii. 2, 3. Plutarch, Camillus, xlii. xliii.

[o] vii. 18.

of the first plebeian consulship; and the 35th from B.C. 388, that of the restitution.

Again, in the speech of the consul Manlius to his soldiers, before the commencement of hostilities against the Tolistoboii in Galatia, he is made to say: Semel primo congressu ad Alliam olim fuderunt majorés nostros. ex eo tempore per ducentos jam annos pecorum in modum consternatos cædunt fugantque[P]. The date of this speech was certainly U. C. 565 B. C. 189: 200 years from which carry us back to U. C. 365 B. C. 389 exactly, the true date of the battle of Allia.

The substance then of what has thus been demonstrated of the correction required by the Fasti according to Varro, from the Regifuge downwards, may be stated in brief as follows.

Synopsis of the Rectification of the Consular Fasti from U.C. 245 *to* U.C. 709 *of Varro,* B.C. 509 *to* B.C. 45.

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i. From the date of the Regifuge and of the first consulate, both supposed to be U. C. 245 ex Kalendis Januariis, B. C. 509, down to the date of the restoration of the city after the capture by the Gauls, U. C. 365, the Fasti anticipate one year on the truth, and are to be lowered and corrected accordingly.

ii. From U. C. 367 the first year after the restoration down to U. C. 382 the fourth year of the sedition of Licinius Stolo, the consular epochs of the Fasti no longer anticipate on the truth; and therefore require no correction.

iii. From U. C. 383, the fifth year of the sedition of Licinius Stolo, to U. C. 420, the consular epochs again anticipate one year on the truth; and therefore again require to be lowered one year, and thereby rectified, as before.

iv. From U. C. 421 to U. C. 709, the first Julian year in the Æra of the City, the consular epochs of the Fasti vary indeed from the truth, sometimes in excess sometimes in defect, but never to the extent of a year; and on the whole stand in no need of any correction but what is supplied by the calendar, through the true date of the consular ingress, at the intermediate points of time.

[P] xxxviii. 17. 15.

SECTION VI.—*On the interval between the Foundation of the City and the Regifuge; and on the mode of filling it up.*

To conclude then with a brief notice of the length of the interval between the Foundation of the City and the Regifugium, or the First consulate; of which nothing has yet been said in the preceding parts of our present work.

The date of the foundation being fixed to the Palilia, April 24, B. C. 750, and the date of the Regifuge to the Kalends of June, June 29, B. C. 508; the absolute length of the interval from one of these terms to the other was 242 years, 2 months, and five days [q]. To fill this up, we have the lengths of the reigns of the kings, and the interregnum between the first and the second; but nothing more.

The beginning of the reign of Romulus is fixed by the date of the Foundation, April 24 B. C. 750; and its end by the date of the eclipse at his death, May 26 B. C. 715. Its absolute length then was 35 years, one month, and two days. The duration of the interregnum between the close of his reign and the beginning of that of Numa, as we have already concluded [r], was probably nearer to two years than to one. At least, from the Foundation, April 24 B. C. 750, to the beginning of the reign of Numa we may safely assume an interval of 36 years and nine or ten months; which will give us its actual commencement early in B. C. 713.

It is not necessary to enter on a minute and circumstantial comparison of the different statements of the length of the succeeding reigns, which are to be met with. Generally speaking they would be found to agree together. Among those which might seem to be entitled *a priori* to the greatest degree of authority, we should not hesitate to reckon such as have been recovered from Cicero's work De Republica; most probably taken from Polybius: the reign of Romulus 37 years [s]; that of Numa, 39 [t]; that of Ancus Martius, 23 [u]; that of Tarquinius Priscus, 38 [w]: the sum total, cum interregnis [x], being reckoned at something more than

[q] Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 15, calls this *ferme* 243 years.
[r] Diss. iii. ch. i. sect. vi. Vol. i. 196.
[s] Lib. ii.
[t] Ibid. Cf. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 9. 15 ad fin.
[u] Ibid.
[w] Ibid.
[x] Ibid. Cf. Livy, i. 21. 31. 35. 40. 48. 60. Solinus, i. 19–26.

240 years: which agrees sufficiently well with the truth, 242 years, two months. The reign of Tarquinius Superbus is supposed to have begun sometime in Olymp. 62, B. C. 532—528; and it is reckoned 140 years from the death of Numa to that time: which is equivalent to 218 years (140 +78) from the Foundation, including both the reigns of Romulus and of Numa, and the interregnum; and would give the beginning of the reign of Tarquinius Superbus B. C. 532 Ol. 62.1.

We cannot however do better than adopt the calculations and dates of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for the whole of this interval; which were probably as carefully considered as any, and with some slight corrections may easily be adapted to the true length of the period which is to be filled up: i. e. from the reign of Numa Pompilius, B. C. 713, to the Regifuge, B. C. 508; a period of 205 years.

Reigns of the Kings of Rome from the Foundation to the Regifuge.

i.	Romulus	35 years	B. C.	750
	Interregnum	2 —	—	715
ii.	Numa Pompilius[y]	43 —	—	713
iii.	Tullus Hostilius[z]	32 —	—	670
iv.	Ancus Martius[a]	24 —	—	638
v.	Tarquinius Priscus[b]	38 —	—	614
vi.	Servius Tullius[c]	43 —	—	576
vii.	Tarquinius Superbus[d]	25 —	—	533
		242 years	B. C.	508

Dionysius reckons the reign of Tarquinius Superbus at 25 years, current or complete[e]; and he must have supposed it to have begun about harvest time, in the proper year, since he represents the attempt on the life of Servius to have been made Διεσκεδασμένου τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν καρπῶν συλλογήν[f]. The expulsion itself, as we have seen, took place a little before the same time of the year also.

[y] i. 75. Cf. ii. 56. 58. 76.

[z] i. 75: iii. 1–35.

[a] i. 75: iii. 36. 45: cf. iv. 6. Cicero, De Rep. ii.

[b] i. 75: iii. 46. 72, 73: iv. 1. 6. Tarquinius Priscus seems to have died about the time of harvest. Cicero, De Rep. ii.

[c] i. 75: iv. 1. 6. 7. 30. 34. 38. 39. 40. The attempt on Servius too seems to be dated about the same time of the year.

[d] i. 75: iv. 7. 41. 85: v. 1.

[e] i. 75: iv. 7. 85.

[f] Ibid. 38.

The reign of Tarquinius then was either 24 or 25 years complete: and though it cannot be reckoned at 25 complete, without supposing it to have begun Olymp. 61. 4 instead of Olympiad 62. 1, yet that would be no objection. We incline therefore to the opinion that its true length was 25 years complete *.

* Dionysius himself, i. 75: iv. 7. dates his expulsion *in* his 25th year. He mentions an omen, which preceded the expulsion only a short time, the same year; viz. that a couple of eagles had built their nest near the palace of Tarquin, Ἔαρος ὥρᾳ ἐπὶ κορυφῇ φοίνικος ὑψηλοῦ, iv. 63; the brood of which was still unfledged at the time of the expulsion: and that too would be an argument of the summer season.

He reckons the entire interval from the Foundation to the Expulsion 244 years; i. 75: iv. 85: v. 1. The true interval, as we have seen, was 242 years, two months. It has often been made an objection to the credibility of the early history of Rome, and to the commonly received dates of the Foundation, that they suppose this period of 242 or 244 years to have been occupied by the reigns of no more than seven kings; which is nearly an average of 35 years for each: an average greatly exceeding the ordinary length of reigns, 21 or 22 years only. But this scale of the ordinary length of reigns applies only to hereditary reigns; and to a series of that kind in which the father is succeeded by his eldest son, and marriages and births in the line of the succession take place at the usual times. The kings of Rome were elective, except the first and the last. We ought to consider first and properly in each of these instances at what time of life the king probably began to reign; and how long he lived, not how long he reigned. If a king is elected at 30, it is no wonder that he should reign 40 or even 50 years; for it would be nothing extraordinary that he should live to be 70 or 80. There have been kings who reigned 70 years, because they began to reign as soon as they were born. Romulus had a long reign, but a short life. He reigned 35 years, but he lived only 54: and he began to reign at 19. Numa must have been 37 when he began to reign; and if he lived to be 80, is it any thing extraordinary that he reigned 43 years? Or is it any thing more so, that, in so peaceful a reign as his, he should have lived to be 80? In this way the apparently long reigns of each of the kings of Rome is most easily and naturally accounted for; without any offence against probability. None of them had an unusually long life, whether he had an unusually long reign or not. The long reign of any one of them was simply the effect of his having begun to reign in the prime of life; and nevertheless having lived for the ordinary term of human life. Perhaps Ancus Martius was the oldest man when he came to the throne; and he had the shortest reign: and Tullus Hostilius next to Romulus was probably the youngest at his death; and he died prematurely, having been killed by lightning.

DISSERTATION IX.

On the rule of the Consular Ingress, at different periods, at Rome.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—*Probability* a priori *that this rule would be something fixed: and probability also of cases of exception to it.*

IT is on every account the most probable supposition that the Consular Initia at Rome were regulated by some fixed and definite principle. In every well ordered community the ingress and the egress of the chief magistrate must be subject to some such rule. We know that such was the case in all the republics of ancient Greece. The Archons at Athens, the Ephors at Sparta, the Bœotarchs at Thebes, the Prætors of the Achæans and of the Ætolians, the Prytanes at Delphi or at Rhodes, came into and went out of office at a stated time; which having been once established seldom if ever varied. Why should the commonwealth of ancient Rome and its official year be supposed to have been an exception to this natural and general rule?

And as to this rule itself, nothing can be more probable *a priori* than that it would be determined in each instance by the particular calendar of the particular community; that the civil year and the official year in every such instance would be the same; that the magistrates of whatsoever name and authority in each particular community, who nevertheless held office only for the term of a year, would enter upon office and go out of office with the beginning and the end of their proper calendar year. In fact we can

scarcely conceive a distinction in any such case as this between the calendar year and the official year. We know at least that these two things were the same among all the communities of ancient Greece; that the magistrates called ἐπώνυμοι, who signed and sealed the Fasti, that is, marked and distinguished the succession of civil time in connection with its proper events, came into office at the beginning of the civil year. The first day of the year among the Athenians was styled Εἰσιτήρια, as well as Νέα νουμηνία, on that very account; and the connection between these two things, the course and succession of the civil year and the course and succession of the official year, was considered so close and so inseparable every where among the Greeks, that if the beginning of the former was changed it entailed a change on that of the latter: proofs of which we hope in due time to lay before our readers, in the case of the Archontic year at Athens, and of that of the Ephors at Sparta, and of that of the Prætors at Syracuse, and of that of the Prætors of the Achæan league. And if we are not able to lay the same kind of proofs before them in many other instances also, it is simply because the details and circumstances connected with actual changes or corrections of the calendar, in every instance, have not been transmitted to posterity.

It may be presumed therefore that the consular year of the Romans must have been regulated by the same natural rule in general as the official year of any other ancient community. Exceptions however in the nature of things there must be for special reasons to all general rules; and among the Romans in particular it is easy to see that a variety of causes were likely to interfere with the regular observance of one and the same rule of the ingress and the egress of the official year: such as i. The premature demise of one or of both of the consuls (whether in war or from sickness) requiring the appointment of successors at an unusual time: ii. The premature abdication of the consuls of a particular year, from informality of some kind, or from motives of public expediency, as the commencement of new wars towards the end of their proper year, or from any accidental reason of the same kind: iii. The prevention or interruption of the comitia at the regular time by internal disputes and dissensions be-

tween the different members of the body politic, which prevented or suspended the regular beginning of the official year: iv. The intervention of dictatorships in some years, and of interregnums in others, both interfering more or less with the regular decursus of a given official year.

The effect of such causes as these might be to change the beginning of the official year for the time being; to occasion a deviation *pro tempore* from the established rule of the ingress, and to substitute a new one apparently in its stead. The question in all such cases is Whether these changes were permanent or merely for a time? When the causes of such innovations had ceased, there does not seem to be any reason why these effects also should not have ceased; nor why a change in an old and established rule which had been purely accidental in its origin should not have been purely temporary in its duration. And as far as we have been able to discover *this* turns out in all such instances to have been actually the case. Whatsoever was the rule of the ingress before these interruptions, though necessarily superseded by them for the time, it is shortly after seen to have been again in force; implying that meanwhile it must have been restored.

SECTION II.—*Epochs or cardinal points in Roman history; relatively to which the question of the Rule of the Ingress at different times requires to be treated.*

Upon this question however of the rule of the consular ingress among the Romans, whether as the same or different, whether as fixed or variable, there are certain epochs or cardinal points of time, which are more important than others, and to which the question itself is most naturally to be referred.

As i. The epoch or date of the Regifuge, and of the establishment of the consular form of the government itself, U. C. 246 B. C. 508.

ii. The epoch or date of the restoration of the consular government after being suspended in behalf of the Decemviral, U. C. 306 B. C. 448.

iii. The epoch or date of the Bellum Tarentinum, U. C. 474 B. C. 280.

iv. The epoch or date of the Bellum Celtibericum or Lusitanicum, U. C. 601 B. C. 153.

Between each of these points of time and the next in order to it, we have seen every reason to conclude that the consular ingress was governed by a proper rule; a different one indeed in each instance, but equally fixed and determinate in all while it lasted. And this rule for each of these periods respectively we have seen reason to conclude was as follows:

i. Between the first of these epochs and the second, the consular ingress was the Kalends of January.

ii. Between the second epoch and the third the consular ingress was the Ides of December.

iii. Between the third epoch and the fourth the consular ingress was the Ides of March.

iv. From the fourth epoch downwards to the end of the Fasti the consular ingress was the Kalends of January.

These different rules of the ingress for these different periods of Roman history we shall proceed to illustrate and confirm to the best of our ability by the necessary proofs.

SECTION III.—*Verification of the Rule of the Ingress for Period* i. B. C. 508 *to* B. C. 448. *Exception, from the necessity of the case, in the first Consular Ingress, and even in the second.*

The ingress of the first consular year, that of Lucius Junius Brutus and of the colleague associated with him, whosoever he was, (for on this point our authorities differ,) from the nature of the case must have been an exception to any general rule which might be afterwards prescribed for subsequent years. It is most reasonable to suppose that the date of this first consulship was either the day of the Regifuge, the Kalends of June U. C. 246 B. C. 508, or the day after it; which as we have seen [g], was a Nundinal day, and therefore well adapted for such a proceeding as the general election of the two first consuls under that name by all the tribes, both urban and rustic, assembled in Comitiis centuriatis: in which manner according to Dionysius [h] and Livy [i], the two first consuls were actually appointed.

[g] Supra, p. 142. [h] iv. 84. [i] i. 60.

For the same reason the ingress of the second consular year may likewise be considered an exception. It is certain at least that the first consular year had not yet expired Pridie Kalendas Martias, the day of the death of Brutus, nor Kalendis Martiis, the day of the triumph of Poplicola, U. C. 247 B. C. 507.

The first consular year then from the nature of the case could not begin earlier than the Kalends of June U. C. 246 B. C. 508; and the second might begin on the same day U. C. 247 B. C. 507. But there is no reason why the third may not be supposed to have begun on the Kalends of January U. C. 248 B. C. 506. And it is some argument that the official ingress was speedily fixed to that day that according to Plutarch[i], or the authorities followed by Plutarch, even the first consuls after the Regifuge entered into office upon the Kalends of January. That could not have been the case with them; but it might have been very soon after with their successors.

That in fact a change had already taken place in the ingress by U. C. 251 B. C. 503, the year of the ivth consulate of Valerius Poplicola, may be inferred from the date of the triumph De Sabinis et Veientibus ascribed to him in the Fasti in that year; some time between the vi Nonas Maias and the Nonas Maias, May 2 and 7 Roman[k]. The circumstances of the history premised to it[k] appear to authorize the inference that this war broke out at the beginning of his year, and was soon over. Consequently his year began before vi Nonas Maias, May 24, B. C. 503 at least. And, if the particulars of the war related by Dionysius may be received as authentic, its beginning may be still more definitely fixed. For it appears[l] that one event of the campaign was an attempt of the Sabines to surprise the Roman camp; an attempt made before midnight and in the dark. In the midst of this attempt and after midnight the moon is described as rising[m]. Consequently the moon at this time was 22 or 23 days old. Now after this attempt nothing is mentioned which preceded the triumph except a siege of Fidenæ;

[i] Quæstiones Romanæ, xix.
[k] Cf. Dionysius, v. 40. Cf. Livy, ii. 16. Plutarch, Poplicola, xxi—xxiii. Dionysius, v. 43.
[l] v. 41: 42.
[m] Cf. Plutarch, Poplicola, xxii: xxiii.

reduced οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις. Between the date of the attempt then, the 23d or 24th Luna, and that of the triumph, there could not have been many days' interval. The new moon of Nisan, B. C. 503, by our General Lunar Tables, fell on April 23 at midnight; and that moon would be 21 days old May 14 at midnight. The date of the triumph could not have been earlier than May 24, and might have been as late as May 28. The former would allow ten days, the latter fourteen days, for the reduction of Fidenæ. This consular year therefore of P. Valerius Poplicola iv T. Lucretius Tricipitinus ii U. C. 251 B. C. 503 had certainly begun before April 24, i. e. the Kalends of April that year. If so, there can be little objection to our supposing it to have actually begun on the Kalends of January, February 23, the same year.

In the next place, as a general argument of the fact of the rule for the first of the Periods in question, there are two years of which it is almost demonstratively certain that it must have held good; and these may be taken as examples or specimens of the rule in every other like case.

The first is the consular year of L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus P. Furius Fusus, U.C. 283 B.C. 471. It has been seen[n] that this consular year was intercalary. A law was extant even in the time of Varro, dated in this year and in the intercalary month of this year itself. By our calendar, Cycle xi. 2. B. C. 471 was intercalary. But the seat of the intercalary month, at this period of the history of the calendar, was at the end of the year; and in this instance between January 23 and Feb. 19 B. C. 470. The law in question then passed in this month was passed at the end of the official year of these two consuls. We may conclude then with almost absolute certainty that their year began on the Kalends of January, Feb. 7 B. C. 471, and ended Pridie Kalendas Januarias, Feb. 18 B. C. 470.

And this conclusion is strongly confirmed by the testimony of Livy[o]; who mentions the year of these two consuls, but so as clearly to make it begin after the tribunician year of Volero, the first mover of the law De Plebeiis Magistratibus in Comitiis Tributis creandis. Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum

[n] Vol. i. 501. [o] ii. 56.

qui L. Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit. Now the tribunician year always began on December 10 Roman. If so this consular year began after December 10 Roman; and so it would do, if it began on the Kalends of January. Directly after too, speaking of the end of both years, Livy observes [o], Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit; Patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Appium Claudium . . . consulem faciunt: conlega ei Ti. Quinctius datur. These are the consuls of U. C. 283 of Varro = U. C. 284: B. C. 471 = B. C. 470. It is clear then that the election of tribunes and consuls against this year must have come very close to each other; but the former first. It appears that the actual official year of each began nearly at the same time; for Livy proceeds Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur; i. e. as soon as both had entered on office the contest between them began.

The second instance is the consular year of P. Valerius Poplicola ii C. Claudius Inregillensis Sabinus, U.C. 295 B.C. 459. It has been seen [p] that the consul Valerius fell in battle in the course of this year, in the attempt to recover the Capitol; and that L. Quinctius Cincinnatus was *suffectus* in his stead, *mense Decembri*, yet for the rest of his year. It is clearly then to be collected from this fact i. That the consular ingress at this time could not have been earlier than the Ides of December at least. ii. That it was much more probably the Kalends of January; if a consul *suffect* even *in December* had still a prospect of continuing some time in office: and that such would be the case *this* year has been made to appear [p]; because the year was intercalary, and it had two months even after the month of December itself.

SECTION IV.—*General confirmation of the Rule of the Ingress for Period* i. *B.C.* 508 *to B.C.* 448, *by the dates of* Triumphi acti *in the course of it. Explanation of the nature of this argument.*

Again, as another general argument of the Rule of the Ingress for this first Period, B.C. 508 to B.C. 448, we may appeal to the dates of such Triumphi acti in the course of it

[o] Loc. cit. [p] Vol. i. 502.

as are still on record in the Fasti. This argument however requires some preliminary explanation.

The military operations of the Republic, down to the time of the commencement of the Samnite war U.C. 412 B.C. 342 M. Valerius Corvus iii A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina, were circumscribed by a sphere of action which lay within one or two days' march of Rome. Alba 12 miles from Rome [q], Fidenæ, 6 [r], Veii, 18 [s], Ostia, 16 [t], Ardea, 18, the Fossæ Cluiliæ, within 5 [u], Algidum less than 12 [w], Allia within 11 [x], Ad Anienem, within 4 [y], Præneste, not more than 18 [z], Tusculum, not more than 12 [a], Gabii within the same [b]; these and such like localities were the scenes of the principal military operations in the intermediate period: Cum intra septimum lapidem triumphi quærebantur [c]. Μεταξὺ γοῦν τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ ἕκτου λίθου τῶν τὰ μίλια διασημαινόντων τῆς Ῥώμης καλεῖται τόπος Φῆστοι. τοῦτον δ' ὅριον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς τότε Ῥωμαίων γῆς· οἵ θ' ἱερομνήμονες θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις πλείοσιν ὡς ὁρίοις αὐθημερὸν, ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἀμβαρουίαν [d]. At the expulsion of the kings, observes Eutropius [e], the dominions of the Republic were bounded by the 15th milestone: Cum adhuc Roma ubi plurimum vix usque ad quintum decimum milliarium possideret.

> Nec dum ultra Tiberim belli sonus: ultima præda
> Nomentum et captæ jugera terna Coræ [f].

Cum illæ omnes victoriæ tam multo sanguine et tantis emtæ calamitatibus vix illud imperium intra viginti ab urbe milliaria dilataverint: quantum spatium absit ut saltem alicujus Getulæ civitatis nunc territorio comparetur [g]. In the Samnite war the armies of Rome first marched an hundred miles from Rome. Bellum .... in centesimo et tricesimo fere milliari ab urbe apud Samnites gerebatur [h].

q Eutropius, i. 4. Dionysius, xii. 11. 21.
r Eutropius, i. 4. 18. Dionysius, ii. 53. iii. 27. x. 22. Strabo, v. 3.
s Eutropius, i. 4. 18. Dionysius, ii. 54. Livy, v. 4.
t Eutropius, i. 5. Strabo, v. 3.
u Eutropius, i. 14. Livy, i. 23: ii. 39. Dionys. iii. 4: viii. 22: 36.
w Eutropius, i. 16.
x Ibid. 19.
y Ibid. ii. 2. Strabo, v. 3.
z Eutropius, ii. 7. Dionys. viii. 65. Florus, i. 11. 7. Strabo, v. 3.
a Dionys. x. 20. Strabo, v. 3.
b Dionys. iv. 53. Strabo, v. 3.
c Valerius Maximus, iv. i. 10 De Animi Moderatione. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6. 16.
d Strabo, v. 3. Cf. Festus, i. 25. 5 Amburbiales.
e i. 8.
f Propertius, iv. x. 25.
g Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 15.
h Eutropius, ii. 4.

In like manner before the commencement of the siege of Veii U.C. 350 B.C. 404, when the army was first kept in the field all through the year, the season of military operations was confined to the spring and the summer; and the business of a campaign was so ordered and so conducted as to be generally over in two or three months' time, and not to interfere materially with the regular agricultural operations of the year: from which the citizens were taken to serve in the army, and to which they returned when their term of service was over[i].

Under these circumstances it was to be expected *a priori* that, if the dates of triumphs celebrated for successes which had been gained within this period were still to be found on record, they would be perceived to range in general in the first half of the natural year; most commonly in the spring, sometimes in the summer, rarely in the autumn, and never in the winter. To discover whether this expectation is confirmed by the matter of fact, we will extract from the Fasti Triumphales such dates as are extant in them from B. C. 503 to B. C. 448.

Dates of Triumphi Acti, extant in the Fasti, from B.C. 503 to B.C. 448[k].

i.	P. Valerius Poplicola Cos. iv De Sabineis et Veientibus Anno 249=250 B.C. 503.	.. Nonis Maiis.
ii.	P. Postumius Tubertus Cos. ii Ovans Primus De Sabineis Anno 250=251 B.C. 502.	iii Nonas Apriles.
iii.	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus Cos. De Sabineis Anno 250=251 B.C. 502.	Pridie Nonas Apriles.
iv.	Sp. Cassius Viscellinus Cos. iii De Volsceis et Herniceis Anno 267=268 B.C. 485.	.. .. Jun.
v.	P. Valerius Poplicola Cos. De Veientibus Sabineisque Anno 278=279 B.C. 474.	Kalendis Maiis.

i Cf. Plutarch, Camillus, ii.

k Cf. also Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. v. p. 67.

vi.	A. Manlius Vulso Cincinnatus Cos. Ovans De Veientibus Anno 279=280 B.C. 473.	Idibus Martiis.
vii.	Q. Fabius Vibulanus Cos. iii De Æqueis et Volsceis Anno 294=295 B.C. 458.	.. Nonas Maii.
viii.	L. Cornelius Maluginensis Cossus Cos. De Volsceis Antiatibus Anno 294=295 B.C. 458.	iv Idus Maias.
ix.	L. Quinctius Cincinnatus Dict. De Æqueis Anno 295=296 B.C. 457.	Idibus Septembribus.
x.	L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus Cos. De Æqueis Anno 304=305 B.C. 448.	Idibus Sextilibus.
xi.	M. Horatius Barbatus Cos. De Sabineis Anno 304=305 B.C. 448.	vii Kalendas Septembres.

It thus appears that of eleven triumphs, recorded within the period in question, three only were celebrated as late in the natural year as Sextilis or September Roman; all the rest fell in the Roman month of March, or of April, or of May, or of June. And those three were triumphs celebrated under peculiar circumstances; the first that of the Dictator Cincinnatus after the misfortune in Algido, and the abdication of the regular consul of the year, L. Minucius Augurinus; the other two those of the first consuls after the restoration, neither of whom could have entered on office before the Ides of May B. C. 448 at the earliest. From the dates of the remaining eight, and the proportion which they bear to each other and to the natural year also, it seems only a reasonable inference that the consular year in all these instances must have begun before the military season; limited as we suppose it to have been, at this period of Roman history, to the first half of the natural year: if triumphs could be celebrated by consuls at this time, for successes gained in their proper year, either on the Ides of March, or iii Nonas Apriles, or

Kalendis Maiis, or before the Nones of May, or iv Idus Maias.

The date of the fourth of these triumphs, U. C. 267 B. C. 485, in the day of the month, according to the Roman style, is lost out of the Fasti: and it might have been a day in Maius, after the xvii Kalendas Junias, as much as a day in Junius not later than the Ides, June 13th Roman. The triumphs of B. C. 458, (the vii and viii,) are attested by Livy[l] in the consular year of Fabius and Cornelius[m]. He observes of the ingress of this year, Principio anni statim res turbulentæ; and that, it appears, partly because of the proceedings relative to the Lex Terentilla, partly in consequence of a rupture with the Volsci and Æqui. This consular year and the tribunitian began together; both too before the military season properly so called. In the course of the war ensuing Aliquot *menses* Tusculi bellatum[n]; yet before the triumphs of these two consuls[l]: the last of which being dated iv Idus Maias, the consular ingress could not have been later than the Kalends of January (March 3), to allow even three months down to the date of the last triumph June 11.

From the date of the vith of these triumphs (B. C. 473) it seems almost a necessary inference that the consular year to which it belongs must have begun on the Kalends of January. What time could there have been for the campaign before the triumph, if it began later? And as to its beginning earlier, (except on the Ides of December,) that is entirely out of the question. We have the account of this year both in Dionysius[o] and in Livy[p]. Each speaks of a Veientine war in connection with it; but Livy implies that matters were made up and peace was restored without a campaign: Dionysius on the contrary that there was a campaign, and of some duration too, (the Veientes having been compelled to submit by want,) as well as an ovation of the consul Manlius, when it was over: in which last supposition he is confirmed by the Fasti Triumphales.

Now from the terms dictated to the Veientes by the consul, before the conclusion of peace, we may infer that the campaign had lasted previously *two* months, either complete or current. One of these conditions was two months' sub-

[l] iii. 24. [m] iii. 22. [n] iii. 23. [o] ix. 36. [p] ii. 54.

sistence for his soldiers[p]; implying that they had been kept two months in the field and at a distance from their own homes. Similar conditions are seen to have been prescribed under similar circumstances B. C. 477[q], B. C. 485[r], and B. C. 466[s]. If then the ovation was celebrated at last on the Ides of March, the campaign must have begun on the Kalends of January itself. And indeed it appears from Dionysius[p] that the consul Manlius, having cast lots with his colleague which should command in the expedition immediately on coming into office, lost no time in taking the field; but led out his forces against Veii διὰ ταχέων.

SECTION V.—*Confirmation of the Rule of the Ingress for the first Period by every instance of exception to it on record during the same.*

It would not be difficult by examining every year in its order from B. C. 508 to B. C. 448, and by considering the circumstances related of each, to establish the rule of the ingress for the whole of the period in general on the broad basis of a particular and comprehensive induction. But this examination would take up too much time. The rule itself is so natural and probable, and so little open to objection of any kind *a priori*, that we may consider it to have been sufficiently proved, if every instance of an exception to it which is any where on record can be shewn to have been something accidental and temporary; and that, when the circumstances which had given occasion to a departure from the rule for a time were over, the rule itself was restored.

To this one argument then of the fact of the rule, for the first of the intervals of time defined *supra*, do we propose to confine ourselves at present; viz. assuming the fact of the rule on the strength of its own reasonableness, to shew by the examination of the actual cases of exception to it that they were all accidental in their origin. They interfered with the observance of the rule for a time; but they did not affect it permanently, nor substitute a new rule of any long duration in its stead.

[p] Dionysius, ix. 36. [q] ix. 17. (16. 18.) [r] viii. 68. [s] ix. 59.

PERIOD I. B. C. 508–B. C. 448. *Consular Ingress the Kalends of January. First instance of exception, the Kalends of September* B. C. 493.

The regular consuls of U. C. 261 B. C. 493, A. Verginius Tricostus Cœlimontanus, T. Vetusius Geminus Cicurinus, are mentioned both by Dionysius[t] and by Livy[u]. Dionysius dates their year in the year of the city 260; Μελλούσης εἰς τοὐπίλον τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος—and in the archontic year of Themistocles: i. e. in the year before Olymp. 72. 1 (B. C. 492) B. C. 493; though, by his own date of the æra of the city, Ol. vii. 1 B. C. 751 ex Palilibus, the 260th of the æra ought to have borne date Ol. 72. 1 B. C. 492 ex Palilibus also. Themistocles however was archon B. C. 493. This therefore was the year of these consuls, according to Dionysius, B. C. 493. There is no reason to suppose that *they* did not enter at the usual time, the Kalends of January, Feb. 9 B. C. 493. But in the course of *their* year those circumstances arose which led to the first Secessio Plebis, that to the Mons Sacer, or to the Aventine[w]. The date of this secession in the natural year according to Dionysius[x] was Μετὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ σπόρου. The date of the return in the natural year also was Οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον...τῆς χειμερινῆς τροπῆς[x]. And this last statement is confirmed by the date of the creation of the first Tribuni Plebis on the same day[y], the iv Idus Decembres, December 10 Roman; which B. C. 493 fell on December 12, only 14 days before the true date of the winter solstice December 26, and only 15 before the mean date, Dec. 27 that year. And, that seed time was already arrived and winter at hand before this, appears very plainly from the account of the previous proceedings[z].

With regard to the former of the same statements, the date of the secession, there had been a campaign the same year before it[a]; and though this might have begun somewhat later than usual, yet as military operations had been confined

[t] vi. 34. [u] ii. 28.
[w] Dionysius, vi. 45: Livy, ii. 32. Cf. Festus, xvii. 467. 11 Sacer mons. 468. 5 Sacram viam.
[x] Dionysius, vii. 1: cf. vi. 62, in the speech of Appius Claudius, Ὥρᾳ ἔτους χειμερίῳ.
[y] Dionysius, vi. 89: ix. 49.
[z] Ibid. 50: vii. 1.
[a] Ibid. vi. 34–45: Livy, ii. 28–31.

to the immediate vicinity of Rome, against the Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsci only, we cannot suppose it could have lasted to the autumnal equinox. In fact the season of military operations was not yet over at the time of the secession itself[b]. The corn too was still on the ground, at least ingathering was not yet entirely over, when the secession took place. Lastly, the consuls Sp. Cassius ii and Postumus Cominius entered Per secessionem, according to Livy[c]; and yet on the Kalends of September, according to Dionysius[d]: and the Kalends of September in the calendar of Numa could rarely fall as late as the autumnal equinox; and still less frequently after it. B. C. 493 they actually fell on Sept. 5. This point however is not of material importance.

It seems to have been considered by the most learned of the Romans a settled point in their ancient chronology that the first Secessio Plebis and the creation of the first Tribuni Plebis both took place in the xvith year of the æra of the Regifuge and Coss. Sp. Cassio Postumo Cominio*; and this must strictly have been the case, if the secession took place *before* the Kalends of September, and these consuls entered office *on* the Kalends of September, and the first tribunes were created *on* December 10 Roman, yet all in B. C. 493: the 16th year of the Regifuge, dated whether from the Kalends of January or from the Kalends of June B. C. 508.

It may be taken for granted then that the consular year of Cassius and Cominius did bear date in the 16th year of the Regifuge, though they were the 17th pair of consuls from the first. Dionysius assigns the actual date of the ingress, the Kalends of September; but he adds Θᾶττον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν[d]. Consequently at an irregular time; and irregular in being earlier not later than usual: so that the regular ingress at this time must have been after the Kalends of Sep-

* See supra, p. 155. vi. 74: In the speech of Junius Brutus (on the part of the seceders, cf. 72) Καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἔτος ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἤδη τριβόμεθα.—vii. 1: the embassy sent to Sicily in search of corn, Ol. 72. 2 Hybrilides, B. C. 491) is dated Ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων.

[b] Dionysius, vi. 45, Livy, ii. 32.
[c] Dionys. vi. 46: 47: 50, Livy, ii. 32.
[d] Dionys. vi. 49. Livy, ii. 33. The end of the preceding consular year, and the time of the Ἀρχαιρέσια of this, are mentioned Dion. vi. 48 ad fin.

tember at least. We may accept this date on his authority, and because it is virtually confirmed by Livy, and by the course of events to the end of the secession. But it must be very clear under these circumstances that such an ingress in the present instance was entirely *extra ordinem;* and was to be attributed solely to the critical state of things at the time, with war impending abroad and a civil dissension of so serious a nature at home. It seems from Dionysius[e] that the regular time of the consular comitia was at hand soon after the beginning of the sedition; and as the consuls of the year were deservedly obnoxious to the people, it was considered adviseable that having appointed successors of a more popular character they should abdicate, in order that those might enter upon office forthwith. This appears to be the true account of the exception to the regular rule of the ingress in the present instance. Under ordinary circumstances the month of September would have been rather the proper month for the consular comitia than for the consular ingress. The year of Cassius and his colleague then might bear date on the Kalends of September; yet that of their predecessors might have done so on the Kalends of January. Nor is it difficult to shew that, though these two entered on that day this year, the next two, Geganius and Minucius, did not enter on the same day the next year, but on some day later than that at least; most probably the usual day before these things occurred, the Kalends of January.

SECTION VI.—*On the Chronology of the war of* Coriolanus.

It appears from Dionysius[f] that the date of the termination of the war of Coriolanus was the Kalends of December in one year; that of the first sacrifice to Fortuna Muliebris which commemorated its termination was the Kalends of December in the next year; and that of the dedication of the Ædes of Fortuna Muliebris, also arising out of it, was Pridie Nonas Quinctiles in the next year to that. The first sacrifice he says took place Πρὶν ἢ τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀναστατθῆναι, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ τοῦ κάτοπιν ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῇ νέᾳ σελήνῃ, ἣν Ἕλληνες μὲν νουμηνίαν Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Καλάνδας καλοῦσιν· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ λύσασα τὸν πόλεμον ἡμέρα. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ μετὰ

[e] vi. 48. [f] viii. 55. Cf. Livy, ii. 40.

τὴν πρώτην θυσίαν ὁ κατασκευασθεὶς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων νεὼς συνετελέσθη τε καὶ καθιερώθη Κυϊντιλίου μηνὸς ἐβδόμῃ (leg. ἕκτῃ) μάλιστα κατὰ σελήνην· αὕτη δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶν ἡ προηγουμένη τῶν Κυϊντιλίων Νωνῶν ἡμέρα. ὁ δὲ καθιερώσας αὐτὸν ἦν Πρόκλος Οὐεργίνιος ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων.

The date of the dedication of the Ædes of Fortuna Muliebris is thus determined to Pridie Nonas Quinctiles in the consular year of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus iii Proculus Verginius Tricostus [g], U. C. 269 B. C. 485: the date of the first sacrifice to the same divinity to the Kalends of December the year before, U. C. 268 B. C. 486; and the date of the close of the war to the Kalends of December the year before that, U. C. 267 B. C. 487. Now the war ended in its *second* year [h]. The first year of the war therefore was U. C. 266 B. C. 488, the consular year of Julius and Pinarius [i], Ol. 73. 1 Archon Anchises; in which Dionysius himself dates its commencement [k].

The banishment of Coriolanus however, out of which this war ultimately arose, is dated by both Dionysius and Livy [l] in the consular year of M. Minucius Augurinus ii A. Sempronius Atratinus ii U. C. 264 B. C. 490 *; which at first sight is calculated to occasion some perplexity: for on that principle the war which Coriolanus excited in revenge for his banishment must have begun two years after his banishment itself. And yet in dating the first instigation of this war B. C. 488, and the end of it B. C. 487, Dionysius is consistent with himself. In the speech of Coriolanus to the Volsci [m], in that year and on that occasion, it is reckoned to be four or five years since the institution of Tribuni Plebis; and it would be so towards the end of B. C. 489. In the speech of Veturia to the women [n] before they set out on their errand to Coriolanus, it is reckoned the *fourth* year since his banishment; and that being dated B. C. 490, it would be the fourth year after it B. C. 487.

This difficulty seems to have occurred to Livy; and to

* Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 10, 41: De Amicitia, 12, 42.

[g] Cf. Dionysius, viii. 68. Livy, ii. 41.
[h] Cf. Dionysius, viii. 15 and 16.
[i] Ibid. 1. [k] Ibid. 3–15.
[l] Ibid. vii. 10: 52–68. cf. 63. 19. Livy, ii. 34, 35.
[m] viii. 5. [n] viii. 41.

have appeared to him so great that, as the only means of removing it which he could think of, he has suppressed the two pairs of consuls, which Dionysius recognizes between the banishment in B. C. 490 and the war in B. C. 488; viz. the consuls of U. C. 265 B. C. 489, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Sp. Lartius Flavius ii[o], and those of U. C. 266 B. C. 488, C. Julius Julus P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus[p]. Both these pairs are wanting in Livy; though he has those which precede and those which follow them, in conformity to Dionysius. Consequently though he dates the banishment in the year of Minucius and Sempronius[q] B. C. 490, (wherein he agrees with Dionysius,) he dates the beginning of the war excited in consequence of it, and as if directly after it, in the next year, that of Nautius and Furius[r], according to him[r] B.C. 489; two years before the truth.

These consuls of B. C. 489 and B. C. 488 cannot be dispensed with. The series of consular years from the Regifuge B. C. 508 to the capture of the city by the Gauls B. C. 389 could not possibly be complete without them. How then is the difficulty after all to be explained? that Coriolanus should have been banished in B. C. 490, and yet the war excited in resentment of his banishment should not have broken out until B. C. 488? The immediate occasion of the war, that is, the opportunity of which Coriolanus and Attius Tullus took advantage to bring it about, was the instauration or repetition of those Ludi at Rome, which Dionysius[s] represents as the same which were originally vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius at the time of the battle of the Lacus Regillus[t]; and which he describes accordingly[u], after Fabius the oldest of the Roman historians: but Livy[w] as those which were first instituted in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus[x]. But this difference is of little importance, the same Ludi being meant in each instance; those which are commonly known by the name of the Ludi Magni, Ludi Romani, or Ludi Circenses[y]; and the time of which appears to have

o Dionysius, vii. 68.
p Ibid. viii. 1.
q ii. 34, 35. r Ibid. 39.
s vii. 68: viii. 2. Cf. Livy, ii. 36, 37. Arnobius, vii. 244. Lactantius, ii. 7.
t vi. 10: vii. 71.
u vii. 71–73. w ii. 36, 37.
x i. 35.
y Valerius Max. i. vii. 4. De Somniis, supposes them the Ludi Plebeii, which at this time had no existence.

been always the same season of the year in general; and in the Julian calendar[z] was September 4–12.

Now just before the commencement of hostilities thus brought about, allusion occurs to a truce for two years, lately concluded between the Romans and the Volscians[a]; which had not then expired. This truce must have been an event of the year of Geganius and Minucius, U.C. 263 B.C. 491; about the time when the Volsci were meditating a renewal of the contest with the Romans, but were prevented by a pestilence[b]. If so, its date was probably the autumnal quarter, B. C. 491. The banishment of Coriolanus must have taken place in the first year of this truce, B. C. 491–490[b]. Now it does not appear to have been consistent with the simplicity and good faith, which still characterized these times, that the Volsci should be instigated to break an existing engagement before its proper expiration. This in our opinion is the true reason why, though Coriolanus was banished in B. C. 490, the war excited by him did not begin till B. C. 488: not to mention that B. C. 490 both the Volsci according to Livy[c], and the Romans according to Dionysius[d], were still labouring under the effects of the same pestilential visitation; and neither of them at that time were in a condition to go to war.

But B. C. 489 the truce would expire of itself; and though it does not follow that even in that case the Volsci, if left to themselves, would immediately have gone to war with the Romans, it might be easy to stimulate them to such a determination, if an affront, like that which Tullus and Coriolanus contrived to have put upon them at the celebration of the Ludi Romani, coincided with the same point of time. And yet even in that case the actual resumption of hostilities would not take place the same year[e]; which after the month of September or October, the date of the instauration of the games, was too far advanced. The next year consequently, B. C. 488, would be the first of the war, properly so called; as Dionysius supposes it to have been.

[z] Maffæan, Amiternine, Capranic, and Antiatine, apud Foggini.

[a] Dionysius, viii. 2.

[b] Ibid. vii. 1. 12: 19: 37–63, 64. Livy, ii. 34, 35.

[c] ii. 35.

[d] vii. 12: 13.

[e] Plutarch, Coriolanus, xxiv–xxviii. seems to have thought it did.

We may reason then as follows: A truce of two years between the Romans and the Volscians was concluded in the consular year of Geganius and Minucius; the second year of which was not yet over at the time of the instauration of the Ludi Romani in the month of October, B. C. 489. If so neither could the first have been in the month of October, B. C. 490. Consequently the date of the truce must have been after the Kalends of September at least, B. C. 491. If so, the consular year of Geganius and Minucius must have begun after the Kalends of September at least B. C. 492; and therefore the official ingress of this year was not the same as that of the year before—but some day later than it at least: in which case, there is no reason why we should not suppose it to have been the Kalends of January themselves.

It is of importance however to this argument to shew that though the consular year of their predecessors, Cassius and Cominius, had been B. C. 493–492 ex Kal. Septembribus; their's was strictly B. C. 491. And this may be proved by the testimony of Dionysius himself.

SECTION VII.—*On the true date of the consular year of* Geganius *and* Minucius.

In this year we have both in Dionysius[f] and in Livy[g] an account of the dearth which is supposed to have been one of the effects of the secession in B. C. 493; and also of the measures which were taken to relieve it, by sending persons to different quarters to procure supplies of corn. Some of these deputies were dispatched to Sicily, to the tyrant or king of Syracuse; whom the Roman historians, Gellius, Licinius Macer, and others, in their accounts of these events represented to have been the elder Dionysius; but who, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus[f], (cf. Plutarch[h]) contends was Gelo, Νεωστὶ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τυραννίδα παρειληφώς. And yet, if the date of this mission was any time between B. C. 493 and B. C. 491, it must have been Hippocrates and not Gelo who was reigning in Syracuse at the time; for Gelo began to reign there only in B. C. 485[i].

The correction however of the mistake into which the

[f] vii. 1. [g] ii. 34. [h] Coriolanus, xvi. [i] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, xi. 38. Timosthenes, B. C. 478. Also xi. 1.

Roman historians in question had fallen leads Dionysius to observe that Dionysius the elder came to the tyranny in the 85th year after this mission of deputies to Sicily; Olymp. 93. 3 Callias, B. C. 406: in which he is right; for the actual assumption of the tyranny by Dionysius did bear date at the end of this year B. C. 406, or at the beginning of the next B. C. 405. The date of the mission of the deputies then, 85 years before it, must have been B.C. 491; so that, if they were sent in the year of Geganius and Minucius, that year too must have borne date B.C. 491: in which Dionysius dates it accordingly, Olymp. 72. 2 Hybrilides, 17 years from the Regifuge according to the above-mentioned Roman historians. The true time of the mission was probably about midsummer B.C. 491; the winter being spent abroad, and their return taking place in the spring or the summer of the next year[k]. They were dispatched therefore on their errand strictly in the 17th year from the Regifuge, dated at least from the Kalends of June B. C. 508; but in the 17th year *exeunte*.

Others of these deputies were sent to Cuma, and to the tyrant of Cuma, Aristodemus[l]; from which Dionysius takes occasion to digress into the account of his previous history. The commencement of this account goes back to Olymp. 64. 1 Miltiades, B. C. 524[m]; apparently to the autumnal quarter of that year. In the 20th year after[n], the people of Aricia (at that time besieged by Aruns the son of Porsena) applied to the people of Cuma for assistance. Aristodemus was sent to their aid[o]; and after relieving Aricia (killing Aruns himself) he returned to Cuma, and soon afterwards made himself tyrant there[p].

The 20th year from B. C. 524 would be B. C. 505–504. Now it appears[q] that both the relief of Aricia and the death of Aruns took place in the second year of the siege; and in the consular year of Sp. Lartius and Titus Herminius, consuls of the fourth year from the Regifuge B. C. 505. Aruns himself was still with Porsena at the siege of Rome, the year before; that of Pulvillus ii and Poplicola iii[r] B. C. 506: and

[k] Dionysius, vii. 1, 2.
[l] Ibid. vii. 2. Livy, ii. 34.
[m] Dionysius, vii. 3.
[n] Ibid. vii. 5: cf. Livy, ii. 14. 9–14.
[o] Dionysius, vii. 6.
[p] Ibid. vii. 7, 8: cf. Livy, ii. 21.
[q] Dionysius, v. 36.
[r] Ibid. v. 21: 26.

he must have been sent by his father on this expedition against Aricia, after the composition made with the Romans the same year[s]; the time of which was later in the year than corn harvest at least[t]. If then he was killed in the second year of the siege of Aricia[u], it must have been some time after corn harvest B. C. 505, or before it B. C. 504: in either case still in the 20th year, current or not yet complete, from B. C. 524.

The deputies of the Romans came on this occasion to Aristodemus Ἔτος ὁμοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἤδη τυραννοῦντα τῆς Κύμης[w]. If we date from the autumn of B. C. 505, this 14th year would still be current at midsummer B. C. 491: if from any time before corn harvest B. C. 504, it would still have been begun at midsummer B. C. 491. In any case the date of the arrival of these deputies at Cuma must have been B. C. 491; and therefore the date of the year of Geganius and Minucius in which they were sent thither must have been the same.

Their return is dated under the next consuls Minucius ii and Sempronius[x], those of B. C. 490; and if they were sent on an errand like this about corn harvest in one year they would hardly delay their return beyond corn harvest in the next. The proceedings relating to Coriolanus, which arose directly out of their return[y], are evidently supposed to have begun in the summer of the year; and soon after his condemnation the consular comitia were at hand[z]: which is an argument that he must have been condemned and have gone into banishment towards the end of the summer, and the beginning of the autumnal, quarter.

Yet, as we have already observed, the ultimate cause of the scarcity which gave occasion to these measures is attributed to the secession, and to the neglect of the usual labours of seed time in the consular year of Cassius and Cominius[a]; i. e. as far back as the autumnal quarter of B. C. 493: which would virtually date the mission of deputies in search of supplies *ex auctumno* B. C. 492. On this point therefore Diony-

[s] Dionysius, v. 34, 35.
[t] Ibid. v. 26: 35. Cf. Livy, ii. 9–14.
[u] Dionysius, v. 36: vii. 5.
[w] Ibid. vii. 12.
[x] Dionys. vii. 20: 37. Livy, ii. 34.
[y] Dionys. vii. 21—67. Livy, ii. 34, 35.
[z] Dionys. vii. 68. Cf. Plutarch, Coriolanus, xvi: xix.
[a] Dionysius, vii. 1.

sius is not strictly consistent even with himself; and we are at liberty to call in question the truth of his assumption that the stress of the want felt in B. C. 491 was to be attributed to the neglect of the seed time B. C. 493; at least exclusively. Livy agrees with him in dating the mission in the consular year of Geganius and Minucius also [b]; but he gives a somewhat different account of the preexisting distress: Caritas primum annonæ ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris; fames deinde qualis clausis solet: from which we infer that B. C. 492, and strictly in consequence of the secession, nothing was felt but a rise in the price of corn; and that, if this too was aggravated by a famine, it must have been in consequence of the failure of the crops not so much in B. C. 492 as in B. C. 491. And thus every thing will be rendered consistent; and the year, which appears to have been the actual date of the measures taken for the relief of the scarcity, B. C. 491, will be the first in which there was strictly speaking an actual necessity for them.

We think then we may safely come to the conclusion that, though the official year of Sp. Cassius and Postumus Cominius anticipated five or six months on the usual ingress, that of their successors, Geganius and Minucius, did not do so; but entered at the same time as usual before the secession, the Kalends of January: and that B. C. 491. In this case, as the predecessors of Cassius and Cominius, Verginius and Vetusius, had only a seven months' term of office, they themselves must have had one of seventeen or eighteen; or, if they too went out of office on the Kalends of September B. C. 492, the rest of that year, down to the Kalends of January, must have been administered by interrexes.

With regard to the course of subsequent events, we are of opinion that deputies were sent in quest of supplies about midsummer B. C. 491; and that the truce with the Volsci for two years was concluded in the course of the ensuing autumn. The deputies returned in B. C. 490 about midsummer also; and Coriolanus was banished not long after. Consequently still in the first year of the truce. In the consular year of Q. Sulpicius and Sp. Lartius, B. C. 489, as the second year too was drawing to a close, in the month of

[b] ii. 34.

October the Ludi Magni were renewed; of which Coriolanus and Attius Tullus took advantage to irritate the minds of the Volscians against the Romans. But still the war could not begin until the next year, B. C. 488; when Julius and Pinarius were consuls: and then, as Dionysius shews, it did begin, and early in the spring or the summer too, if the corn, or part of it at least, was still uncut when the Volscians took the field[c]. Directly after we read in him also[d] of the conclusion of that consular year, and of the beginning of the next, that of Sp. Nautius and Sextus Furius; and in this year too the unthreshed corn and the other fruits of the ground are alluded to[e]: implying that the war had now got into the second summer and second harvest, that of B. C. 487; though Livy would give us to understand that it must all have been comprehended in the autumn of a single year[f], between the date of the instauration of the Ludi (most probably the month of October) and that of the pacification with Coriolanus, which was December 1 Roman; only two months afterwards. But in fact he was driven to this absurdity at last, in order to reconcile his chronology of the war to that of the consular succession; in which as we have explained he omitted two pairs of consuls altogether. Having antedated the beginning of the war by two years, he makes amends at last by shortening its duration two years; and by making it both begin and end in the last two or three months of the same consular year (that of Nautius and Furius): in which it certainly did end though it did not begin.

SECTION VIII.—Period i. B. C. 508 *to* B. C. 448. *Consular Ingress the Kalends of January. Second instance of exception,* Sextilis B. C. 475.

The consuls of U. C. 279 B. C. 475, Aulus Verginius Tricostus Rutilus, Sp. Servilius Structus, are attested by both Dionysius and Livy[g]. They entered on office according to the former Περὶ τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα τροπὰς, Σεξτιλίου μηνός.

The date of this ingress may be correctly stated; and yet

[c] Dionysius, viii. 12. Cf. Appian, ii. De Rebus Italicis, v. 1—5.
[d] Dionys. viii. 15.
[e] Dionysius, viii. 16.
[f] ii. 39.
[g] Dionysius, ix. 25: Livy, ii. 51.

it must have been something accidental: for it appears[h] that the consuls of the preceding year, C. Horatius Pulvillus and T. Menenius Lanatus, were both in office before the destruction of the Fabii at Cremera (the xvii Kalendas Sextiles, Quinctilis 16[i]) and after it also, when the Janiculum was occupied by the Etrurians[k]. Now if the regular consular ingress at this time had been the month of Sextilis; these consuls could not have been in office on the 16th of Quinctilis; but instead of them their predecessors L. Æmilius and C. Servilius[l], the consuls of B. C. 477. It would be absurd to suppose the Sextilis, above alluded to, to have been the month so called B. C. 476; the year of the destruction; when so many events intervened between the destruction and the consular ingress, all clearly referred to the year of Horatius and Menenius; and when even these two consuls themselves, Verginius and Servilius, must have come into office after seed time at least: as Dionysius speaks of a famine or scarcity at the beginning of their year, Ἀσπόρου . . τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χειμῶνι διὰ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τοῦ πλησίον ὄρους (the Janiculum) καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καταδρομὰς γενομένης[m].

We know indeed that according to Ovid[n] the date of the destruction of the Fabii was the Ides of February; but his testimony to that effect is more than counterbalanced by the uniform tenor of Roman tradition to the contrary: which invariably represents the date of this misfortune at Cremera and that of the defeat at Allia as one and the same day of one and the same month[o]. If then the consuls of B. C. 476 were still in office on the 16th of Quinctilis and after it, and

[h] Dionysius, ix. 18—24: Livy, ii. 50: 51, 52.

[i] See supra, p. 151.

[k] Dionysius, ix. 24: cf. 28, 29. Livy, ii. 51.

[l] Dionysius, ix. 16: Livy, ii. 49.

[m] Dionysius, ix. 25.

[n] Fasti, ii. 195 sqq.

[o] Livy, ii. 51: the year being B. C. 476, (C. Horatius T. Menenius U. C. 278,) it is implied that the destruction itself was either before corn harvest that year, or not later than it. The 16th of Quinctilis this year fell on July 28, sufficiently near to the time of harvest, to justify this account. See supra, p. 140. Cf. Livy, ii. 48: 49: 50: 51: iii. 1: vi. 1. Dionysius, ix. 19: 21: 15: 14. Plutarch, Camillus, xix. SS. Deperd. Vaticana Coll. ii. 151, Dion. xxi. Diodorus, xi. 53. Zonaras, vii. 17. 344. D—345. A. Ovid, De Ponto, i. ii. 3. Tacitus, Hist. ii. 91. A. Gellius, xvii. 21. Silius Italicus, ii. 3—6: vi. 637: vii. 46—61. Festus, xvi. 433. 19 Religioni est: xvii. 486. 10 Scelerata Porta. Seneca, iii. 59. Epp. lxxxii. 20. Valerius Max. ix. xi. 4: Externa, De Improbe dictis. Juvenal, ii. 155. Servius, ad Æn. vi. 846: viii. 237. Auctor De Viris, Fabii trecenti sex. Eutropius, i. 15. Florus, i. 12. § 2. Suidas, Ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι: Ἐλεεινός. Cf. Appian, De Rebus Italicis, ii. 6.

those of B. C. 475 entered on office on the Kalends of Sextilis; it is manifest that Sextilis could not have been the regular month of the ingress in both these years alike. It might be the date of the ingress B. C. 475; but it could not have been so B. C. 476. And if it was not the date of the ingress B. C. 476; it could not have been the regular date of the ingress B. C. 475.

It is some objection to the credibility of Dionysius' statement in this instance, that it supposes the Roman Sextilis of this time to have been a month the place of which in the natural year was about the summer solstice. In the calendar of Numa that was impossible. The earliest date of his Sextilis was August 4, the latest Sept. 3. Its date this year, (Cycle x. 22. 355, B. C. 475,) was August 25. It would seem from Livy[p] that the consuls of the year entered before corn-harvest: and that must certainly have been over by August 25. Still though we may accept this date of the ingress on the authority of Dionysius, it must be admitted to have been something irregular and *extra ordinem*. It may be collected from the defence of Servilius in the year of the next consuls[q], under the accusation then brought against him, that he and his colleague had been elected at the usual time; after the occupation of the Janiculum indeed, but before the winter[r].

We think then that this case could have been only an accidental exception to the rule, howsoever occasioned. These consuls went out of office at the usual time. The accusation of Servilius by the tribunes Cædicius and Statius is dated as soon as they went out on the one hand yet Initio statim anni on the other[s]; and as these tribunes were not the same who had accused Menenius the year before, they must have been their successors: the same who were in office as tribunes along with Valerius and Nautius as consuls. If so, since these tribunes must certainly have come into office Dec. 10 Roman B. C. 475, Valerius and Nautius, it may be supposed, must have done so on the Kalends of January, B. C. 474.

The history of the military proceedings in their year con-

[p] ii. 52.
[q] Dionysius, ix. 28, 29. Livy, ii. 52.
[r] Cf. Dionysius, ix. 27 ad calcem: and ix. 28.
[s] Livy, ii. 52. Cf. Dionysius, ix. 27, 28: 35.

firms this inference. It appears [t] there were two expeditions, one against the Veientes and the Sabines under the consul Valerius, the other against the Volsci under the consul Nautius, both supposed by Dionysius [t] to have begun soon after the trial of Servilius; and that having been, according to Livy [u], *initio statim anni*, one of these expeditions at least must have begun early in the year too. Now for the successes against the Veientes and the Sabini in particular, Valerius had a triumph decreed him; which though not mentioned by Livy is attested by Dionysius [v] and by the Fasti Triumphales also. And these latter date it Kalendis Maiis. Therefore this consular year began long before the first of Sextilis. The date of the triumph is further confirmed by the fact that, though the consul Nautius did not set out on his expedition until after the return of Valerius, he took the field when the corn was in ἐν ἀκμῇ [v]; as it would be at the end of May or in June. Moreover it appears from Dionysius [w] that the camp of the Sabines was forced by Valerius after the δείλη ὀψία on some day, and after midnight of the next day as the context implies on a moonless night; after which three days are mentioned in order, and several more generally, as spent in the enemy's country, down to the return and the triumph. The new moons of April and May, B. C. 474, fell on April 3 and May 2 respectively: the date of the triumph fell on May 16. The camp of the Sabines might have been stormed a few days before May 2; and yet the campaign might be over by May 15.

SECTION IX.—Period i. B. C. 508 *to* B. C. 448. *Consular Ingress the Kalends of January. Third case of exception, the* Kalendæ Sextiles, *B. C.* 462.

The consuls of U. C. 292 B. C. 462, P. Servilius Priscus L. Æbutius Elva, are supposed by Dionysius [x] to have entered upon office under circumstances apparently in no respect different from usual. But he proceeds to describe their year as distinguished by a remarkable pestilence; which carried off a fourth part of the senate, most of the tribunes of the people, and both the consuls. It began about the Kalends of Sep-

[t] Livy, ii. 53. Cf. Dionysius, ix. 34, 35. [u] Livy, ii. 52. Cf. Dionysius, ix. 27, 28: 35. [v] ix. 35. [w] Ibid. 34. [x] Ibid. 67.

tember, and it continued for the rest of the year: Ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ἡ νόσος περὶ τὰς Καλάνδας τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς, διέμεινε δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὅλον[y]. The Kalends of September B. C. 462 bore date September 24.

He then recognizes the creation of consuls for the ensuing year[z], (the same who appear in the Fasti U. C. 293 B. C. 461,) L. Lucretius Tricipitinus T. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus, *per interreges*. And that these must have entered about the same time as the Tribuni Plebis (soon after Dec. 10 Roman) may be inferred from the fact next related; viz. that one of these tribunes, Sextus Titus, as soon as he came into office, made an attempt to revive the discussion of the Lex agraria which had been so long in agitation: but it was overruled by the people themselves, and all business both public and private was postponed, in order to take the field for the protection of the allies against the Æqui and the Volsci[a]. In this account there is no appearance of any irregularity. The consuls of U. C. 293 B. C. 461 and those of U. C. 292 B. C. 460 seem to have entered alike at the usual time; only that these latter were created *per interreges*, not by their predecessors in office; each of whom at the time of the comitia was dead.

Livy's account of the same things is very different. Comitia inde habita. creati consules L. Æbutius P. Servilius Kalendis Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt[b]. After this the pestilence, and its consequences[c]; first the consul Æbutius and then the consul Servilius being carried off by it: until at last Paullatim seu pace deum impetrata seu graviore tempore anni jam circumacto defuncta morbis corpora salubriora esse incipere: versisque animis jam ad publicam curam quum aliquot interregna exissent P. Valerius Publicola tertio die quam interregnum inierat consules creat L. Lucretium Tricipitinum et T. Veturium Geminum, sive ille Vetusius fuit[d]. He proceeds Ante diem tertium Idus Sextiles consulatum ineunt; jam satis valida civitate, ut non solum arcere bellum sed ultro etiam inferre posset.

This representation necessarily implies one of two things; either that the pestilence lasted only *ten* days, from Sextilis 1

[y] Cf. Dionysius, x. 7. [z] ix. 69. [a] ix, 67, 68, 69—71. According to Dionysius one of the consuls (Æbutius) was already dead, and the other (Servilius) was at the last gasp, when the Latins and Hernici first announced the inroad of the Æqui and Volsci. Cf. x. 7. [b] iii. 6. [c] Ibid. 6, 7. [d] Ibid. 8.

to Sextilis 11, beginning and ending in the consular year of Æbutius and Servilius, or that it lasted a year and ten days, beginning on Sextilis 1 in their year and lasting to Sextilis 10 in the year after. Both are improbable. The first is contradicted by the context of Livy itself. The truth is, we must either reject his account of these things entirely, and take that of Dionysius only as the true one; or we must correct his text, and read the Kalends of January for the Kalends of Sextilis in one of these instances, and iii Idus Januarias for iii Idus Sextiles in the other. The former will give the ingress of B. C. 462, agreeably to our calendar, February 27; the latter that of B. C. 461 February 27 also; neither of them a Nundinal day.

It may be collected from Livy himself[e], speaking of the motion of Terentillus Arsa, i. That this motion began to be agitated the year after the death of the two consuls; consequently in the year of their successors. ii. That it began in their absence, while they were abroad with the army. iii. That having been suspended till their return[f] it was renewed directly after their return and their triumph, yet so as by new Tribuni Plebis and in the year of new consuls: Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilla ab toto relata conlegio novos aggressa consules est. erant consules P. Volumnius Ser. Sulpicius: U. C. 294 B. C. 460[f]. A plain intimation that the consular year and the tribunician in this instance must have begun very much at the same time; the latter December 10 Roman, the former January 1 Roman.

This case of apparent exception to the rule is consequently very probably resolvable into some corruption of the text of Livy. There is no intimation of any irregularity in the account of Dionysius; which is probable and consistent with itself all through. The state of the case this year at Rome was very like that of another, which Dionysius dates Ol. 82. 1 Chærephanes: Ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐκπεπληρωμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης συνοικισμοῦ[g]: answering to U. C. 300 *ineunte* of his reckoning, U. C. 302 of the Varronian, B. C. 452, the consular year of Sextus Quinctilius and P. Curiatius. There was a great pestilence in that year also[h], by which half the citizens,

[e] iii. 9, 10.
[f] Cf. Dionysius, x. 1.
[g] x. 53.
[h] Cf. Livy, iii. 32.

and many of the senate, and four of the tribunes, and the consul Quinctilius, and even his successor the consul suffect, Spurius Furius, were carried off: and after this a famine or scarcity, in consequence of the land's having been left uncultivated during this state of things [i]. Yet all these temporary distresses were at an end under the next consuls, 4. Menenius, P. Sestius [k]; and these are supposed to have been already in office all through the winter, and ἀρχομένου ἔαρος: so that they must have come in at the usual time, the Kalends of January U. C. 303, Feb. 26 B. C. 451; which for the climate of Italy might be truly described as the early spring.

The next case of exception for the remainder of this period would be that of the Decemviral ingress, the Ides of May, U. C. 304 B. C. 450. But this has been fully considered; and the circumstances out of which it arose have been explained [l]. Upon the whole then, so long as the calendar of Numa was still in force, there is every reason to believe that the rule of the ingress was the simple and natural one of the Kalends of January. We have satisfied ourselves that the general truth of this rule might be established to a demonstration by the circumstantial testimony of particular years, from B. C. 508 to B. C. 448; were there any necessity to enter on so elaborate a proof of so very probable a truth. We will assume that it has been sufficiently established by merely taking into account and allowing for each of the cases of actual exception to it, of which any thing is known, or can be known at present; and we shall now pass to the same kind of confirmation of the rule of the second period, B. C. 448 to B. C. 280, the Ides of December.

[i] Dionysius, xi. 54: 53. [k] Ibid. Livy, iii. 32. [l] Diss. iv. ch. i. sect. v. vi. Vol. i. 397 sqq.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD II. B. C. 448 *to* B. C. 280. *Consular Ingress the* Ides *of December.*

SECTION I.—*Probable reasons of the change of the Rule at this point of time: and exceptions to it in the first instance from the necessity of the case.*

Among the probable reasons which might contribute their effect to bring about a change of the rule of the ingress from its most natural term the Kalends of January, the first day of the civil year, to a different one, and one *a priori* not so likely to have been fixed upon for any such purpose, the Ides of December; one may be assigned in the fact of the Decemviral correction of the calendar of Numa; the calendar which had hitherto regulated the ingress and every thing else for which a civil reckoning of a certain kind was required. The epoch of the Decemviral correction itself was B. C. 449—448. The order of the month Januarius was not affected by that correction, nor the order of the month December; but, while the former still continued to be the first month as before, the latter, by virtue of the correction, became the last. The month Januarius therefore and the month December were brought by the correction into immediate contiguity; whereas before they had been separated from each other by the month Februarius in every common year, and by the month Merkedonius also in every intercalary year, of the cycle. It was therefore but a slight change in the existing rule to set back the ingress from the Kalends of January to the Ides of December; if there was otherwise any motive for doing so beyond the mere desire of change. It made but a difference of 17 days, whether the old rule should be still retained, or a new one like this should be substituted in its stead.

Another reason might be that, as the Kalends of December in the rectified years of the Decemviral cycle fell on December 12, the Ides fell on December 24: and, though that

coincidence was not more peculiar to the Decemviral correction than to the calendar of Numa, the Ides of December in the former were much nearer to the end of the year than the Ides of December in the latter. Now by falling on December 24 the Ides of December fell on what might be considered at this time as nearly as possible the date of the winter solstice; which B. C. 448 for the meridian of Rome was falling December 27 and 26: the mean solstice on December 27, the true on December 26. In the Greek calendar of Meton and Euctemon, published only 16 years later than the Decemviral correction of the Roman, the winter solstice or first of Ægon was assumed Dec. 25: and we have already seen that the principles and assumptions of the Greek calendar of this time exercised a material influence on the arrangements and details of the contemporary correction of the Decemvirs among the Romans. Certain at least it is that, if the ingress from this time forward was attached to the Ides of December, the official year among the Romans became attached to what appears to have been considered among them, from some earlier period of their history down to the Julian correction itself, the natural beginning of the civil year.

> Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis:
> Principium capiunt Phœbus et annus idem [h].

A third reason, and in our opinion the most likely of all to have been the true reason of the change in question, might be the fact that, by the time of the Decemviral correction, the Tribuni plebis had grown into a body of so much importance, and had been found by experience to be such formidable rivals of the opposite party in the state, represented by the consuls, that it must have appeared on every account desirable that the official year of each should if possible begin and end with that of the other. It was doubtless thought to be inexpedient that an ill disposed tribune should continue to have little less than one month even after the Decemviral correction, as he had often had two or three months before it, at the beginning of every fresh year, when he was most powerful and most active; with no contrary influence or authority, like that of fresh consuls also, to keep him in

[h] Ovid, Fasti, i. 163.

check. Now the tribunitian ingress was something fixed. It had been determined, (perhaps accidentally at first,) to the iv Idus Decembres; but having been once attached to that day it appears to have been considered ever after inseparable from it. As the Tribunitian ingress then could not be raised 20 days to meet the consular; there was no alternative but to lower the consular 17 days to bring it so much nearer to the tribunitian: for it does not seem to have been thought expedient that both should meet in the same day. Therefore an interval of three days was still left between them.

An exception however to the rule of this period from the necessity of the case will require to be made in this instance also, with regard to the ingress of the first pair of consuls after the restoration of the consular form of government, L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus and M. Horatius Barbatus[i]. The last body of Decemvirs was not dispossessed before the Ides of May B. C. 448; and this first pair of consuls having been elected entered on office extemplo (extemplo magistratum obceperunt). If so, soon after the Ides of May, B. C. 448; though not before that day. For the same reason the first Tribuni plebis after the restoration in this single instance were elected at an unusual time[k]. Each of these elections was irregular; but the irregularity was excused by the necessity of the case.

There is no reason however *a priori* why we may not suppose that the new rule, or the modification of the old rule, produced by the reasons assigned supra, might not be already in force at the beginning of the year of the next two consuls, Lar Herminius and Titus Verginius[l]. It would follow from this fact merely that the change of the rule was probably the act of their predecessors, the consuls of the restoration; and a measure which directly affected the term of their own tenure of office was as likely to proceed from consuls of their character and disposition as from any. The completion of the Decemviral reforms is actually attributed

[i] Dionysius, xi. 44, 45. Livy, iii. 55.

[k] Dionysius, xi. 43. Livy, iii. 54. Cf. Cicero, Pro C. Cornelio, p. 971; and Asconius, p. 105, 106.

[l] Dionysius, xi. 51. Livy, iii. 65.

to them [m], including the final confirmation of the xii Tables, and possibly even of the correction of the calendar; of which latter this change in the rule of the ingress also would be the most natural accompaniment imaginable.

But with respect to the *fact* of this change, howsoever produced, and by whomsoever carried into effect, we are not left to conjecture. It has been seen from the testimony of both Dionysius and Livy [n] confirmed by the calendar also [o] that the first military tribunes entered office on the Ides of December U. C. 310, and abdicated on account of informality Pridie Kalendas Martias U. C. 311; in the third month of their term of office according to Livy, 73 days after their ingress, according to Dionysius: this last the exact interval, as our calendar shewed [o], between the Ides of December, December 28, B.C. 444, and the day before the Kalends of March, March 11, B. C. 443.

The consuls suffecti in their stead, according to both our authorities also, were L. Papirius Mugillanus and L. Sempronius Atratinus. We are told however by Livy [p] that, though they had the principal part of the year to themselves, the magistrates *ordinarii* or *ἐπώνυμοι* of the year in the Fasti were magistrates of a different denomination; i.e., as we must suppose, the military tribunes first appointed: the fact of consuls, and of this pair of consuls, for the rest of their official year, being attested, according to Livy also, only by the treaty of peace, concluded under them with the people of Ardea, still in existence. Idque monumenti est consules eos illo anno fuisse, qui neque in annalibus priscis neque in libris magistratuum inveniuntur. credo quod tribuni militum initio anni fuerunt, eo perinde ac si toto anno in imperio fuerint subfectis his consulibus prætermissa nomina consulum horum. Licinius Macer auctor est et in fœdere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetæ inventa *.

* Dionysius Hal. xi. 62, after observing that this year had consequently two sets of magistrates, continues: *Πλὴν οὐκ ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἀμφότεραι φαίνονται, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς μὲν οἱ χιλίαρχοι*

[m] Dionysius, xi. 44, 45. Livy, iii. 57: cf. Vol. i. p. 407.
[n] Dionysius, xi. 61, 62. Livy, iv. 6, 7.
[o] Supra, Diss. vi. ch. i. sect. vi. Vol. i. p. 518.
[p] iv. 7.

It appears from Dionysius[q] that the consuls of the next year, M. Geganius Macerinus ii Titus Quinctius Capitolinus v[r], entered Τῇ διχομηνίδι τοῦ Δικεμβρίου μηνός—which means on the Ides of that month; and since it is clear from the context that there was nothing extraordinary in that circumstance, (that they were entering *on* that day as matter of course,) it follows that the rule, for which we are contending, only six years after the Decemviral correction must have been already established and in operation. The consular year which thus entered the Fasti on the Ides of December, Dec. 18 B. C. 442, is memorable as the date of the institution of the censorship also[s].

Again, it appears from Livy[t] that the consuls C. Sempronius Atratinus Q. Fabius Vibulanus, who represent U. C. 332, entered on the Ides of December; His rebus actis (i. e. the surprize of Vulturnum, afterwards Capua, by the Samnites under Capys) consules ii quos diximus Idibus Decembribus magistratum obcepere: and this fact too is evidently mentioned as nothing peculiar; as matter of course. It appears also directly after[u] that the comitia for the election of Tribuni Plebis, and those for the election of Tribuni Militares, must have fallen out close to each other; yet it is observed[u] Principio statim anni (the official year, B. C. 421) L. Hortensius tribunus plebis C. Sempronio consuli anni prioris diem dixit. A plain intimation that the last consular and the last tribunician year had expired at the same time.

It appears also from Livy[w] that the six military tribunes of U. C. 352 of the Fasti, (though their true year was U. C. 353 B. C. 401,) were elected at the usual time, and entered at the usual time, whatsoever that was. And that it was the Ides of December appears from the subsequent account of their year. The state of things abroad, at-

μόνον ἐν αἷς δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι, ἐν οὐ πολλαῖς δ' ἀμφότεροι· αἷς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἄνευ λογισμοῦ συγκατατιθέμεθα, πιστεύοντες δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τε καὶ ἀποθέτων βίβλων μαρτυρίαις. These last words seem to describe the Lintei Libri, ad (Ædem) Monetæ, of Licinius Macer. This is however a striking proof of the much superior diligence of Dionysius to inform himself correctly on all such points as these, compared with that of Livy.

[q] xi. 63. [r] Cf. Livy, iv. 8. [s] Ibid. 8. 24. Dionys. xi. 63.
[t] iv. 37. [u] iv. 42. [w] v. 8.

tributed to their mismanagement, gave occasion to a resolution that they should abdicate before their time: Non exspectandum justum tempus comitiorum, sed extemplo novos tribunos militum creandos esse qui Kalendis Octobribus magistratum obciperent[x]: from which last words we may infer *obiter* that the *justum tempus comitiorum* at this period was later than the Kalends of October at least; and therefore was quite in character with that of the ingress, the Ides of December.

Two of the tribunes, Sergius and Virginius, protested against this measure: Negare se ante Idus Decembres sollemnem ineundis magistratibus diem honore abituros esse. The *dies sollemnis ineundis magistratibus* then at this time was the Ides of December. It is again recognised in that capacity in the speech of the Tribuni Plebis against these two military tribunes, the next year B. C. 400 ineunte: Nam et senatus consulto eos ab republica remotos esse...et populum Romanum tribunos creasse qui non Idibus Decembribus, die sollemni, sed extemplo Kalendis Octobribus magistratum obciperent...existimare defunctos se esse,...quod duobus mensibus citius privati facti sint[y]. The two refractory tribunes, in fact, gave way at last: Victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum habuere qui Kalendis Octobribus magistratum obciperent; seque ante eum diem magistratu abdicavere[z].

We are not aware of any direct testimony, later than the above, to prove the existence of the rule at subsequent periods from B. C. 448 to B. C. 280. There is a triumph in the Fasti[a] celebrated by the consul of the time being on the Ides of March, B. C. 334; and that would prove that the ingress had not by that time been removed from the Ides of December to the Ides of March; which was the next change made in it. But the cases adduced demonstrate both the fact of the rule, and, for any thing which appears to the contrary, its uninterrupted observance from B. C. 448 to B. C. 401. For the rest of this second period, the best proof will be as before the consideration of the cases of exception to the rule, which happen to be on record; and whether they were acci-

[x] v. 9. [y] v. 11. [z] v. 9.

[a] Nundinal Cycle, No. xxiv. p. 73.

dental in their origin, and temporary in their effects, or not. The first of these is that of B. C. 401 itself; the accidental origin of which appears from the preceding account of it. Whether it was temporary in its consequences also remains to be seen.

SECTION II.—Period ii. B. C. 448 *to* B. C. 280. *Consular Ingress the Ides of December. First case of exception the Kalends of October* B. C. 401.

The six military tribunes substituted on this occasion[b] for the regular tribunes of the year appear in the Fasti U. C. 353 =354 ex Kalendis Januarii, B. C. 401=400: and yet there can be no doubt that their year began Ex Kalendis Octobribus U. C. 353 B. C. 401. That both their appointment and their ingress at this particular time were irregular requires no further proof; that neither could have interfered permanently with the ordinary succession of magistrates and the proper dates of the official year of each appears from the arrangements of the Fasti themselves. The question is, Though these six tribunes entered at an unusual time of the year, whether their successors also did so or not? We are altogether of opinion that they came in at the usual time, the Ides of December.

Among the military tribunes of this next year, U. C. 355 B. C. 399, one was the first who was ever created *de Plebe;* P. Licinius Calvus[c]. This is sufficient to fix the year. At the time of their election the tribunes of the year (U. C. 354) were employed at Veii, or against the Falisci and the Volsci[d]; which determines the time of this election to the close of the military season, and so far to the regular period of the comitia in the natural year. Directly after[e] the winter of the same year is alluded to as something remarkable of its kind: Insignis annus hieme gelida et nivosa fuit, adeo ut viæ clausæ Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, as it appears from the fragments of this part of his history[f], gave a much more circumstantial account of this phenome-

[b] Livy, v. 10. [c] Livy, v. 12. [d] Ibid. 12, 13. [e] Ibid. 13. [f] xii. 8. Cf. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 17. who mentions that the snow lay on the ground in the Roman Forum 40 days; seven feet deep too according to Dionysius. There was another winter of remarkable severity after this too, Q. Gallus and C. Fabius, B. C. 270–269: Zonaras, viii. 6. 380 A.

non; observing at the end: Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὔτε πρότερόν ποτε γενόμενον ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία παρειλήφαμεν, οὔθ' ὕστερον ἕως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου, μετρίῳ γέ τινι βορειότερα τοῦ μέσου, κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηνῶν γραφόμενον δι' Ἑλλησπόντου παράλληλον. τότε δὲ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐξέβη τῆς εἰωθυίας κράσεως ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος τήνδε τὴν γῆν φύσις.

Now this winter, coming after the election of the first Tribunus militum *de Plebe*, and that coming at the close of the military season B. C. 400, is a decisive argument that his year was regular; that both the comitia and the initia of this tribune and of his colleagues must have taken place at the usual time: and therefore that the anomaly, which had been caused by circumstances the year before, B.C. 401, must have been corrected B. C. 400; most probably by allowing the tribunes of that year two months' tenure of office beyond their proper term.

The comitia and elections of the next year, U. C. 356 B. C. 398, are also mentioned[g]; when five of the six Tribuni militares were *de Plebe:* and those of the third year likewise[h], U. C. 357 B. C. 397; when by straining the interest of the patricians to the utmost it was contrived that the six tribunes should be all *de Patribus*. And this reaction is spoken of as two years since the first election of a tribune *de Plebe;* as in fact it was: *that* having borne date B. C. 399 and *this* being dated B. C. 397. Now the winter of the tribunes of B. C. 398 also is alluded to as a severe one; and as followed by a summer remarkable for the opposite extreme of heat and drought: Tristem hiemem sive ex intemperie cœli raptim mutatione in contrarium facta sive alia qua de caussa gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus æstas excepit[g]: and both these characteristics of the seasons, B. C. 399 and B. C. 398, respectively are confirmed by the allusion to them again at the comitia of B. C. 397[h]. In consequence of this state of things the Sibylline books were consulted, and the first Lectisternium was celebrated; the date of which has been very probably determined to the interval from November 13 to November 20 Roman[i]. This date being ascertained, it follows that the tribunes of B. C. 398 must have been still in office Nov. 20

[g] v. 13. [h] v. 14. [i] Supra, Nundinal Cycle, p. 113.

Roman that year; and if so it cannot be considered doubtful that they would retain office till the Ides of December also.

The same thing may be demonstrated of the tribunes next to these, those of U. C. 357 B. C. 397 [k]. The prodigy of the Alban lake happened in their year [l]; but after the beginning of the military season and the commencement of the campaign abroad in various quarters [m]. The actual date of this phenomenon is determined by the fragments of Dionysius [n]: Περὶ τὴν ἐπιτολὴν τοῦ Κυνὸς ὅτε μάλιστα λίμναι τε ἐπιλείπουσι καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες: and this time in the natural year, according to the Parapegmata of antiquity as adapted whether to the parallel of Athens or to that of Rome, may be understood to have coincided in general with the last ten days of July; which B. C. 397 would come between the Pridie Idus Quinctiles and the ix Kalendas Sextiles of the Roman Calendar. Consequently these military tribunes were still in office at the end of Quinctilis U. C. 357; and had been so long before.

Now θεωροὶ or deputies, it is said, were sent to Delphi to consult the oracle about the procuration of this prodigy; and these had not returned by the time of the comitia the next year: which was very likely to be the case, if they were dispatched in Quinctilis or Sextilis and those comitia were held in October or November. In fact it appears [o] that the actual time of their return was in the official year of the tribunes of B. C. 396; after the beginning of the military season in that: i. e. most probably in the spring or summer quarter. And though this must imply that they were absent two-thirds of a year at least; when we consider the delays incidental to travelling abroad at this early period, that ought not to be any objection: and we have seen more than one instance already of persons sent into Greece in the summer or autumn of one year who did not return before the same time in the next. One consequence of the return of these deputies was the abdication of the tribunes of B. C. 396 [p]; followed by three interregnums at least [p]; and

[k] Livy, v. 14. [l] Ibid. 15. [m] Ibid. 14.
[n] xii. 11. Cf. Plutarch, Camillus, iii. who dates it at the end of the summer and the beginning of the autumnal quarter.
[o] Livy, v. 16: cf. Dionysius, xii. 12-18.
[p] Livy, v. 17.

ultimately the reappointment of most of the tribunes of B. C. 399, P. Licinius Calvus and the rest[q]. It does not however appear that any great departure from the standing rule of the ingress would be occasioned by these changes. The year of the tribunes of B. C. 396 had probably almost run out at the time of their abdication itself. And this is confirmed by the date of the capture of Veii; which was reduced at last in the year of their successors B. C. 395[r]: after a siege, (as Livy expresses its duration,) of Decem æstates hiemesque continuas.

Now siege was laid to it first in the year of Titus Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus and his colleagues[s]; who represent in the Fasti U. C. 349 B. C. 405, though their true year was U. C. 350 B. C. 404: and as the context of proceedings implies in the spring. From thence, to the summer of B.C. 395 reckoned inclusively, would be *ten* summers; and to the winter of B. C. 395–394, reckoned inclusively also, would be *ten* winters. The city was taken still in the year of the tribunes of B. C. 395[t]; which must have extended consequently into the winter of that year: and so it would if it began on the Ides of December, Dec. 28 B. C. 396, and did not expire till the Ides of December, Dec. 18 B. C. 395: considerably later than the ordinary beginning of winter, as it was commonly reckoned at this period; viz. early in the month of November. The exact length of the siege was nine years and the principal part of a tenth. Dionysius states it at nine years only[u]; which errs on the side of defect: Livy's statement of its duration, ten summers complete and nine or ten winters complete also, is the most correct *.

* It is mentioned by Pliny (H. N. iii. 21. 716) on the authority of Cornelius Nepos that on the same day on which Camillus took Veii the Insubres, Boii, and Senones (Galli) took and destroyed Melpum, one of the most opulent cities in the Regio Undecima or Transpadana of Italy; and not far from Mediolanum or Milan.

q v. 18. r v. 1—22. s iv. 61. t v. 20. u xii. 19.

SECTION III.—Period ii. B. C. 448 *to* B. C. 280. *Consular Ingress the Ides of December. Second case of exception the* Kalends *of Quinctilis* B. C. 390.

This case of exception has been fully considered[w]. It has been shewn too that though both the military tribunes who succeeded the consuls L. Valerius Potitus and M. Manlius Capitolinus entered office on the Kalends of Quinctilis, B. C. 390, and the six who succeeded them did the same B. C. 389, and their successors also B. C. 388; yet the old rule was restored at the end of B. C. 388; and the tribunes of U. C. 367 in the Fasti, B. C. 387, entered office on the Ides of December B. C. 388.

Third case of exception the Kalends *of Quinctilis* B. C. 330.

The next case of exception which appears in Livy is that of L. Æmilius Mamercinus (Privernas) ii and C. Plautius (Decianus[x]); who are said to have entered Kalendis Quinctilibus in the consular year of L. Papirius Crassus ii L. Plautius Venno[y], U. C. 424 B. C. 330. But that this was an accidental departure from the rule of the ingress appears from the cause to which it is ascribed; the alarm of a Tumultus Gallicus; which rendered it necessary to antedate both the regular comitia and the regular ingress of the ensuing year. And that the interruption thus occasioned was only temporary appears further from the fact that the next consular year, U. C. 426 B. C. 328, P. or C. Plautius Proculus P. Cornelius Scapula[z], and the corresponding tribunician year, expired about the same time. The comitia consularia too and the comitia tribunitia against the next year must have been held nearly at the same time; as may be inferred from the history both of M. Flavius one of the tribuni plebis elected at these comitia, and of the origin of the Bellum Palæopolitanum, which broke out in the year of the next consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Q. Publilius Philo ii, B. C. 327, yet was occasioned in part by a pestilence at Rome in the year of their predecessors, B. C. 328. If so *this* consular year must have extended into the summer and autumn of B. C. 328, but not into the military season of B. C. 327.

[w] Supra, Diss. viii. ch. i. and ii. [x] viii. 20. [y] viii. 19. [z] viii. 22.

Moreover, siege having been laid to Palæopolis by one of the consuls of this year, B. C. 327, Publilius Philo[a], it was protracted to the time of holding the comitia for the election of consuls against the next year. Itaque, observes Livy[b], quum et comitiorum dies instaret et Publilium inminentem hostium muris avocari ab spe capiendæ in dies urbis haud e republica esset; actum cum tribunis est ad populum ferrent ut quum Publilius Philo consulatu abiisset pro consule rem gereret quoad debellatum cum Græcis esset: and that was decreed accordingly[b]. For the sake of holding the comitia a dictator was first nominated; and his nomination having been declared informal, (though the true reason of the objection to it was that he was *de plebe*,) Ad interregnum res redit. The 14th interrex at last held the comitia, and created the consuls of B. C. 326; the same who appear in the Fasti U. C. 428. Now 14 interregna would take up 70 days. Consequently if the ordinary time of these comitia ought to have been September or October Roman, it is clear that they could not have been actually held at last till November, or even December, Roman: in which case, the ingress of the consuls elected could not have been earlier than the Ides of December, Dec. 14 B. C. 327. Among other things mentioned previously too one was the renewal of the Lectisternium[c], for the fifth time Post conditam urbem; with the same ceremonies as at first, and *Iisdem quibus ante placandis diis.* Consequently in November Roman B. C. 327. Immediately after Livy observes, Novi deinde consules cum mississent qui indicerent Samnitibus bellum[c]—implying that they entered on office not indeed before the ceremony of this Lectisternium, but still soon after it.

SECTION IV.—Period ii. B. C. 448 *to* B. C. 280. *Consular Ingress the Ides of December. Cases of exception in the* Fasti Triumphales. *Rule of the Fasti in the reckoning of consular years.*

It has been already observed[d] that until the beginning of the siege of Veii B. C. 404 the campaigns of the republic were confined to the spring and summer quarters of the

[a] viii. 22: 23. [b] viii. 23. [c] viii. 25. [d] Supra, page 186.

natural year; and until the commencement of the wars in Samnium its military operations were circumscribed by a sphere of action within a day's march of the walls of Rome: under which circumstances it was to be expected *a priori* that the dates of triumphs, between B. C. 508 and B. C. 404, would be found to range in general from the beginning of the spring to the end of the summer in the natural year. There are no such dates extant in the Fasti from B. C. 448 to B. C. 404 but two[e]; and these are agreeable to the rule in question: the first being dated U. C. 310 of the Fasti, Nonis Septembribus, the second U. C. 316, Idibus Septembribus.

The examination of one year after another, from B. C. 448 to B. C. 293, the end of the first decad of Livy, would lead to the same conclusion; viz. that the rule of the ingress in general for the whole of this interval was stated and regular, and such as we assume it to have been. In repeated instances the testimony of circumstances, common to both the consular and the tribunitian year, would leave no doubt that both must have begun and ended alike; in which case as the ingress of the latter is known perpetually that of the former is determined also.

It cannot however be denied that many dates of Triumphi acti are on record, after B. C. 404 and before B. C. 280, which at first sight seem to militate against the rule, such as we suppose it to have been all that time; i. e. range between the Ides of December and the Ides of March: and yet are the dates of triumphs celebrated by consuls in their proper consular year; and therefore in those years either *ineuntibus* or *exeuntibus*. If in their proper years *ineuntibus*, these dates would be no cases of exception to the rule; but if in those years *exeuntibus*, (which at first sight appears to be the most natural inference from such dates themselves,) they would imply that these years must have begun between the Ides of March and the Ides of December; and not *vice versa*, between the Ides of December and the Ides of March. These cases then of apparent inconsistency with our assumed rule of the ingress for the whole of this period of time, supported as they seem to be by the testimony of the Fasti Triumphales, will require a particular consideration.

[e] Nundinal cycle, viii. and ix. supra, p. 69.

Preliminary to this consideration however it would obviously be necessary that we should satisfy ourselves i. Whether the general fact, attested in these instances even by the Fasti, (that is, the fact of Triumphs at all without any regard to their circumstances,) is to be received as sufficiently authenticated; because, though it appears to be attested by these Fasti, the Fasti are not always confirmed by the contemporary history. ii. Supposing the fact of such Triumphs in general to be sufficiently authenticated, we should still have to consider whether the month and the day to which they are assigned in the Fasti could always be depended on; because, though contemporary history too may confirm the fact of such triumphs in general, it frequently leads to the inference also that they must have been celebrated at a different period of the year from that which the Fasti assign them. iii. Admitting both the general facts, and the particular dates of these facts, on the testimony of these Fasti, still we should be bound to inquire whether such triumphs, even according to the Fasti, were celebrated in the proper consular year *ineunte* or *exeunte;* and after a certain point of time whether by a consul, before the expiration of his proper consular year, or by a proconsul, after the expiration of his proper year as consul.

And with regard to each of these latter questions, it would be very important to take the proper rule of the Fasti Triumphales in reckoning both the consular and the proconsular year strictly into account: for though this rule is uniform and consistent with itself from first to last, it is nevertheless a purely hypothetical and positive one, and never had an actual existence. In these Fasti every consular year is supposed to be one and the same with the corresponding year of the city. The consular ingress of these Fasti is consequently the Palilia, the xi Kalendas Maias, perpetually. And it is a necessary consequence of such an assumption, that every year, actually recorded in these Fasti, begins *de facto* a certain length of time *later* than the truth; because the actual ingress was never attached to the xi Kalendas Maias, nor ever to any day later than that, but always to some day earlier than it: a month and six days earlier when the date of the ingress was the Ides of March; two months

and 20 days when it was the Kalends of January in the calendar of Numa, 3 months and 20 days, when it was the same day in the irregular calendar, four months and six days when it was the Ides of December. For the same reason too, every consular year of these Fasti ends a certain length of time later than the truth; as much as by their peculiar rule was deducted from the beginning of a given year by virtue of the same rule also being added to its duration.

It is another consequence of this rule that triumphs are recorded in these Fasti in repeated instances as if celebrated by consuls, which were really celebrated by proconsuls; or in a particular year of the city *exeunte*, according to *their* rule, which were actually celebrated in the next year *ineunte* according to the *Varronian* rule. The title of Proconsul is not given in these Fasti to any consul until after the xi Kalendas Maias of the succeeding consular year; nor is any triumph recorded as celebrated Pro consule, the date of which is not later than the xi Kal. Maias at least.

Any one may satisfy himself that this is a correct account of the rule of these Fasti Triumphales, by comparing their dates in particular instances with those of the Fasti of Varro. We shall illustrate it at present by one or two examples only; but taken from a period of Roman history when there can be no doubt that the rule of the consular ingress was the Ides of March; i. e. from B. C. 264, the first year of the first Punic war, downwards.

Examples of the rule of the Fasti Triumphales in the reckoning of Consular and of Proconsular years.

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i. (Nund. Cycle, supra, lvii.) M'. Valerius Maximus Messalla Cos.
De Pœneis et Rege Siculorum Hierone.

Anno 490. xvi Kalendas Apriles.

The date of this triumph is thus fixed to xvi Kal. Apr. U. C. 490 Cap. 491 of Varro, B. C. 262. Yet Messalla's consular year actually expired two days before.

ii. (lxv.) C. Sempronius Blæsus Cos.
De Pœneis.

Anno 500. Kalendis Aprilibus.

This consular year in these Fasti then was still current April 1 Roman, B. C. 252: yet it actually expired 17 days before.

iii. (lxvi.) C. Aurelius Cotta Cos.
De Pœneis et Siculeis.

Anno 501. Idibus Aprilibus.

This year too in these Fasti was still incomplete April 13 Roman, B. C. 251. Yet it actually expired on March 15 Roman, a month by the calendar before.

iv. (lxxiii.) Sp. Carvilius Maximus Cos.
De Sardeis.

Anno 519. Kalendis Aprilibus.

This consular year too was still current April 1 Roman, B. C. 233: and yet it really expired 17 days before.

v. (lxxiv. ii.) M'. Pomponius Matho Cos.
De Sardeis.

Anno 520. Idibus Martiis.

This triumph was consequently celebrated by Matho as still consul the day after his consular year actually expired, B. C. 232.

The date of the first proconsular triumph which appears in these Fasti is that of Q. Publilius Philo, characterized accordingly; Anno 427. Kalendis Maiis[f], May 1 Roman B. C. 326: and herein they are confirmed by Livy, speaking of the close of the Bellum Palæopolitanum in the year of this Philo as proconsul, which had begun in his year as consul[g]: Publilio triumphus decretus. . . . duo singularia hæc ei viro primum contigere, prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta et acto honore triumphus[h].

The date then of the first triumph of this description may be considered as fixed. It may be assumed that none of the same kind was ever celebrated before B. C. 326. With re-

[f] Supra, Nundinal Cycle, xxvi. [g] viii. 22, 23. [h] Ibid. 26.

gard therefore to such dates of triumphs as occur in the Fasti between B. C. 404 and B. C. 326, militating apparently against the rule of the consular ingress for the intermediate time, they cannot indeed be explained by supposing that they were triumphs celebrated by proconsuls, though recorded in the Fasti as celebrated by consuls (as they might be in conformity to their own rule); but they may still admit of explanation by understanding them of a given consular year *ineunte* in the regular reckoning of the consular years, though in the preceding year of the city *exeunte* according to the particular rule of the Fasti Triumphales.

The first thing necessary is to collect these dates together; which we shall do, limiting ourselves to the interval from B. C. 404 to B. C. 281, during the whole of which we suppose the rule of the ingress to have been still the Ides of December.

Dates of Triumphi acti, according to the Fasti Triumphales, from B. C. 404 *to* B. C. 281, *which appear to militate against the rule of the Ingress for that interval of time.*

i.	C. Sulpicius Peticus Cos ii. De Herniceis. Anno 392 .... Mart.	
ii.	C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus Cos. De Galleis et Tiburtibus. Anno 393 .... Mart.	
iii. (Nund. Cycle xviii.)	M. Popillius Lænas Cos iii. De Galleis. Anno 403. Quirinalibus.	
iv. (xix.)	M. Valerius Corvus Cos ii. De Antiatibus Volsceis Satricaneisque. Anno 407. K. Februariis.	
v. (xxii.)	Q. Publilius Philo Cos. De Latineis. Anno 414. Idibus Januariis.	

vi. (xxiv.) M. Valerius Corvus Cos iv.
iii. De Caleneis.

Anno 418. Idibus Martiis.

vii. (xxv.) i. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas Cos ii.
De Privernatibus.

ii. C. Plautius Decianus Cos.
De Privernatibus.

Anno 424. Kalendis Martiis.

The next thing is to correct these dates; and the same correction is necessary for the Fasti Triumphales from U. C. 392 to U. C. 422 at least, as for the Fasti Varroniani: the nature of which has been explained. On this principle the corrected years of these several triumphs will stand as follows.

i	U. C.	393	Cap.	394	Varr.	B. C.	360–359
ii	..	394	..	395	..	..	359–358
iii	..	404	..	405	..	..	349–348
iv	..	408	..	409	..	..	345–344
v	..	415	..	416	..	..	338–337
vi	..	419	..	420	..	..	334–333
vii	..	424	..	425	..	..	329–328

Each of these triumphs is attested by Livy, except the first; of which he makes no mention in that part of his history where it should have come in[i]. The fact of this triumph therefore, and of that of the dictator Quinctius Pennus on the Quirinalia the same year[k], may or may not be open to a question. But with regard to all these cases in general; it appears that they are the dates of triumphs celebrated either *De Gallis,* (an enemy who might invade the Roman territory early in the year or late, and would have to be encountered under all circumstances early or late,) or De Hernicis, Volscis, Satricanis, Latinis, Calenis, Privernatibus: that is, enemies close to the walls of Rome. So that, could no other explanation avail to reconcile these dates in the Fasti to the rule of the ingress for the time being, there would be no great objection *a priori* to the supposition that these were the dates of triumphs for successes gained and

[i] vii. 9: cf. vii. 11.

[k] Nundinal Cycle, xii.

celebrated in the consular year *ineunte*, in each of these instances; on which principle none of them would necessarily militate against the rule of the ingress.

To consider however each of these triumphs and its date in the Fasti, a little more particularly. With regard to the second; it appears from Livy[l] that the battle with the Gauls and Tiburtes was fought early in the year, and close to the Porta Collina; that is, under the very walls of Rome. There is no reason then why this triumph in particular might not have been truly dated some time in February or March Roman before the Ides (for the actual day is not extant in the Fasti at present) B. C. 359; early in the consular year of Libo. February Roman would begin that year Feb. 24, and March, March 24.

With respect to the third; there was a Tumultus Gallicus in the consular year of M. Popillius Lænas iii L. Cornelius Scipio[m], U. C. 405 B. C. 349. The consul Scipio being ill, the conduct of the war was committed *extra ordinem* to Popillius. We have an account of the war in Livy[n]. The consul Popillius was wounded in the battle which ensued; Moram triumpho, Livy observes[o], vulnus consulis adtulit. The appointment of a dictator to hold the comitia is then mentioned; and the consuls elected were those who appear in the Fasti U. C. 405—406 B. C. 349—348. Livy adds[p]: Priusquam inirent novi consules magistratum triumphus a Popillio de Gallis actus magno favore plebis; which leaves no doubt of the fact: and yet as clearly ascertains that its date was before the consular ingress U. C. 406 B. C. 348. This date in the Fasti is the Quirinalia, U. C. 403=404 of the Capitoline æra, *exeunte*; i. e. the 16th of the Merkedonius that year, March 10 B. C. 348. So that on this principle the consular ingress of U. C. 406 of the Fasti must have been later than the 16th of the Merkedonius at least.

We will not venture to say that this was impossible; for there was a contest between the Patres and the Tribuni Plebis U. C. 402 B. C. 352 and U. C. 403 B. C. 351[q]; which gave occasion to an interregnum of 50 or 55 days at least B. C. 352, and might have had the effect of disturbing the

[l] vii. 11. [m] vii. 23. [n] vii. 23, 24. [o] vii. 24. [p] vii. 25. [q] vii. 21: 19: 22.

regular ingress not only for B. C. 351 but for B. C. 350 and 349 also.

At the same time, there is reason to suspect the date of this triumph in the Fasti, the Quirinalia U. C. 404 Cap. *exeunte;* first, because in that year the Quirinalia must have fallen on a Nundinal day: secondly, because it may be collected from Livy[r] that the actual time of Popillius' triumph must have been near the beginning of winter; which would be November B. C. 349 rather than March B. C. 348. The Gauls having been routed by him took refuge on the summit of the Mons Albanus; consequently *in* his year and *before* his triumph: yet directly after his triumph, and when the new consuls were now in office, Livy tells us[s], Galli ex Albanis montibus quia hiemis vim pati nequiverant per campos maritimaque loca vagi populabantur. It would be preposterous to talk of the severity of winter for the climate of Rome any time after March 10. If the new consuls came in at the usual time, the Ides of December, (Dec. 16 B. C. 349,) all would be consistent: for the winter would begin to be most severe immediately after their ingress. But on this principle Popillius' triumph must have been celebrated some time in the autumnal quarter, B. C. 349. This date therefore of the Fasti as we have observed is suspicious; and not without cause: as indeed these dates of triumphs which they record on the Quirinalia in particular for some reason or other do appear to be.

With regard to the fourth triumph; it is strongly implied by Livy[t] that this triumph of the consul Valerius De Antiatibus and the rest was celebrated early in his year. Consequently it is no proof of an irregular ingress: but the contrary*. And that the rule of the ingress at this period in general was still regular may be inferred from the history of the next few years. The Bellum Samniticum broke out in the consular year of M. Valerius Corvus iii A. Cornelius

* Yet this supposition would not get rid of all the difficulty connected with this triumph: for the Kalends of February U. C. 408=409 B. C. 345 would be Nundinal. It is most probable that the Kalends of February in this instance are in error for those of some other month, in the same year, but later.

[r] vii. 24. [s] vii. 25. [t] vii. 27.

Cossus Arvina[u], U. C. 412 B. C. 342. After the year's campaign we have the triumphs of both these consuls[w], each in the Fasti also[x]; one on the x Kalendas Octobres, the other on the viii Kalendas Octobres, B. C. 342. And that this consular year expired and the next began soon after may be inferred from what follows[y]; in the account of the conspiracy of the Roman soldiers, who had been left in garrison at Capua, to seize on that city. Inibantur consilia in *hibernis* . . . hæc agitata . . . invenit *novus* consul C. Marcius Rutilus, (U. C. 413 B. C. 341). And among the precautions adopted by him, as soon as he came to head quarters there, in order to frustrate this plot—Rumorem dissipat, observes Livy, in iisdem oppidis et anno post præsidia hibernatura. Consequently the consular year still entered long before the usual time of leaving winter quarters: i. e. on the Ides of December, not on the Ides of March.

With regard to the fifth triumph; the consuls of U. C. 414 B. C. 340, C. Plautius Hypsæus ii L. Æmilius Mamercinus[z], in consequence of the alarm of a Latin war, were obliged to abdicate Ante tempus; quo maturius novi consules adversus tantam molem belli crearentur: and this was done accordingly; and the consuls of the next year were created *per interregnum*. The ingress therefore in this instance must have been nearly the same as the comitia under ordinary circumstances, in September or October. A change of the rule therefore *pro tempore* must have been introduced in B. C. 340; and it might be still in force B. C. 339: so that the date of the fifth triumph, that of Q. Publilius Philo Cos. on the Ides of January, might notwithstanding be strictly in his proper year, and in B. C. 338 also. It appears from Livy[a] that Æmilius his colleague did not take the field until Publilius had obtained that success over the Latins which gained him his triumph; and that Æmilius, on hearing of a triumph having been decreed to him, Bello infecto repente omisso . . . ipse quoque triumphi ante victoriam flagitator Romam rediit. The rest of their history proves beyond a

[u] Livy, vii. 28: 29: x. 31. Eutropius, ii. 4: 5.
[w] Livy, vii. 38.
[x] Nundinal Cycle, xx.
[y] Livy, vii. 38. Cf. Appian, iii. Samnitica, i. 1, 2. Frontinus, De Strateg. i. ix. 1.
[z] Livy, viii. 1. 3.
[a] Ibid. 12.

question that if all this was not just at the beginning of their proper year it was long before its termination at least. This date then of the Fasti, even if the true one, may imply no irregularity except of a temporary kind.

With regard to the sixth triumph; if that was truly celebrated by the consul Valerius Corvus on the Ides of March, its date would be a decisive proof that the regular ingress at this time could not have been the Ides of March, though it might have been the Ides of December. For on the contrary supposition he must have celebrated this triumph after the expiration of his proper consular year; of which kind of triumphs, as we have seen, there was no instance on record, in Roman history, before that of B. C. 326. It appears from Livy also[u] that even after this triumph De Calenis on the Ides of March both consuls were dispatched *in Sidicinos;* and a dictator was nominated, while they were absent, Comitiorum habendorum caussa. All this strongly implies that the old rule of the ingress was again in force; and that this triumph was celebrated at the beginning of Valerius' year; which was very possible, as the Ides of March U.C. 419 Cap. fell on April 19 B. C. 334.

With respect to the two last triumphs, it has been seen[w], that these consuls entered at an unusual time, on the Kalends of Quinctilis B. C. 330. Consequently a triumph celebrated by either of them on the Kalends of March in his proper year must have been celebrated on the Kalends of March B. C. 329. It is an objection indeed to that day in this instance that it was Nundinal. And possibly the reading in this instance may be in error for the Kalends of Maius, or for Pridie Kalendas Martias, the same year; neither of which was Nundinal.

Dates of Triumphs in the Fasti, from B. C. 326, the date of the first Proconsular Triumph, to B. C. 292, the close of the first Decad of Livy.

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i. (Nund. Cycle xxvii.) L. Papirius Cursor Dict.
De Samnitibus.

Anno 429. iii Nonas Martias.

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[u] Livy, viii. 16.

[w] Supra, page 217.

ii. (xxviii.)	i.	L. Fulvius Curvus Cos. De Samnitibus. Anno 431. Quirinalibus.
iii. (xxviii.)	ii.	Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus Cos. De Samnitibus et Apuleis. Anno 431. xii Kalendas Martias.
iv. (xlii.)	i.	L. Postumius Megellus Cos ii. De Samnitibus et Etrusceis. Anno 459. vi Kalendas Apriles.
iv. (xlii.)	ii.	M. Atilius Regulus Cos. De Volsonibus et Samnitibus. Anno 459. v Kalendas Apriles.
v. (xliii.)	i.	Sp. Carvilius Maximus Cos. De Samnitibus Anno 460. Idibus Januariis.
v. (xliii.)	ii.	L. Papirius Cursor Cos. De Samnitibus. Anno 460. Idibus Februariis.

With regard to the first of these triumphs; the iii Nonas Martias U. C. 429 Cap. corresponded to March 5 Roman, March 16 B. C. 323; when C. Sulpicius Longus ii Q. Æmilius or Aulius Cerretanus were consuls[x]. The creation of those consuls by the dictator Papirius himself is attested by Livy[x]; yet *after* his triumph, and as it appears also[y] after a truce for one year had been granted to the Samnites: which truce they broke before its expiration when they heard that Papirius had gone out of office. And this rebellion of theirs came in the year of Sulpicius and Aulius just after its commencement.

This course of things is not consistent with such a date of his triumph as the iii Nonas Martias B. C. 323: and it must lead us to conclude that the true date was more probably the same day B. C. 324 U. C. 428 Cap. Papirius was nominated dictator in the consular year of L. Furius Camillus iii and

[x] Livy, viii. 37. [y] Ibid. 36.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva[z], U. C. 429 B. C. 325; and one event of his dictatorship was the memorable dispute between him and his master of the knights Fabius Maximus Rullianus[a]. On the resumption of military operations after that was over, several months appear to have been taken up in Samnium[b]: Ita deductus ex Samnitibus exercitus. And then the triumph: Dictator triumphans urbem est ingressus[c]: so that if the day of the triumph was really the iii Nonas Martias, it must have been that day B. C. 324. Yet in that case, and if he appointed the consuls of the next year (B. C. 323) at the comitia of this (B. C. 324) and granted a truce for a year to the Samnites which had not yet expired when they resumed hostilities under the consuls of B.C. 323; he could not have abdicated the dictatorship in six months' time according to the usual rule: he must have held it a year at least.

With regard to the next two triumphs, the question lies only between B. C. 322, answering to U. C. 430 Cap. *exeunte;* and B. C. 321, answering to 431 *exeunte.* Reasons for concluding that the true date was probably the former were assigned supra[c]. We suspect indeed, (though it does not clearly appear from contemporary history,) that such was actually the case; that there was some temporary irregularity about the ingress of these few years: that the consuls of U. C. 431 of Varro, created by Papirius, entered in B. C. 324, and those of U. C. 432 entered B. C. 323. The consuls next to those of the year of the Pax Caudina[f] entered Quo creati sunt die; but at what period of the official year does not distinctly appear: only that it must have been long before the termination of the military season of the year. We incline to the opinion that it was in the first half of B. C. 321; but, without entering on the examination of every intermediate year, still we may observe that under the consuls of U. C. 440 B. C. 314, M. Pœtelius Libo C. Sulpicius Longus iii, the official year according to Livy[g] was again beginning and again expiring in the winter: from which fact it must be inferred that it was at that time again subject to the usual rule.

U. C. 453 of the Fasti B. C. 301 is remarkable as a year

[z] Livy, viii. 29. [a] Ibid. 30—36. [b] Ibid. 36. [c] Ibid. 37.
[c] Vol. i. page 505. [f] Livy, ix. 7, 8: 1. [g] Ibid. 24—28.

supposed to have been destitute of consuls; and instead of consuls to have been represented by two dictators in sequence, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus ii and M. Valerius Corvus ii. Livy indeed acknowledges only the latter[h]; but he shews that he was aware of the former also, as either consul or dictator the same year. The ostensible reason of this anomaly was the alarm of a Bellum Etruscum[i]. Valerius obtained a triumph in this war: Dictator triumphans in urbem redit[k]: and such a triumph appears in the Fasti also[l], x Kalendas Decembres U. C. 452 Cap. B. C. 301. Livy subjoins[m], Consul ex dictatura factus M. Valerius. non petentem atque adeo absentem creatum credidere quidam, et per interregnum ea comitia facta, id tamen non ambigitur, consulatum cum Appuleio Pansa gessisse: i. e. the next year, U. C. 454 B. C. 300. If Valerius was really elected in his absence, and the day of his triumph, x Kalendas Decembres, may be considered authentic; it must be decisive that the consular ingress at this time was later than x Kalendas Decembres, and therefore most probably was still the Ides of December.

We may observe too of the consular year of Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus v P. Decius Mus iv, U. C. 459 B. C. 295[n], that the reappointment of these two consuls also was due to the rumour of a Bellum Etruscum[o]. They took the field as early as possible; and winter was scarcely over when they were already in Etruria: Fiebant autem itinera quanta fieri sinebat hiems haud diu exacta[p]. vere inde primo.—the consul Fabius was at Clusium; and from thence he returned to Rome. Now B. C. 295 the Ides of March fell on March 30, five days later than the vernal equinox. Clusium was five or six days' journey distant from Rome; and Fabius had been some time in his province before he returned from thence. This consular year then could not possibly have entered so late as the Ides of March; but it might have done so on the Ides of December. Fabius gained a triumph the same year, which he celebrated Pridie Nonas Septembres, the same year also[q], as still consul; so that his year had not expired by Sept. 4 Roman at least.

[h] Livy, x. 3. [i] Ibid. 3—5. [m] x. 5. [n] Ibid. 22. 24.
[k] Ibid. 5. [o] Ibid. 21. [p] Ibid. 25.
[l] Nundinal Cycle, xxxviii. [q] Nundinal Cycle, xli.

With regard to the two next triumphs; the consul Atilius according to Livy[r] was refused a triumph, and the consul Postumius triumphed *jussu populi*, and in spite of the senate[s]. The accounts of this year, (U. C. 460 B. C. 294,) differed very much from each other[s]. One thing only is certain: viz. that the campaign in Samnium[t] must have been much too long to have allowed of the celebration of triumphs for successes in it on two such days as the vi and v Kalendas Apriles B. C. 294: in which case too one of them would have fallen on a Nundinal day. But if they were really celebrated B. C. 293, and really on these days, the only consistent explanation of them is that they were Proconsular Triumphs, celebrated after the expiration of the regular official year of both the consuls; though by the rule of the Fasti Triumphales they were recorded as consular.

With regard to the last two triumphs; the operations in Samnium under these consuls, U. C. 461 B. C. 293, are very circumstantially related by Livy[u]; down to the time when mention is first made Deducendi exercitus ab Samnio, one or both of them: and yet it appears that they must have been kept there notwithstanding into the winter season. Etruria Carvilio evenit, (as his winter quarters,) secundum vota militum qui vim frigoris in Samnio non patiebantur[w]; and again[x]: Nives jam omnia obpleverant, nec durari extra tecta poterat. itaque consul (Papirius in this instance) exercitum de Samnio deduxit. venienti Romam triumphus omnium consensu est delatus. This clearly implies that the date of his triumph was not much later than the date of the close of the campaign; nor that than the setting in of the cold weather. Even after his triumph[x], Exercitum in agrum Vestinum hibernatum duxit: so that the regular time of going into winter quarters and in the more temperate parts of the country was only then come. And Inter hæc, continues Livy, the other consul Carvilius also, who had gone into winter quarters before,.....ad triumphum decessit.

Now according to the Fasti Triumphales Carvilius' triumph instead of having been celebrated after Papirius' was celebrated a month before it; the former being dated Idibus

[r] x. 36: 32. [s] Ibid. 37. [t] Ibid. 32—37. [u] Ibid. 38—44.
[w] Ibid. 45. [x] Ibid. 46.

Januariis the latter Idibus Februariis: on which principle the arrangements of these Fasti in this instance appear to be decidedly committed with the accounts of the contemporary history. There are other reasons for doubting of the truth of these two dates: as i. That Papirius according to Livy went into winter quarters after his triumph; which, if its date in the Fasti is correct, must have been after the Ides of February, Feb. 20 B. C. 292—a time more proper for first leaving winter quarters than first going into them. ii. That before all these things the consular comitia against the next year were still to be held, and that by Papirius[y]. iii. That after all this too Exacto jam anno novi tribuni plebis it is said[y] magistratum inierant; iisque ipsis quia vitio creati sunt quinque post dies alii subfecti. Consequently Papirius had both triumphed and gone into winter quarters before the tribunitian initia, the iv Idus Decembres, at least. iv. Because it appears[y] that Eodem anno coronati primum ob res bello bene gestas ludos Romanos spectaverunt: so that all these successes had been gained before September 4 Roman. Because also it is said[y] Multis rebus lætus annus vix ad solatium unius mali, pestilentiæ, urentis simul urbem atque agros, subfecit; which leads to the same conclusion: for the time of this visitation was most likely to be the end of the summer and the beginning of the autumnal quarter.

These considerations are certainly sufficient to throw some doubt on the authenticity of the dates assigned to these two triumphs in the Fasti, so far as regards the month, if not the day of the month, in each instance. The Ides of September for one of these triumphs, and the Ides of November* for the other, B. C. 293, would have been entirely consistent with every thing on record concerning them. Otherwise, and even to accept of these dates in the Fasti simply as they stand, they might still be explained, without any

* We say the Ides of September and the Ides of November, because the Ides of October were Nundinal. The Ides of September U. C. 461 B. C. 293 (Sept. 26) fell the day after the Nundinal day. The Ides of November fell November 25: and they were not Nundinal. This might have been the date of Carvilius' triumph, September 26 that of Papirius'.

[y] Livy, x. 47.

prejudice to the rule of the ingress at this time, on the same principle as before; viz. by supposing them really proconsular triumphs recorded as consular in these Fasti merely in conformity to their own rule *.

SECTION V.—Period iii. B. C. 280 *to* B. C. 153. *Consular Ingress the Ides of March. Dates of* Triumphi acti *from* B. C. 280 *to* B. C. 264, *which authorize any inference concerning the rule of the Ingress.*

i. (Nund. Cycl. xlviii.) T. Coruncanius Cos.
De Vulsiniensibus et Vulcientibus.

Anno 473. Kalendis Februariis.

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ii. (xlix.) C. Fabricius Luscinus Cos ii.
ii De Lucaneis Bruttieis Tarentineis Samnitibus.

Anno 475. Idibus Decembribus.

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* There are only two more triumphs in the Fasti, between B. C. 292 and B. C. 280, which would occasion any difficulty respecting the rule of the ingress: one, (No. xlv. Nundinal Cycle, supra) the Triumph of C. Fabricius Luscinus Cos. De Etrusceis Galleisque Anno 471. iii Nonas Martias: the other, (No. xlvi,) that of Q. Marcius Philippus Cos. De Etrusceis Anno 472. Kalendis Aprilibus.

Fabricius' victory was certainly gained in his consular year, U. C. 472 Varr. B. C. 282. See supra, p. 169: and this triumph might have been celebrated for it the same year, when iii Nonas Mart. fell on March 21 B. C. 282. Or it might have been celebrated on the same day the next year, Proconsule, or as consul merely by the rule of the Fasti; though it is an objection to that supposition that B. C. 281 March 5 Roman must have been Nundinal.

As to the other triumph, it is a perfectly probable supposition that it might have been celebrated at the beginning of this consular year; especially as the Kalends of April, B. C. 281, did not fall earlier than April 6. The date of this triumph itself would be decisive that the year of this consul could not have begun so near to the date itself as the Ides of March; unless it was celebrated *proconsule:* and as the next year, B. C. 280, was that in which the ingress was actually first changed to the Ides of March, this consul's term of office might have been prolonged to the Ides of March, U. C. 474, and this triumph might have been celebrated by him on the Kalends of April that year (April 18, not a Nundinal day) Proconsule. But as this was in the midst of the war with Pyrrhus, we consider it much more probable that it was actually celebrated soon after the beginning of his proper year, B. C. 281.

iii.	(l.)		C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus Cos ii. De Lucaneis et Bruttieis. Anno 476. Nonis Januariis.
iv.	(li.)		Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges Cos ii. ii De Samnitibus Lucaneis Bruttieis. Anno 477. Quirinalibus.
v.		i	M'Curius Dentatus Cos ii. iv De Samnitibus et rege Pyrrho. Anno 478. . . . . Febr.
v.	(lii.)	ii	L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus Cos. De Samnitibus et Lucaneis. Anno 478. Kalendis Martiis.
vi.	(liii.)		C. Claudius Canina Cos ii. De Lucaneis Samnitibus Bruttieisque. Anno 480. Quirinalibus.
vii.	(liv.)	i	M. Atilius Regulus Cos. De Sallentineis. Anno 486. viii . . . . .
vii.	(liv.)	ii	L. Julius Libo Cos. De Sallentineis. Anno 486. viii Kalendas Februarias.
viii.	(lv.)	i	N. Fabius Pictor Cos. ii De Sallentineis Messapieisque. Anno 487. Kalendis Februariis.
viii	(lv.)	ii	D. Junius Pera Cos. ii De Sallentineis Messapieisque. Anno 487. Nonis Februariis.

The inspection of these various dates is sufficient to prove that they must all belong to a period when the consular ingress could no longer have been restricted to the Ides of December; but must have ranged between that term in the calendar and the Ides of March. Eutropius observes of the first of those which have been brought together under Art. v. (the triumph of M' Curius Dentatus anno 478) that it was

celebrated by him *in consulatu*[z]. If so in his consular year exeunte, B. C. 274. With regard to the two last (Art. viii.), they were the second triumphs celebrated by these two consuls in their proper year; for there are two others in the Fasti, both De Sassinatibus, ascribed to them also: one v Kalendas Octobres, the other iii Nonas Octobres, in the same consular year U. C. 487 Cap. B. C. 266. This year then had begun before vi Kal. Octobres B. C. 266, yet had not come to an end Nonis Februariis B. C. 265. Both are referred to the same year in the Fasti, 487 of the Capitoline æra; and the two De Sassinatibus precede the two De Sallentinis. This year therefore is that which by the rule of these Fasti began xi Kal. Apriles B. C. 266.

SECTION VI.—*On the date of the change of the rule of the Ingress from the Ides of December to the Ides of March; and out of what it arose.*

It seems then from this review of the triumphal dates in the Fasti compared with the contemporary historical accounts that, although down to B. C. 281 there is no clear proof that the consular ingress was as yet regularly attached to any day but the Ides of December; yet from B. C. 280 downwards there is good reason to conclude that the rule of the ingress was different: and that beginning in this very year B. C. 280 itself it had now been attached to the Ides of March. Let us therefore consider what there was in the circumstances of the time to render it probable that such a change in the beginning of the official year might then have been made.

In the first place this year U. C. 473 B. C. 281, the consular year of L. Æmilius Barbula Q. Marcius Philippus, is remarkable as having been the date of the Bellum Tarentinum; which was followed the next year by the war with Pyrrhus. The occasion of this war and the first proceedings in it are most particularly related by Zonaras[a]. The account begins in the spring of the natural year; with the act of aggression committed by the Tarentines on the Roman fleet under the command of L. Valerius[b], in the consular year of L. Æmilius[c]: that is, B. C. 281. If the statement is true,

[z] ii. 14. [a] viii. 2. 368. Cf. Appian, iii. Samnitica, vii. 1–3. [b] viii. 2, 368 B. Cf. Dio, cxlv. 1. Livy, xii. [c] viii. 368 C. Livy, xii.

which has been left on record[d] respecting the circumstances of this outrage, (viz. that it took place at a time when the Dionysia were going on at Tarentum,) that would be a probable argument of its having happened some time in the second month of their civil year; for though we cannot undertake to pronounce with confidence on the nature of their calendar at this time, (i. e. to which of the Types of the Hellenic Lunar Calendar in general it was to be referred, and whether it was Octaëteric or Metonic,) yet we might consider it the most probable supposition of all that it was one of those which belonged to the epoch of January 7 B. C. 542, and to the third Type of the Hellenic Octaëteric Correction, and of that date in particular: which might or might not have passed into the form of the Metonic at the expiration of its first proper period of 160 years, B. C. 382 *. The Dionysia celebrated B. C. 281 in the second or third month of a calendar of this kind, whether Octaëteric or Metonic, would probably be celebrated in February or March: so that if the act of violence committed on the Roman fleet really took place at this time, yet in the consular year of Æmilius, it would be a decisive argument that his year must have entered on the Ides of December, not on the Ides of March.

We have next an account of the embassy under Postumius, sent by the Romans to Tarentum to demand reparation for this aggression[e]; and with this part of Zonaras we may compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus[f]: and lastly, the first hostile invasion of the Tarentine territory by the Roman consul Æmilius; evidently in the summer quarter of the

* It is most probable indeed that the Tarentine calendar at this time was Metonic. We may collect from Zonaras, (viii. 2. 369 A,) that the election of Agis at Tarentum, to be *Στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, was later than the invasion of the Tarentine territory by the Roman consul Æmilius, the spring or summer, B. C. 281; and later than their own application to Pyrrhus (cf. Dionysius Hal. xvii. 13. 14.): consequently about the A. E. B. C. 281. Their year then now began at the same time; and its beginning had very probably been shifted, from January 7 or 8 to the autumnal equinox, in B. C. 382: and the Metonic correction of the calendar had probably been adopted at the same time.

[d] Dio, cxlv. 1. Julian Imperator, 355 D. Misopogon. Florus, i. 18 § 4. Orosius, iv. 1.

[e] viii. 2. 368 C. Dio, cxlv. 23. Cf. Suidas, in *Τήβεννα*.

[f] xvii. 7–10. Cf. Valerius Max. ii. ii. § 5. De Magistratuum officiis.

year g. All this would be consistent, if Æmilius' year began on the Ides of December, and these proceedings in the month of February or March following.

This invasion of the Tarentine territory by the Romans was speedily followed by the application of the Tarentines to Pyrrhus. As to the time of this application, it must have been in the summer, some time at least before the autumnal equinox; if Agis was elected Στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ after it. In fact it is determined to the close of the summer quarter by the context of Zonaras, in his account of the subsequent proceedings of the Roman consul: Ὁ οὖν Αἰμίλιος τέως μὲν κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούς τε Πυρρείους ἤκοντας ἔγνω καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσκαρτερεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν εἰς Ἀπουλίαν ὥρμησεν[h]. It is agreed that Pyrrhus himself, on receiving the application, set out immediately; yet in the autumnal quarter of the year, or as it was then considered at the beginning of winter: Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμείνας ἀπῆει . . χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεσὼν τὸ Ἰόνιον περαιούμενος πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε τοῦ στρατεύματος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐσκεδάσθησαν[i]. It is clear then from these representations that the year of Æmilius extended from the early spring B. C. 281 to the end of the autumnal quarter the same year. Consequently that it must have begun on the Ides of December.

The first Roman consul dispatched against Pyrrhus was Lævinus[k], the consul of B. C. 280: and, as this was after his arrival in Italy, and after the beginning of winter, B. C. 281, it is so far an argument that Lævinus' year began more probably in the spring B. C. 280 than in the winter B. C. 281. The particulars of the first campaign on both sides follow[l]. After his victory over the Romans Pyrrhus marched

g Zonaras, viii. 2. 368 D.—369 A. Dionysius, xvii. 9: 10. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, xiii.

h viii. 2. 369 C. D. cf. Dionysius, xvii. 13. 14. Polybius, i. 6, 5.

i Zonaras, viii. 2. 369 D—370 A. Plutarch indeed, (Pyrrhus xv,) supposes him apparently to have set sail in the spring of the next year, though before the usual time of the Etesian winds; which would have been in the summer. Appian however (iii. Samnitica, vii. 1—viii. 1) agrees with Zonaras, in the fact of Pyrrhus' being called in at the beginning of the war, vii. 3; and of his arriving in Italy towards the end of the same year, viii. 1. Cf. Pausanias, i. xi. xii.

k Zonaras, viii. 3. 370 D. Dionysius, xvii. 15—18: xviii. 1—4. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, xvi. Appian, iii. Samnitica, x. 3.

l Zonaras, viii. 3. 370 D—4. 373 B. Appian, iii. Samnitica, x. 1—5. Plutarch, xvi—xviii. Eutropius, ii. 7. Florus, i. 18. 7. 8. Orosius, iv. 1. Auctor, De Viris, Pyrrhus.

within a short distance of Rome; and then went into winter quarters in Apulia[m]. The negotiations relating to the prisoners were then opened[n]; and Zonaras sums up his account of the year in the words, Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι παρεσκευάζοντο ἄμφω[n]: meaning the winter of the same consular year as before, that of Lævinus. And this appears further from his dating the resumption of hostilities on the part of Pyrrhus, with the invasion of Apulia, Ἔαρος ἤδη ἐφεστηκότος, in a fresh consular year, that of Decius not of Lævinus[o]: P. Sulpicius Saberrio and P. Decius Mus, who came into office U. C. 475 B. C. 279. The consuls therefore had been changed between the spring B. C. 280 and the spring B. C. 279. This year's campaign too is closed with the wintering of these consuls in Apulia[p]: Εἶτα οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἐχείμασαν.

Now it appears from Appian[q] and from Plutarch[r] that the prisoners concerning whom negotiations had been opened by Pyrrhus with the Roman senate on his return to Tarentum, B. C. 280, were allowed by him to go to Rome, to keep the Saturnalia or Kronia there; and were sent back by the senate as soon as it was over: and both these things are evidently supposed to have been done still in the consular year of Lævinus. If so, that year did not expire until after the Saturnalia U. C. 474 at least, Dec. 17 Roman, or about that day, Dec. 28 Julian, B. C. 280; and that would be demonstrative that the beginning of the official year must have been already shifted from the Ides of December (Dec. 13 Roman) to some later day; in which case we could not hesitate to conclude that this day must have been the Ides of March.

It is therefore extremely probable that the change in the rule of the ingress had been made this very year; and that Lævinus' official year was the first which had entered in conformity to it. This year, B. C. 280, was the first of the viiith cycle of the Decemviral correction; and the change in the ingress in this instance would coincide with the begin-

[m] Zonaras, viii. 4. 373 A—C. Appian, iii. x. 1—3. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, xvii.

[n] Zonaras, viii. 4. 373 C—375 A. Appian, iii. Samnitica, x. 4. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, xx. Dionysius, xviii. 5: which clearly fixes the year to B. C. 280. Cf. xviii. 17.

[o] Zonaras, viii. 5. 375 B.

[p] Ibid. 376 B.

[q] iii. Samnitica, x. 4, 5.

[r] Pyrrhus, xx.

ning of a cycle, as the last, (from the Kalends of January to the Ides of December,) had done in its proper order of time, B. C. 448. And though we advanced it as a probable explanation of the change then made, that it had been found necessary by that time, on many accounts, to make the consular and tribunician year of office respectively begin and end as nearly as possible together; it should be remembered that since that time the tribunes of the people had succeeded in carrying every thing in favour of the people which they could reasonably desire: and that they had consequently become much more moderate in their public conduct; and were much less formidable, at least much less the objects of distrust and apprehension, than before. The rights of all parties had at length been placed on a just and equitable footing. The honours and dignities of the republic were now open to all, who aspired at them in a constitutional manner; whether *De Plebe* or *De Patribus*. The relations of debtor and creditor too, the most constant source of irritation and dissatisfaction in times past, appear to have been finally settled on equitable principles by the laws of the dictator Hortensius. After the secession, composed by his mediation, we read of no more in Roman history; nor of any internal dissensions before the times of the Gracchi, and those which follow. It is not too much to say that the period from B. C. 286 downwards to B. C. 202, (the close of the second Punic war at least,) was the golden age of Roman history; in which the truly commendable qualities of the old Roman character shone forth in the greatest perfection and with the greatest lustre. It is very probable therefore that, whatsoever reasons there might have been to distrust the tribunes of the people in B. C. 448; there was little or no apprehension felt with respect to them in B. C. 280.

Another, and very probably one of the strongest of the motives, which must have actually induced the Romans to transfer the beginning of their official year from the winter solstice to the vernal quarter of the year, was the necessity which they must have begun to foresee by B. C. 280 of being prepared for wars, which would require operations by sea. The Tarentine war, B. C. 281, had been provoked by an act of aggression on the Roman fleet; and it had already led to

the calling in of an enemy from abroad, and by sea. Nothing then was likely to appear more expedient or more for the public advantage than that the ingress of the consular year should henceforward be fixed to the fittest season for the commencement of military operations, whether by land or by sea, as the occasion might require; i. e. to some time about the vernal equinox in the natural year, and rather after it than before it. Now in the rectified or normal years of the cycle of the calendar, (of which B. C. 280 was one,) the Ides of March would supply such a term exactly. In this year the mean vernal equinox was falling on March 27, the true on March 25; the Ides of March on April 1: only seven days later than the latter, and five than the former. These several considerations, coinciding at this point of time, appear to be competent to account for the phenomenon, which begins to be perceptible in Roman history in the first year of the war of Pyrrhus, and from that time forward, but not before; viz. that of consular years, the ingress of which cannot be reconciled to the facts related of them, except on the supposition that the rule of the ingress was now the Ides of March.

There can be no doubt at least that the ingress had already been attached to this day before the beginning of the first Punic war, B. C. 264; a war which would necessarily require constant operations by sea. It might be proved too to a demonstration, by means of the dates of triumphs recorded in the Fasti, that it must have continued attached to that day all through it. We shall be content however to appeal only to one proof of this fact; which we happen to know of from other testimony than that of these Fasti, and in the case of the most memorable year of the war itself: that in which it was brought to a close by the victory at the Ægates Insulæ. This was the consular year of C. Lutatius Catulus, U. C. 512 B. C. 242. That victory was won by this consul, just before the expiration of his official year[s], Ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς; yet on the vi Idus Martias[t]: i. e. only five days before the end of his year.

[s] Zonaras, viii. 17. 398 B—D.

[t] Eutropius, ii. 16.

SECTION VII.—Period iii. B. C. 280 to B. C. 153. *Consular Ingress the Ides of March. Testimony of Ovid.*

Hinc etiam veteres initi memorantur honores
Ad spatium belli perfide Pœne tui[u].

It has been usual to understand this observation of Ovid's as if it was intended to mean that the consular year down to the time of the third Punic war still bore date in March. And though that would be true in general, still there is probably no better reason for such a construction than the accidental circumstance that the next change of the ingress, from the Ides of March to the Kalends of January, in point of fact preceded the third Punic war only three or four years. But this mode of construing the passage supposes Ovid to speak of the *last* Punic war just as absolutely as if it had been the *first*. It supposes him too to speak (by implication at least) of the Carthaginians as the aggressors in that *last* war; though no one could be ignorant that the third Punic war was the act of the Romans unprovoked, and a scandalous breach of the law of nations on their part. It makes Ovid imply too that the official year *always* entered on the Ides of March, or in the month of March, until it began to be attached to the Kalends of January; yet one so well informed in Roman history as he was could not have been ignorant that it certainly began on the Ides of December before it did so on the Ides of March.

The true explanation of his meaning in the above-cited passage we apprehend to be as follows. The consular ingress in his time had long been attached to the Kalends of January; yet it was well known that it began to be so first in U. C. 601 B. C. 153: and consequently that down to U. C. 601 B.C. 153 it had been attached to a different day; which Ovid knew to have been a certain day in the month of Martius, and in fact the Ides of March. We must therefore suppose him as if to have taken his stand on this point of

[u] Ovid, Fasti, iii. 147. De Martio. Cf. Ausonius, Eclogæ, 377. 6. Disticha De Mensibus.

Martius et generis Romani præsul et anni
Prima dabat Latiis tempora consulibus.

time the Kalends of January U. C. 601, from which to trace the official ingress *upwards*, not *downwards*; i. e. through the times anterior to it as far back as the beginning of the first Punic war, the most memorable epoch in the antecedent period in general: during all which the ingress *was* attached to the month of March; and at the beginning of which, the first year of the first Punic war, it might even be said generally to have been attached to it for the first time.

With U. C. 536 B. C. 218, the first year of the second Punic war, the accounts of Livy again come in; and we have only to follow them year by year to see that the rule established in B. C. 280 was regularly observed all through that second war; and long after it down to the next hiatus in his history[w] B. C. 166.

SECTION VIII. — Period iv. B. C. 153. *to the end of the Fasti. Consular Ingress the Kalends of January. Reasons of the change of the Ingress, and at this time.*

That the rule of the ingress, sometime or other after B. C. 169 where the preceding review breaks off, must have been changed from the Ides of March to the Kalends of January would be demonstrable from the matter of fact in an infinite number of instances later than B. C. 169. That the actual date of the change was U. C. 601 of Varro B. C. 153 is proved i. By the testimony of Cassiodorius in Chronico, under the consuls of that year, Q. Fulvius Nobilior T. Annius Luscus: Hi primi consules Kalendis Januariis magistratum inierunt propter subitum Celtiberiæ bellum. ii. By that of the Epitome of Livy[x]: Consules anno quingentesimo nonagesimo octavo ab urbe condita magistratum, peractis comitiis insequentisque anni consulibus creatis, Kalendis Januariis inire cœperunt. mutandi comitia caussa fuit quod Hispani rebellabant. This statement however requires some explanation. According to Livy's epoch of the foundation, B. C. 751 ex Palilibus, U. C. 598 ex Palilibus must have answered

[w] Cf. B. C. 217. lib. xxi. 63. 15: xxii. 1.—B. C. 215. xxiii. 30.—B. C. 211. xxv. 22–41: xxvi. 1.—B. C. 210. xxvi. 22. 26.—B. C. 209. xxvii. 7.—U. C. 553. xxx. 39.—U. C. 554. xxxi. 5.—U. C. 555. xxxi. 49: xxxii. 1.—U. C. 561. xxxiv. 55.—U. C. 566. xxxviii. 35.—U. C. 567. xxxviii. 42.—U. C. 568. xxxix. 6.—U. C. 570. xxxix. 32. 52.—U. C. 571. xxxix. 45.—U. C. 574. xl. 35.—U. C. 575. xl. 43. 44. 59.—U. C. 577. xli. 6. 8.—U. C. 583. xlii. 22. 28.—U. C. 586. xliv. 19.

[x] Lib. xlvii.

to U. C. 600 of Varro ex Palilibus also, and both to B. C. 154. While the actual ingress was still attached to the Ides of March, the stated time of the consular comitia was January or February. If the ingress was to be set back to the Kalends of January, the comitia also must be anticipated. The meaning of the above statement therefore is that the consular comitia were held U. C. 598 of the Catonian, U. C. 600 of the Varronian, reckoning, (in either case B. C. 154,) at an earlier time than usual; in order that the next consuls, (those of U. C. 599 Cat. 601 Varr.) might enter on the Kalends of January in that year. Lastly, it is confirmed by the testimony of the Prænestine calendar, or Fasti Verrii Flacci, in the gloss attached therein to the Kalendæ Januariæ; the object of which when entire must have been to declare the relation of that day to the official year: Quia eo die magistratum ineunt, quod cœpit Urbis conditæ anno DCI.

The ostensible ground of this change, we perceive, according to the preceding testimonies, was the breaking out of the Bellum Celtibericum; which on this principle must have been expected before the end of B. C. 154, though it actually began in B. C. 153. This was the war in which the celebrated Lusitanian chief or partizan Viriathus afterwards made so conspicuous a figure. In the Epitome of Livy[w] its close is dated in its 14th year, with the death of Viriathus; i. e. B. C. 140, if it began B. C. 153[x]. The rebellion is dated by Appian in the consular year of Nobelior or Nobilior[y], U. C. 601 B. C. 153; and the first defeat of the Romans at the Vulcanalia (x Kalendas Septembres[z] Sextilis 21 of the old calendar, Sept. 4 that year). The assumption of the command by Viriathus he dates in the consular year of Lucullus, (consul of B. C. 151[a],) but after the winter of that year[b]; consequently B. C. 150: and his death after that in the consular year of Q. Servilius Cæpio[c] B. C. 140.

[w] liv.

[x] lii. Cf. Eutropius, iv. 7. Obsequens, lxxxii. Florus, ii. 17. § 15, 16, 17. Dio, Frągm. lxxviii. lxxxiii. Orosius, v. 4. 291–295.

[y] vi. 45. Hispanica.

[z] Maffæan, Capranic, Pincian, Calendars. Cf. Varro, De Lingua Lat. iv. 57. Festus, xi. 250. 1 Mundus. Ausonius, 385. De Feriis Romanis, 3. Vulcanique dies autumni exordia primi.

[a] vi. 50. 49.

[b] vi. 55. 58. 59. 60.

[c] vi. 70. 74. 75. Cf. Livy, liii. liv. The rebellion of the Lusitani was provoked by the outrage committed upon

We do not call in question the truth of the fact in this instance, (i. e. the coincidence of the Bellum Celtibericum with this fresh change of the official ingress,) nor that it might possibly have had something to do with it. Every one however must consider it extremely improbable *a priori* that a rebellion in Spain should have produced an effect at Rome in disturbing the rule of the official year, which neither the war of Hannibal, nor the war of Philip, nor the war of Antiochus, nor any of the wars in which the republic had been previously engaged, is seen to have produced. It is much more probable that, if the state of the calendar itself had not conspired with this particular coincidence of a Bellum Celtibericum at this juncture, the latter alone would not have produced such an effect. But, as we observed on a former occasion[d], the administration of the calendar, even for the irregular period which preceded from B. C. 207 to B. C. 153, had been such that in this very year U. C. 601 of Varro the Kalends of January were falling within one day of their proper date in the first year of the regular cycle itself; that is, on December 28 B. C. 154. From this time forward too, as we also observed, the irregular calendar was so administered as to exhibit externally very few symptoms of difference from a regular calendar itself; and that not for a few years merely but down to the commencement of the civil dissensions among the Romans themselves: in the midst of which, when every thing else was in confusion, it is no wonder that the calendar also began again to fall into a state of disorder, from which it could be recovered at last only by the Julian correction.

While then we may admit that the Bellum Celtibericum did furnish accidentally the historical epoch of this last and final change of the rule of the ingress at Rome; we consider it much the most probable supposition that the true reason of the change, made at this particular point of time, is ulti-

them by the Roman prætor Galba, B. C. 150; for which he was prosecuted by Cato the censor, B. C. 149. This therefore was the true date of the first assumption of the command by Viriathus, viz. B. C. 150; and from thence to his death, B. C. 140, (compassed at last too by an act of treachery on the part of the Roman commander Cæpio,) he held it ten years complete and part of an eleventh. Cf. Appian, vi. 58—60. 61, 62: 70—75. Polybius, xxxv. 1—4. Diodorus, Fragmenta lib. xxxiii. Justin, xliv. 2. § 7. Vell. Pat. ii. 1. Obsequens, lxxxii. Valerius Max. ix. vi. 4. De Perfidia.

[d] Vol. i. p. 493.

mately to be derived from the state of the calendar itself at the same time; and from the fact of its having returned at that particular juncture to its first principles. Be this however as it may, it is a curious thing in any case, to contemplate the cycle of changes thus passed through, and the effect which resulted at last; viz. that the official ingress among the Romans in particular should have begun with being attached to the first day of their civil year, as its most natural and obvious epoch; and then from motives of policy or of convenience, of one kind or another, should have shifted its place in the calendar first to the Ides of December, and next to the Ides of March: and yet at last, under the influence of the same natural and obvious principle as at first, should have been again attached to its old and original term of the first day of the civil year; from which it never again declined. For that the official ingress, having once been attached to the Kalends of January U. C. 601, was never after detached from them, as long as any years were recorded in the Fasti under their proper magistrates at all, requires no proof.

DISSERTATION X.

On the Lustral Cycle *of the Romans and on the* Initia Censoria.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—*Importance of the Lustral Cycle to Roman Chronology as a measure of time.*

THE importance of the Lustral cycle to Roman chronology has never been rightly understood nor duly appreciated. Little attention has been paid to this cycle by those who have treated of Roman history. It seems to have been taken for granted that it was something precarious and uncertain; or something obscure and unknown: too much so at least to be of any practical use and benefit as a constant measure of time for historical purposes.

Yet this was greatly to mistake its nature. No measure of time among the Romans was either older than this of the Lustrum, except the cycle of their calendar; or more fixed and definite. None was better understood, none was more popular, or more generally applied in various ways; and none, we may add, was more regularly observed according to one and the same rule. Its own nature was competent to secure it from those errors of reckoning which are liable to be generated in long periods of time. A cycle of ten or twenty or an hundred years at a time might be obnoxious to errors of that kind; but one of five years scarcely could be so. It was too short, too frequent in its recurrence, to be liable to any confusion in the reckoning of the cycle itself.

It is evident therefore that supposing the absolute commencement of this peculiar reckoning by Lustra, and the rule by which it was regulated ever after, both to be known; we could not desire a better standard of reference: we could not take along with us perpetually a safer and surer test and criterion of the chronology of passing events in Roman history, than this of the Lustrum. The date of the first Lustral cycle and the law of the cycle being given; the simplicity and the regularity of the cycle itself would vouch for every thing else. For these reasons, and because such an inquiry will be found to reflect further light on the Roman calendar from first to last, and especially on the first form of the calendar among the Romans, the Nundinal; we propose to devote the present Dissertation to the consideration of the Lustral cycle, and along with it that of the Censorship and of the Initia Censoria also: the former of which from the time of its institution was always connected with the Lustral cycle.

SECTION II.—*On the proper measure of the Lustral Cycle.*

The interval of time supposed to have been denoted by the Roman Lustrum has been made the subject of controversy. No one however as far as we know has ever assumed it at less than four years or as more than five; so that the *status quæstionis* on this point may so far be considered as fixed and agreed upon: and all that we have to do at present is to begin with inquiring whether the Roman Lustrum was more properly a period of five years or one of four.

And on this question and as so confined we are bound first of all to take into account the ultimate origin of the cycle itself; explained in a former part of our work[e]. If the Lustral cycle was really derived from the Primitive Equable year and the Nundinal year in conjunction, there can be no doubt that it must have been a period of five years. This period of five years was the proper cycle of the Nundinal in terms of the Primitive year. The cycle of the Nundinal calendar was complete when it returned to its original relation to the Primitive; and the period of that restitution was this lustral term of five years. If the Lustral cycle then

[e] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. ix. vol. i. p. 162.

was ultimately founded on the period or cycle of this restitution, it must have been from the first neither more nor less than a cycle of five years; that is, of five Equable or Primitive years: for that would be the only restriction to which it could have been liable at first.

In the next place, as the Lustral cycle among the Romans was much older than the censorship among them also, yet as these two things were connected together from the first; we are justified in arguing from the length of the censorship, especially at first, to the length of the Lustral cycle. The official term of the censorship was determined at first by its connection with the Lustral cycle. It is fair therefore from the proper duration of the censorship as at first constituted to infer the proper duration of the Lustral cycle; and if so, there can be no doubt that it was a period of five years.

There can be no question at least whether the first pair of censors entered on office U. C. 312 B. C. 442[f]; and the second U. C. 317 B. C. 437[g]: nor consequently whether the official term of the first censorship was or was not a period of five years. Were there any room for doubt on this point, it would be removed by the fact which is next recorded in the history of this institution; that of the abridgment of the proper term of the office from five years to one year and six months under the second pair of censors themselves. Alios magistratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram—...Se legem laturum ne plus quam annua et semestris censura esset[h]. And this was done accordingly: Consensu ingenti populi legem postero die tulit.

No mention was made about the duration of the office, when it was first proposed and first instituted; and yet it is clear from this act of the dictator Æmilius that as first constituted it must have been intended to last five years, and in the case of the first censors it must actually have lasted five years. From this fact therefore we argue that the Lustrum also was a period of five years; that the first pair of censors had come in at the beginning of one Lustral cycle, and the second at the beginning of the next: and that nothing had been said about the proper duration of their office at first,

[f] Dionysius, xi. 63. Livy, iv. 8.
[g] Livy, iv. 24. 23: cf. 21, 22.
[h] Ibid. 24.

because in reality nothing required to be said about it. It was taken for granted that the same pair of censors must serve for the same Lustrum.

There is another fact in the history of the censorship, which leads to the same conclusion with respect to the proper term of the office at first; the well known case of Appius Claudius Cæcus[i], U.C. 442 B.C. 312: a case of the revival of the original rule of the official term, in this single instance, almost 125 years after it had been superseded by the Æmilian law; and a case attested by a cloud of witnesses[k].

Appius Claudius censor, says Livy[l], circumactis decem et octo mensibus, quod Æmilia lege finitum censuræ spatium temporis erat, quum C. Plautius conlega ejus magistratu se abdicasset, nulla vi compelli ut abdicaret poterat. He claimed to continue in office for an entire period of five years; pretending that the restriction imposed by the Æmilian law applied only to the censorship under which it was past, and was not binding on subsequent ones. Itane tandem Ap. Claudi, quum centesimus jam annus sit ab Mam. Æmilio dictatore—Tenuit deinceps omnes censores intra centum annorum spatium—Triennium inquit et sex menses ultra quam licet Æmilia lege censuram geram et solus geram—Te nec quod dies exiit censuræ, nec quod conlega magistratu abiit, nec lex nec pudor coercet[m]. And it is agreed that he carried his point; Summaque invidia omnium ordinum solus censuram gessit[m]: unless, as Livy had found it stated in some of the historians of these times[n], he was after all obliged to abdicate somewhat earlier than he intended in order to stand for the consulship at the comitia of B. C. 308; which L. Furius, one of the tribunes, unless he abdicated previously, was determined not to permit*.

* This fact of Appius' abdication B. C. 308 might be found on record, as Livy gives us to undertand it was. We much question however whether it was an abdication, properly so called, after all. From the table of Lustral cycles, proposed *infra*, in terms of the Nundinal calendar, (which, as we hope to shew by and by, actually regulated the ingress and the egress of the Lustral cycle from the time of Servius Tullius, downwards,) it will be seen that the 49th Lustrum entered Nov. 5 Roman, Nov. 21 Julian,

[i] Livy, ix. 29. 30. 33. 34: cf. 31. 32. [k] Cf. the Table of Censorships in anno. [l] ix. 33. [m] ix. 34. [n] ix. 42.

This case then is demonstrative that the original term of the censorship must have been five years; three years and six months more than one year and six months, the limit prescribed to it by the Æmilian law. If so, such too must have been the proper period of the Lustral cycle. It does not appear that Appius either claimed or expected to retain office for more than one Lustrum. The xxvith Lustrum factum or conditum was registered in the Fasti under him; and the xxviith under his successors: and if any of these years, whether B. C. 442, or B. C. 312, or B. C. 307, was Lustral according to rule, the other two must have been so likewise.

This leads us to observe in the next place that the series of Censors and Lustra makes part of the Fasti Capitolini, as well as that of Consuls: and that large portions of the Fasti Censorii are entire as well as of the Fasti Consulares. If the authenticity then of this series and in these Fasti may be depended on, the rule which must have regulated the succession of censors and the cycle of the lustrum may be seen from its inspection at once. In no instance (except one, of which more will be said by and by,) is the interval between one pair of censors, or one Lustrum factum, and another, in these Fasti Censorii, perceived to have been less than five years; though it may often be seen to have been more.

There is however one portion of these Fasti which is both entire in its present state and of considerable extent; and is attested throughout by the contemporary history: and during this the succession of censors and the cycle of lustra are seen to have proceeded according to the same rule; and the interval between one instance of either and the next to it to have been exactly five years perpetually. This is the period

B. C. 313, and the 50th Nov. 10 Roman November 19 Julian B. C. 308. And as the consular ingress at this time was the Ides of December, this would be so near the usual time of the consular comitia B. C. 308, that the two things, the proper close of Appius' five years and these comitia B. C. 308, might have been coincident. We are of opinion that this is the true explanation of his supposed abdication against those comitia. He held office *all* the time for which he could claim to do so; and from his characteristic obstinacy it was only to be expected that he would: and still he went out time enough to be a candidate at the consular comitia also. And for this explanation of his conduct at last, we are indebted solely to the Lustral cycle and to its decursus perpetually.

which extends from the lxxth Lustrum B.C. 209 to the lxxxist B. C. 154; a period of 55 years at least. We must conclude then that if the actual interval in each of these cases, when every thing was going on most regularly, was neither more nor less than five years, the legitimate interval, and what would have been the actual interval in every other case of the same kind if every thing had always gone on according to rule, must have been neither more nor less than five years. The actual succession of censors indeed, or the actual reckoning of Lustra facta, and the actual succession of the Lustral cycle, as every one knows, were different things; and in point of fact must not be confounded together. In theory however they were the same; and in practice too they must originally have been intended to be the same: a *regular* succession of Lustral cycles; a *regular* succession of Censors; and a *regular* succession of Lustra facta or condita. Nor does it follow that any irregularity in the two last would necessarily affect the first; or that because censors did not always go in and go out of office at a regular time, or because Lustra facta were not uniformly celebrated in a regular order, the Lustral cycle itself might not or would not go on regularly all the while.

If however specific statements are still wanted to determine this question; there are various testimonies of antiquity, from which the nature and extent of this measure of time called the Lustrum, according to the most classical use and meaning of the term, is necessarily to be inferred. In Greek writers it is expressed by πενταετία; and in Latin by *quinquennium*, as well as by *lustrum*. Both these *per se* may be ambiguous; and capable of being understood of four years only complete as much as of five. Testimony therefore, and the actual idiom of classical antiquity in the proper use of the term Lustrum itself, must decide this point; and ascertain whether five years were really intended by it or only four.

SECTION III. — *Examples of the use of the term* Lustrum *or of* Quinquennium *as equivalent to it, in Latin or Greek writers.*

i. Τῆς δὲ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὁλοσχερεστάτης καὶ μεγίστης δαπάνης, ἣν οἱ τιμηταὶ ποιοῦσιν εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς

τῶν δημοσίων κατὰ πενταετηρίδα, ταύτης ἡ σύγκλητός ἐστι κυρία, καὶ διὰ ταύτης γίγνεται τὸ συγχώρημα τοῖς τιμηταῖς[o]—ii. Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento: urbes, templa, vias, aquas, ærarium, vectigalia tuento: populique partes in tribus distribuunto: exin pecunias, ævitates, ordines partiunto: equitum peditumque prolem describunto: cœlibes esse prohibento: mores populi regunto: probrum in senatu ne relinquunto: magistratum *quinquennium* habento: reliqui magistratus *annui* sunto: eaque potestas semper esto[p]—iii. Sed ad comitia tum vocatur populus, ideo quod alia de caussa hic magistratus non potest exercitum urbanum convocare, censor, consul, dictator, interrex potest: quod censor, exercitu centuriato, constituit *quinquennalem*, cum lustravit; et in urbem ad vexillum ducere debet. dictator et consul in singulos annos[q]—iv. Quinquennales censores appellabantur quia lustrum conderent quinto quoque anno, a quo nominari cœptos[r]—v. Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota censetur[s]—Scilicet exspectemus legitimum illud quinquennium[t]—vi. Regendis moribus civitatis censores quinto quoque anno creari solebant.....iidem completo quinquennio urbem lustrabant, et solitaurilia sacrificia, de sue ove tauro, faciebant[u]—*Neque census esset*: hoc est neque census ejus in quinquennium illud esset factus, quorum annorum spatio instaurari census solet apud censores, quorum administratio per *lustrum* hoc est *quinquennium* extenditur[w]—vii. Lustrum nominatum tempus *quinquennale*, a luendo, hoc est solvendo; quod quinto quoque anno vectigalia et ultro tributa per censores persolvebantur[x]—viii. Centum prope annos legem Æliam et Fufiam tenueramus; quadringentos judicium notionemque censoriam: quas leges ausus est non nemo improbus potuit quidem nemo convellere; quam potestatem minuere quominus de moribus nostris quinto quoque anno judicaretur nemo tam effuse petulans conatus est[y]—ix. Sollemnes taurum ingen-

[o] Polybius, vi. iv. § xiii. 3. De Republica Romana.

[p] Cicero, De Legibus, iii. 3. 7. Cf. Polybius, vi. iv. § xiii. 3. xvii. 2–6. Dionysius Hal. xviii. 19. xx. 3. Plutarch, Æmilius Paullus, xxxviii. Cato Major, xvi. Lydus, De Magistratibus, i. 39. p. 152.

[q] Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 76.

[r] Festus, xv. 413. 8: cf. iii. 71. 10. Caviares.

[s] Cicero, Actio ii. in Verrem, Lib. ii. 56, 139.

[t] Ibid. 58, 142.

[u] Asconius, in Divin. p. 6.

[w] Ibid. 72. In iii Contra Verrem.

[x] Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. p. 54.

[y] Cicero, xxxvii. In Pisonem, 5. 10.

tem mactabat ad aras: "Quidam dicunt, quod continuo quinquennio sacrum eidem deo quotannis fuerit restauratum, sollemne dici sive publicum sive privatum[z]—Perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis: Pinguibus. moris enim fuerat completo *lustro* pingues victimas offerre censores; aut certe de *quinquennali* bove, id est perfectæ ætatis..... aut quia per *quinquennium* ipsis victimis urbs lustrari solebat[a]—x. Qua in re et illud adnotare succurrit, unum omnino *quinquennium* fuisse quo senator nullus moreretur quum Flaccus et Albinus censores *lustrum* condidere usque ad proximos censores, ab anno urbis quingentesimo septuagesimo nono[b]—xi. Neque enim post L. Æmilium et C. Flaminium[c] censores senatus lectus fuerat, quum tantum senatorum adversæ pugnæ ad hoc sui quemque casus per *quinquennium* absumsissent[d]—Si respublica.....ad *quinquennium* proximum.....salva servata erit[e]—Senatus.....ludos... ...facere jussit quos.....in quinquennium voverat.....tum dictator.....in insequens *lustrum* vovit[f]—xii. Tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam recepit: in qua semel atque iterum per singula lustra (periods of five years) collegam sibi cooptavit[g]—xiii. Quinque annorum nobis reliqua remisisti. o lustrum omnibus lustris felicius! o lustrum quod merito hanc imperii tui æquavit ætatem[h]!—xiv. Τῆς γὰρ ἀρχαιότητος τὸν κύκλον ἐχούσης εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς Λοῦστρον, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν πενταετηρίδα.....ἔδοξεν ὕστερον κ', τ. λ[i]—xv. Lustrum vero est πεντετηρὶς id est quinquennium: quod quinto anno dicitur condi propter Olympiadas a Romanis. adhuc enim consules, adhuc æra nondum erat. est autem quinquennale tempus. ideo vero sic vocatum eo quod censu per quinquennium in republica peracto urbs Roma lustrabatur[k]—xvi.

Fuge suspicari
Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum[l].

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[z] Servius, ad Æn. ii. 202.
[a] Ibid. viii. 183.
[b] Pliny, H. N. vii. 49. 212. Cf. the Table ad U. C. 580 A. Ch. N. 174.
[c] Livy, xxiv. 11.
[d] Ibid. xxiii. 22. 23.
[e] Ibid. xxii. 10. B. C. 217. Cf. xxxiii. 44.
[f] Ibid. xxvii. 33. B. C. 208. Cf. xxx. 27. U. C. 552. B. C. 202: xxxi. 9.
[g] Suetonius, Augustus, xxvii. 7. 8.
[h] Panegyrici, viii. Eumenii, Constantino Aug. Gratiarum Actio, xiii. 1.
[i] Lydus, De Mensibus, iii. 15. p. 39. l. 20.
[k] Isidore, Origg. v. 37. 42. O.
[l] Horace, Od. ii. iv. 22.

Desine dulcium
Mater sæva cupidinum
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis [m].

Lanigero pisces et sorte et finibus hærent.
Lustra duo tribuent solidis cum mensibus octo [n].

Et quo cultore deorum
Lustra suæ Phœbes non unus vixerat Apis [o].

Quarta tribus lustris addita messis erit [p].

Vixisti tribus o Calene! lustris [q].

Hic situs est Gellî quondam pars maxima Phœbus
Adfectus omnes possidet ille lapis.
Vix consummavit septem quinquennia lustri
Oscula ferventem nec tenuere animam.
Quod si mutari potuissent fata sororum
Gauderet condi Maximus hoc tumulo [r] *.

* It cannot indeed be denied that *Lustrum* is sometimes used by the most classical writers in Latin, as if it were simply equivalent to πεντετηρὶς in Greek, understood of such cycles of time as the Olympic, the Panathenaïc, the Pythian Period; i. e. simply four years complete.

Exiit opinio,.... says Suetonius in reference to Nero's visit to Greece, A.D. 66, and to his exhibition of himself there at the games,..: proximo *lustro* descensurum eum ad Olympia inter athletas [1]. Lustrum is applied by Tacitus to the cycle of Nero's games, called Neronea; though that was four years only: Propinquo jam lustrali certamine [2]: and Censorinus applies it similarly to that of the Ludi Capitolini of Domitian, though a term of four years also [3]. So likewise Statius [4]:

Sæpe annua pandas
Limina: sæpe novo Janum lictore salutes:
Sæpe coronatis iteres quinquennia lustris.

[m] Ibid. iv. i. 4.

[n] Manilius, Astronom. iii. 579.

Bis quinos annos aries unumque triente
Fraudatum dabit.

[o] Lucan, Pharsalia, viii. 478. Cf. our Fasti Catholici, ii. 481. Diss. xiii. ch. ii. sect. ii.

[p] Martial, i. 102. 4.

[q] Ibid. x. 38. 9. i. e. 15 years. Cf. verse 1.

[r] Marmor, apud Murator. MD xxxviii. 5: Gruter. DCCCCl. 10.

1 Vita, liii. 3. 2 Ann. xvi. 4. Domitianus, iv. 9.
3 De Die Natali, xviii. Cf. Suetonius, 4 Silvæ, iv. ii. 60.

SECTION IV.—*On the date of the institution of the* Census. *Regularity of the Lustral Cycle from the first.*

It is agreed that the institution of the census was the act

It is used of the Julian cycle of leap year, or the leap day.

In lustrum accedere debet
Quæ consummatur partibus una dies [5].

Fors erit ut lustrum cum se cumulaverit istis
Confectam Proculus signet Olympiadem [6].

Per singulas interkalationes uno die anticipantibus; rursusque *lustro* sequenti ordinem servantibus [7]—Et est principium *lustri* ejus semper interkalari anno Caniculæ ortu [8].

Virgil applies it to the Panathenaïc orbis or cycle—

Qualis Erechtheis olim portatur Athenis
Debita cum castæ sŏlvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia *lustro* [9].

Ad Æn. i. 283: Veniet lustris labentibus ætas—

Servius explains the term as equivalent to quinquennium: Lustrum autem dictum quod post quinquennium unaquæque civitas lustrabatur: unde Romæ *ambilustrum,* quod non licet nisi ambos censores post quinquennium lustrare civitatem. And this would have been correct: but he observes also, Et bene *Olympiadibus* computat tempora (quod magis ad Jovem pertinet) quia nondum erant vel Roma vel consules: and herein he has totally mistaken the sense of his text. Virgil was too well informed in the ancient history of Rome and Italy, and of its peculiar Lustral cycle, to have used the word here, as a note of time, in any but its proper sense.

Lustrum is used even for one year.

Nec stato lustri die
Sollemne referens Troïci lusus sacrum
Puer citatas nobilis turmas ages [10].

Post decima Phœbi lustra devicto Ilio
Adest [11]—

Yet that those who use Lustrum in this catachrestic sense of a period of four years were aware of its proper sense and meaning among the Romans appears from the following passages.

5 Ovid, Fasti, iii. 165.
6 Ausonius, Epigrammata, iii. 149. 5.
7 Pliny, H. N. ii. 47. 326.
8 Ibid. 48. 337.
9 Ciris, 22.
10 Seneca, Trag. Troades, 775. Andromache loquitur, de Astyanacte.
11 Ibid. Agamemnon, 42.

of Servius Tullius[s], the sixth of the kings of Rome. But Servius reigned 43 years at least; and at what period of his

> Tempus ad hoc lustris jam bis mihi quinque peractis
> Omne fuit Musæ carmen inerme meæ [13].

This poem was written in his banishment; later than the end of U. C. 762 at least [14]. Yet he himself was born U. C. 711: so that ten lustra here must mean 50 years complete.

> Nondum Troja fuit lustris obsessa duobus
> Cum rapuit vultus Xanthe! Neæra tuos [15].

> At pia Penelope lustris errante duobus
> Et totidem lustris bella gerente viro [16].

> Jamque fere tracto duo per quinquennia bello [17].

It is most surprising that Censorinus, who is a model of precision in other respects, should have fallen into any confusion between the proper sense of Lustrum and that of Πεντετηρὶς as commonly used by the Greeks. Sed horum omnium Πενταετηρίδας maxime notandis temporibus Græci observant; id est quaternûm annorum circuitus: quas vocant Olympiadas: and this shews that he was aware of the true meaning of this term πεντετηρὶς in such cases. Yet he continues: Idem tempus anni magni Romanis fuit quod lustrum adpellabant: ita quidem a Servio Tullio institutum ut quinto quoque anno censu civium habito lustrum conderetur [18]. And again, Qui annus magnus ex quadriennio commodior visus est [18]. And elsewhere, of the Lustrum, in the sense of the Annus Magnus: Tempus autem.... et quod quidam lustrum aut annum magnum vocant [19]. There was some foundation for this traditionary representation of the Lustrum as the Roman Annus Magnus; derived, as we hope to see hereafter, from the relation of the Nundinal to the primitive year. As to the other fact here asserted, that the Lustrum according to Servius Tullius' institution was a cycle of four years only complete, (though nominally one of five,) like the Greek πεντετηρὶς in the sense of the Olympic Period; (*pace Censorini dixerim,*) it is not true. Neither is it true that Servius appointed

[s] Cicero, De Republica, ii. Dionysius, iv. 15–21. Livy, i. 42–44. Florus, i. 6. § 3. Eutropius, i. 7. Auctor De Viris, Servius Tullius.

[13] Ovid, Ibis, 1. Cf. Trist. iv. x. 95. (cf. l. 5.)

> Postque meos ortus Pisæa vinctus oliva
> Abstulerit decies præmia victor equus.

He was born March 20 Roman U. C. 711, and banished at the end of December U. C. 761.

[14] See our Dissertations, on the Principles, &c. App. Diss. vii. Vol. iii. 374–381.

[15] Amorum, iii. vi. 27.

[16] De Arte Amandi, iii. 15.

[17] Metamorphoses, xii. 584.

[18] De Die, xviii. [19] Ibid xvi.

reign this institution attributed to him took place has no where been left on record: and if we begin to inquire about it for

the Lustrum conditum to be held *quinto quoque anno* of the Lustral cycle: and not rather in the first.

We may observe in conclusion, with reference to this question of the proper length of the cycle from the first; that nothing but the recognized period of the cycle as one of five years, nothing but its antiquity among the Romans, and the long prescription by which it had been sanctioned and confirmed, nothing but the natural partiality and prejudice thereby excited and kept up among them in favour of this measure of time, will satisfactorily explain the repeated allusions to the period of five years which meet us in Roman history, not in connection with the Lustral cycle, but on various special and extraordinary occasions.

The earliest instance of this kind, to which we could appeal at present, would be found in the speech of Appius Claudius, U. C. 269 B. C. 485[20], when the Lex agraria, first promulgated by Sp. Cassius, was under discussion; could we be sure that all the sentiments and all the propositions which Dionysius ascribes to him on this occasion actually proceeded from him: and among others *this*, of farming or letting the lands in question Κατὰ πενταετίαν[21], i. e. for one term of five years, one Lustral cycle, at once. As we descend however in Roman history, the cases of recurrence to it for particular purposes become very numerous; especially in the latter times of the Republic, beginning with the consulship of Julius Cæsar, U. C. 695 B. C. 59.

The classical reader will call to mind the πενταετία decreed to Cæsar, B. C. 58[22], for the command in Gaul, to Pompey, B. C. 57[23], and again B. C. 52[24]; the πενταετία decreed to Cæsar in Gaul, to Pompey in Spain, and to Crassus in Syria, B. C. 55[25]: the πενταετία selfassumed by the Triumvirs, Antony, Cæsar Octavianus, and Lepidus, first B. C. 43[26], and by Cæsar and Antony a second time B. C. 38 or 37[27]; and the πενταετία decreed to Sextus Pompeius, B. C. 39[28].

A law was passed U. C. 701 B. C. 53 that no one should go upon a government abroad after serving an office at home Πρὶν ἂν, πέντε ἔτη διέλθῃ[29]; and this was renewed by Pompey B. C. 52[29]: and B. C. 27[30] it was made one of the standing rules of the administration of affairs under Augustus. In the year of Pharsalia, B. C. 48[31], it was decreed on behalf of Julius Cæsar that he should become Ὕπατος ἔτη πέντε. ἐφεξῆς.

20 Dionysius Hal. viii. 71: 68: 77.

21 viii. 73: 75.

22 Dio, xxxviii. 8. 9: 41. Plutarch, Cæsar, xiv. Pompeius, xlviii. Crassus, xiv. Cato Min. xxxiii.

23 Dio, xxxix. 9. Plutarch, Pompeius, xlix.

24 Dio, xl. 56. Plutarch, Pompeius, lv.

25 Dio, xxxix. 33–36: 31. Plutarch, Cæsar, xxi. Pompeius, li: lii. Crassus, xv. Cato Min. xliii.

26 Dio, xlvi. 54, 55. Appian, B.C. iv. 2. Fasti Capitolini Consulares.

27 xlviii. 54. Appian, B.C. v. 95: cf. Suetonius, Augustus, xxvii. 1.

28 Dio, xlviii. 36. 34: cf. Appian, B. C. v. 72: 73.

29 Dio, xl. 46: 56.

30 Ibid. liii. 14: (13. 2).

31 Ibid. xlii. 20.

ourselves, and to endeavour to divine it from the general accounts of his reign which have come down to posterity, we soon find this to be a question which is involved in much confusion, much seeming contradiction and inconsistency.

We shall not therefore proceed at once to this investigation. We will assume nothing at present but what may now be reasonably considered to have been established; viz. that

and in B. C. 45 [32] among the other honours decreed to him one was Ἱερέας καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πενταετὲς εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι.

Augustus was elected or nominated Ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τρόπων, (which gave him the power and authority without the name or title of censor,) for five years on two occasions; B. C. 19 U. C. 735 [33] and B. C. 12 U. C. 742 [34]. Another term of five years was decreed him, or assumed by him, U. C. 736 B. C. 18 [35]. Tiberius was made eligible to office by a special decree of the senate, U. C. 730 B. C. 24 [36], five years before the legitimate time; and Drusus his brother five years afterwards, U. C. 735 B. C. 19 [37]: and similar privileges were subsequently voted for Augustus' two adopted sons Caius and Lucius [38].

The Potestas Tribunicia, as first decreed to Tiberius [39] U. C. 748 B. C. 6, was limited to this term of years. It was part of the policy of Augustus to affect to receive the sovereign power as if it was a free gift at the hands of the senate and the people, and as if in trust; for terms of five years at a time, or at the utmost of ten [40]: and the dates of these *decennia* of his, (the end of one such term and the beginning of the next,) have been carefully noted in the contemporary history [41]. The precedent thus established by him was so far followed by the later emperors, that they too reckoned their reigns by *quinquennia, decennia, vicenalia,* or *tricenalia* at a time, and kept and celebrated such terms as cardinal epochs, and as occasions of more than usual solemnity.

We shall conclude with one more observation, bearing upon this subject. In Alexander ab Alexandro we meet with the following statement [42]: Illud quoque non ab re fuerit dixisse: Tiberii tempore magnis contentionibus actum in senatu ut non modo censura sed reliqui magistratus quinquennales forent, et nisi quinquennio singulo comitia magistratuum (non) fierent. There was some foundation for the last of these statements [43]; but we are not aware of any authority for the first.

32 Appian, B. C. ii. 106.
33 Dio, liv. 10: cf. 12. 13: 16. U.C. 736, B. C. 18.
34 Ibid. liv. 30: cf. 28: 35. 32. U. C. 743 B. C. 11.
35 Ibid. 12.
36 Ibid. liii. 28.
37 Dio, liv. 10.
38 Cf. the Ancyran monument.
39 Dio, lv. 9. Suetonius, Tiberius, ix. 5: xi. 10. Vell. Pat. ii. 103.
40 Dio, liii. 13 (2) B.C. 27 U.C. 727: liii. 16.
41 As the i. B.C. 27 Dio, liii. 13: the ii. B.C. 18 (liv. 12 cf. 10: liv. 28 B.C. 12): the iii. B. C. 8. (lv. 6. 5): the ivth, A.D. 3. lv. 12. cf. 9. 22: the vth A.D. 13. lvi. 28: cf. the Ancyran monument.
42 Geniales Dies, iii. 13. ad. fin.
43 Tacitus Ann. ii. 36.

the length of the Lustral cycle from the first was stated, and never more or less than five years. Add to this assumption one more, which is only a corollary from it; viz. that the cycle itself must have gone on regularly from the first; and we are put in possession of data sufficient even for the determination of the epoch of the cycle.

These two things in fact are necessarily connected; a cycle of stated length and a cycle of uniform observance. No irregularly recurring cycle could possibly be of uniform and stated length. Thus much at least must be certain of such a cycle as the Lustral cycle, the proper length of which has been determined to this period of *five* years in particular; that, however irregularly it might be observed in other respects, yet between any two revolutions of the cycle which were really consecutive, whether more or less close to each other, the interval must have been either five or some multiple of five. We may admit however for argument's sake that the length of the cycle might be one thing, and the regularity of the cycle another thing; and still proof is not wanting that, whether distinct in theory or not, yet in practice, and among the Romans, they never could have been different.

The Fasti Censorii, as we have already observed, are extant, and more or less in their original integrity; as well as the Fasti Consulares, and the Fasti Triumphales. The Fasti Consulares in their original state included the Fasti Censorii, though not the Fasti Triumphales: and where these Fasti Censorii in particular are defective at present contemporary history generally comes in to supply the desideratum. Out of the whole number of Lustral years, we may select four; of the truth of each of which we have the best evidence which at this distance of time ought to be expected, or could be reasonably required: B. C. 507, B. C. 442, B. C. 392, and B. C. 312. The first is the date of the first census after the Regifuge; and it is attested by Dionysius[t]. The second is the date of the institution of the censorship[u]; one of the most authentic any where extant. The third is the date of the Lustrum last before the capture of the city by the

[t] v. 20: cf. 25.

[u] xi. 63. Livy, iv. 8.

Gauls[w]. The fourth is the date of the censorship of Appius Claudius, to which we referred supra[x].

Now these four years stand at considerable intervals of time asunder. The second is 65 years later than the first; the third is 50 years lower than the second; and the fourth is 80 years behind the third, and 195 years later than the first. Yet each of them was a lustral year. Each is ascertained to have been so by testimony of its own. Each is consistent in that capacity with the rest, and all are so with the proper measure of the cycle in common; so that if any one of them was lustral by the rule of the cycle the rest must have been so likewise.

We have evidence therefore in these four years both of an uniform standard of the cycle and also of an uniform application and observance of that standard for 195 years; or (if we extend the reckoning down to B. C. 307 which is known to have been lustral[y] as well as B. C. 312) for 200 years. No one then, we think, can hesitate to draw the natural inference from this fact, that the course of the cycle must have gone on without interruption from B. C. 507 to B. C. 307 at least; and that its recognized standard and measure all that time must have continued the same. No one could think of resolving such a coincidence, as that which we have pointed out, into chance; or what comes to the same thing be of opinion that the cycle might have been irregularly administered all this time, and yet the epochs of these four cycles in particular, (so distant from one another, and so independent of one another,) nevertheless might have fallen out as critically in the proper order of the cycle as if it had been administered with the utmost punctuality in conformity to one and the same law: especially if he also considered that there are many other years besides these four in the course of the same period of 200 years; which are known to have been lustral as well as these, and stand in their proper places in the regular order of a regularly returning cycle just as much as these: viz. B. C. 492, B. C. 417, B. C. 402, B. C. 372, B. C. 362, B. C. 357, and B. C. 332. This must add very ma-

[w] Cf. Diss. viii. ch. i. sect. iv. and v. page 144. Dionysius, i. 74.

[x] Page 75.

[y] Livy, ix. 43: cf. 42. 28. x. 1. Fasti Capitolini.

terially to the difficulty of explaining such coincidences all through the interval of time in question on any ground but the simple and natural one of the actual matter of fact; the uniform decursus of one and the same cycle for all the same length of time.

SECTION V.—*On the epoch of the Lustral Cycle.*

The importance of this conclusion to the determination of the further question of the absolute epoch of the cycle itself is very great.

The course of the cycle having been traced back from B. C. 312 to B. C. 507 and found to have failed no where in the mean time; it has been traced to within *twenty-six* years of the reign of Servius Tullius: and the cycle itself having been found invariable until then, who could hesitate to conclude that, if he continued to trace it upwards, it would still be found to have gone on invariably? On this principle, if B. C. 507 was a regular lustral year, B. C. 532, just 25 years before, must have been so too.

To be a lustral year however, and to be characterised by a census held in that year, or by a *lustrum conditum* or *factum* registered in it, are totally different things; as every one must be aware who has paid the least attention to the history of both in conjunction. The number of pairs of censors bears no proportion to that of Lustral cycles; nor the number of Lustra facta to that of pairs of censors, from first to last. B. C. 532 then might have been a lustral year, and yet not the date of a census.

Now this year, B. C. 532, falls partly in the first and partly in the second year of Tarquinius Superbus; the true beginning of which as we shewed elsewhere[z] dated from the death of Servius Tullius was midsummer; June or July, B. C. 533: and Dionysius has told us expressly that no census was held during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. The census of B. C. 507, held by the second pair of consuls, in the second year of the republic, was the first which had yet been held according to rule since the death of Servius Tullius: Τιμήσεις δ' ἐγίνοντο τῶν βίων καὶ τάξεις...ὡς Τύλλιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνομοθέ-

[z] Diss. viii. ch. ii. sect. vi. page 176.

τησεν, πάντα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας χρόνον ἀφειμέναι, τότε δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνανεωθεῖσαι[a].

It follows from this fact that the first year which could have been lustral by rule, and yet have fallen within the limits of the reign of Tullius, and have been distinguished by a regular census and by a regular lustrum conditum also, must have been B C. 537; and the next before that B. C. 542; the next before that B. C. 547: and so on to B. C. 552, or further. But here the question meets us, How far back in the reign of Tullius would it be proper that we should proceed with this succession of lustral years, before we could reasonably suppose we had arrived at the first of all? i. e. at the epoch of the cycle itself, if it was actually instituted by him. In answer to which we observe That according to the uniform tenor of Roman tradition the Lustrum conditum, as it was termed, was celebrated by Servius *four* times in the course of his reign, but only *four*. Cui quidem.....quater lustrum condere ter triumphare contigit[b]. His Triumphs still appear in the Fasti Capitolini: his Lustra Condita are lost. Yet there is no reason to call in question the fact of his Lustra, or to doubt of the truth of the tradition that the first author of the Census and of the Lustrum Conditum also held the census and celebrated that ceremony, which according to his own institution was the formal conclusion and consummation of the census, four times but only four times in his reign *.

Yet it is agreed that he reigned 43 or 44 years; nor would it be possible to detract from the length of *his* reign without adding in the same proportion to the length of the reigns before him. The date of the Regifuge is fixed to B. C. 508; and the first year of Tarquinius Superbus is fixed to B. C. 533:

* The number of Lustra facta in the Fasti Censorii themselves is such as by implication to recognize these four of Servius, but no more. The first Lustrum factum which is entire in them is the viii, that which appears in our Table U. C. 280 Cap. This could not be made out in its proper order of time without taking in the four of Servius. For this reason, every one, who has undertaken to arrange these Fasti, has allowed these four Lustra facta of Servius Tullius, as indispensable to the reckoning of all the rest.

[a] Dionysius, v. 20. [b] Valerius Max. iii. iv. 3 De humili loco natis.

the first year of Servius therefore must be fixed to B. C. 576 or 577; and the length of his reign to 43 years complete at least. Now in this length of time the census might have been held eight times at least; yet it is agreed that it was actually held only four times. The Lustrum conditum at least was held only four times; and the Lustrum conditum was the concluding ceremony of the census. And though it often happened in after-times that there was a census and yet no Lustrum conditum; it never happened even in after times that there was a Lustrum conditum when there had been no census previously. No one however can suppose that whatsoever might be the case *de facto* with the conjunction of these two things, the census and the Lustrum factum or conditum, in after-times; they were ever separated in the time of Servius Tullius: that the beginning and the end of one and the same ceremony at its first institution could ever have been distinct; or that Servius Tullius the author of both could have been guilty of the practical absurdity of holding the census and not the Lustrum conditum, or of celebrating the Lustrum conditum and yet holding no census previously.

We may therefore take it for granted that, if Servius actually celebrated the Lustrum conditum only four times in the course of his reign, he held the census only four times in the course of his reign; and forasmuch as his reign lasted 43 years, and in that length of time the census according to his own rule both might have been held eight times at least, and had his rule been actually in existence all through his reign must have been held eight times at least, the inference from these facts appears to us to be a necessary one: viz. That he could not have instituted the census more than 19 or 20 years before the end of his reign. Now 20 years before the end of his reign would go back to B. C. 553; and that could not have been a Lustral year: 19 would go back to B. C. 552; and that would be a Lustral year. And as the year of the institution must have been the date both of the first Lustral cycle, and of the first Census, and of the first Lustrum factum all at once; since each of these coincidences meets and concurs with the rest in this one year, B. C. 552, there is no means of avoiding the inference which spontaneously results from their concurrence: that B. C. 552 must have been the

actual date of the institution of the Census, and the actual epoch of the Lustral cycle.

SECTION VI.—*On the chronology of the reign of* Servius Tullius.

It must be acknowledged indeed that the particulars which have been recorded of the reign of Servius are few and scanty, in comparison of its length. Beyond the account of the circumstances under which he became king at first, and that of the circumstances under which he lost both his crown and his life at last [c], nothing is found in Roman history relative to him except *this* one fact, of the institution of the census by him, and one *other* fact, that of the war with the Etrusci in which his three triumphs were gained [d].

And with regard to the order of these two events in the course of his reign, according to Livy [e] the war preceded the institution of the census; the war was over before the idea of the census was conceived by him: so that on this principle if these two events were in reality the principal events of his reign, and did in reality divide his reign between them, the first half of his reign must be assigned to the war, and the second half to the first institution and the subsequent decursus of the census.

In this arrangement of the chronology of the Bellum Etruscum relatively to that of the reign of Servius in general it may be said that Livy is virtually confirmed by the Fasti Triumphales; in which two of the dates of Servius' three triumphs according to Sigonius are still to be read in the Capitoline æra of the city, one U. C. 182 B. C. 171, the other U. C. 186 B. C. 567; the former in the sixth the latter in the tenth of Servius, reckoned from B. C. 176.

On the other hand it must be collected from Censorinus [f] that either these Fasti or Censorinus himself dated the institution of the census also at the very beginning of the reign of Servius; if, as Censorinus supposes, there was an interval of nearly 650 years between the first Lustrum conditum celebrated by him and the lxxvth celebrated by Vespasian

[c] Dionysius, iii. 73: iv. 1–5: 7–12: 27–40. Livy, i. 41: 46–48.
[d] Dionysius, iv. 12: 13—26: 27. Livy, i. 42—45.
[e] i. 32.
[f] De Die Natali, xviii.

and Titus Cæsar. We know the date of this last; U. C. 827 A. D. 74[g]: and from this we collect that of the first, according to Censorinus, U. C. 177 B. C. 577; which is so near to the Varronian date of the first of Servius, U. C. 178 B.C. 176, that Censorinus could scarcely have meant any year of his reign but the first: on which principle, the date of the first Lustrum conditum according to Censorinus must have been the first year of Servius; though on what authority he came to that conclusion does not appear.

Dionysius however on each of these points is opposed to all the preceding testimonies. He begins his general history of Servius with the civil transactions, the domestic acts and institutions, which he had seen reason to attribute to him, including this of the census, the principal one of its proper class[h]; and he then passes to the foreign events of his reign, his wars with his neighbours and his military achievements: from which mode of proceeding it seems to be only a natural inference that he considered the former to have been prior in the order of time to the latter; *Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθὼν πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων πολιτευμάτων εἰσηγητὴς ἐγένετο, μέγαν δὲ καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς ἐπολέμησε πόλεμον. ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τοὺς λόγους*[i]. Some of these civil proceedings of Servius may very well be supposed to have taken place at the beginning of his reign; particularly that of the division of the public lands among the poorer citizens, which Dionysius tells us was done by him, *Εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν*[i]. And it is not improbable much less impossible that even the last of them might have been completed before the principal event of his reign, distinct from these transactions at home, the war with the Etrurians had yet begun.

With respect to this war, Dionysius tells us expressly that it lasted *twenty* years; *Οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἴκοσι διέμεινεν ἔτη συνεχῶς πολεμούμενος*[k]: and though he specifies no particulars of it he recognizes the three triumphs of Servius, celebrated at different times in the course of it. Yet that when he spoke of its lasting twenty years he meant only nineteen

[g] Censorinus, De Die, xvii. Pliny, H. N. iii. 9. 611: vii. 50. 223. Cf. the Table, in anno.

[h] iv. 12: 13: 15—22: 23—26.

[i] iv. 12: 13.

[k] Ibid. 27.

years complete appears from the fact that he represents it as brought to an end at last, by the voluntary submission of the allied Etrurians, *in* the *twentieth* year; and *this* year, as it may be clearly collected from the context and sequel of his accounts, the *last* year of the reign of Servius[l]: not long before the conspiracy of his daughter Tullia and the younger Tarquin which deprived him of his crown and his life. On this principle, the last year of the war must have been B. C. 533; and therefore the first must have been B. C. 552: that is, the first year of this war and the first year of the first Lustral cycle must have coincided.

SECTION VII.—*On the final end of the* Census *of* Servius *as a military institution.*

Now this coincidence may justly be considered a remarkable confirmation of the Lustral epoch itself. It is an obvious inference from it that the institution of the census and this war with the Etrurians, both in the reign of Servius Tullius, must have been connected together; and the best explanation of that connection would be the fact that the census itself was instituted with a view to this war, which proved in the event to be so formidable and of so long a duration.

No one can read the account of the census as first instituted by Servius[m] and not be convinced by it that the census was altogether a military institution; and much more adapted to the exigencies of a state of war than to those of a state of peace. It is a significant circumstance to this question of the final end of the institution that the numbers reported as the result of this first census, (which both our authorities represent much to the same effect[n],) according to Fabius in particular, the oldest of the Roman historians, were those of the fighting men; the military population of the time: Adjecit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor eorum qui ferre arma possent eum numerum fuisse. It is another equally significant circumstance that the concluding ceremony of the census, the muster and review of all the citizens distributed into their proper classes and centuries, was made under arms, and in the Campus Martius, the locality strictly appropriated

[l] Dionysius, iv. 27–40. [m] Ibid. 15–22. Livy, i. 42—44. [n] Dionysius, iv. 22. Livy, i. 44. Eutropius, i. 7.

to all military exhibitions; and we have seen from the testimony of Varro[o] that down to the latest times, and preliminary to the close of the census by the ceremony of the Lustrum, the censors were still bound to hold such a review and in the same field of Mars: whereby too it was understood that they constituted the entire population of citizens for the time being, so distributed and classified, an army *in quinquennium*, i. e. for the proper duration of one Lustral cycle; an army bound to obey *their* orders as long as they were still in office: and, when all was over as concerned the ceremony of closing the Lustrum, it was still their duty to lead back the whole body of citizens, in regular military order, and under banners and ensigns, from the Campus Martius to the city, before they disbanded it for that time.

It is also to be observed that the proper designation in Greek for the *comitia centuriata*, i. e. all such assemblies of the people as were held according to the rule of Servius by classes and centuries, is that of the Λοχῖτις ἐκκλησία: for it is well known that λόχος in Greek is equivalent to *centuria* in Latin. And yet λόχος in its proper sense in Greek is invariably a military term. It is certain also that *centurio* in Latin was always a military, not a civil, term of office; and yet its proper and original meaning was simply that of one of a centuria; and in its second intention it was that of the leader or principal person of the centuria itself. And we may take it for granted that neither the term *centurio* nor the thing denoted by it had any existence at Rome or in the Roman language before the institution of the centuries by Servius*.

In short that the final end of the first census of Servius

* The distinction of ages among the Romans also was first made by Servius Tullius, no doubt when he instituted the census: and according to Tubero quoted by A. Gellius, x. 28, they were as follows: Pueri under 17, the Military age 17, Juniores to 46, Seniores after 46. And these distinctions too were first and properly intended for military purposes; and in order that it might be understood from what time of life and how long the different orders of citizens should be liable to serve in war.

[o] Supra, p. 253. Cf. v. 74 also, where Varro gives an account of the formation of the Censoriæ Tabulæ, and of the beginning of the ceremonies of the census. It began with summoning Omnes Quirites, whether in a private or a public capacity, into the Campus Martius, *armatos*, i.e. *under arms.*

must have been to ascertain the actual military force of the state, and to digest and distribute it in such a manner as would render it most available and most effectual for its proper purposes, must be evident from the declared effect of the census itself, The formation of one great army out of all the different members which composed the body politic; an army consisting of horse and foot, of heavy armed and of light armed, of every description of soldiers which could be wanted in war as it was waged in these times, or could actually find any room for its particular services on the field of battle. Τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος ἐπειδὴ διέταξε τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμήσεις, κελεύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίων ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τάξας τούς τε ἱππεῖς κατὰ τέλη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν φάλαγγι, καὶ τοὺς ἐσταλμένους ἐς τὸν ψιλικὸν ὁπλισμὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑκάστους λόχοις, καθαρμὸν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο ταύρῳ καὶ κριῷ καὶ τράγῳ. τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα ταῦτα τρὶς περιαχθῆναι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελεύσας ἔθυε τῷ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδίον Ἄρει P. Every thing in these concluding ceremonies was martial, and in particular the Lustratio, made as above described; for the Lustratio exercitus was a stated part of the actual military discipline and military service of the Romans: the first thing done when a new general assumed the command, or when he was leading an army for the first time into the field; or at any other time whensoever there were special reasons of any kind to require it. Livy's account of the close of the census agrees with Dionysius' [q]; only that he represents the sacrifice performed on the occasion, and for the sake of the Lustration in question, as composed of the sus, ovis, and taurus, and therefore what was properly called the Suovetaurilia or Solitaurilia [r]: which was probably more in conformity to the actual Roman rule on such occasions down to the latest times. Dionysius concludes: Τοῦτον τὸν καθαρμὸν ἕως τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων Ῥωμαῖοι καθαίρονται μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν τιμήσεων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἱερωτικὴν ἀρχήν, Λοῦστρον ὀνομάζοντες [s] *.

* To the above considerations we may add that of the proper significa-

P Dionysius, iv. 22.

q i. 44.

r Cf. Festus, xvii. 514. 14–515. 15. Solitaurilia. Also Asconius, supra, p. 253.

s iv. 22.

SECTION VIII.—*On the connection of the Lustral Cycle with the Nundinal Calendar, and with the Etruscan Type of the Nundinal Calendar.*

We think then that as far as we have yet proceeded with our inquiries we may safely come to the following conclu-

tion of the word Lustrum itself; though on this point even the most learned of the Romans do not appear to have been agreed.

Varro, as we have seen[1], derived it *a luendo*—Lustra . . et cum ejusdem vocabuli prima syllaba producitur significat nunc tempus quinquennale nunc populi lustrationem[2]. The Greek mode of writing this word in the Greek character is Λοῦστρον; from which it appears that the Latin *Lustrum* must have been pronounced *Loustrum*. And this is what Festus means by lengthening the first syllable. If so however, *Lustrum* with the long *u* must have been a different thing from *Lustrum* with the short *u*; and that must be fatal to the etymology which derives it from *lŭo*.

The word Lustrum is found in composition with Arma, and Tuba; with the former in Armilustrum or Armilustrium, with the latter in Tubilustrum or Tubilustrium. Armilustrum ab ambitu lustri locus[3]. As a locality so called it was situated on the Aventine hill[4]. Armilustrium ab eo quod in Armilustrio armati sacra faciunt[5]—Armilustrium festum erat apud Romanos quo res divinas armati faciebant, ac dum sacrificarent tubis canebant[6]—Armilustrum or Armilustrium occurs as an entry in the Julian calendar, xiv Kal. Novembres[7], October 19 Roman.

Tubilustrum adpellatur quod eo die in atrio sutorio sacrorum tubæ lustrantur[8]—Tubicines etiam ii adpellantur qui sacerdotes viri speciosi publice sacra faciunt tubarum lustrandarum gratia[9]—Tubilustria quibus diebus adscriptum in Fastis est cum in atrio sutorio agna tubæ lustrantur, ab eis tubos appellant[10]. This implies that more than one day was so styled. Accordingly two at least still appear in the Fragments of the Julian calendar; x Kal. Apriles[11] and x Kal. Junias[12]: and the ceremony of this latter day is represented by Ovid as in honour of Vulcan.

Proxima Vulcani lux est. Tubilustria dicunt:
Lustrantur puræ quas facit ille tubæ[13].

In the former instance the Tubilustrium was a part of the ceremonies of the Quinquatrus, in honour of Minerva.

1 Supra, p. 253.
2 Festus, x. 209. 3.
3 Varro, De Lingua Lat. iv. 42.
4 Plutarch, Romulus, xxiii. Cf. Livy, xxvii. 37.
5 Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 57.
6 Festus, i. 38. 5.
7 Maffæan and Amiternine calendars.
8 Varro, De Lingua, v. 55.
9 Festus, xviii. 578. 2.
10 Ibid. 578. 5.
11 Maffæan, Prænestine, Furnesian, Vatican. Ovid, Fasti, iii. 849.
12 Maffæan, Amiternine, Exquiline, Venusine.
13 Fasti, v. 725.

sion; That forasmuch as the historical epoch of the first Census, and the historical date of the first Lustral cycle, and

Summa dies e quinque tubas lustrare canoras
Admonet, et forti sacrificare Deæ [14].

And on this day the Prænestine calendar has the following gloss: Hic dies appellatur ita quod eo die in atrio sutorio tubi lustrantur quibus in sacris utuntur.

The idea of lustration in the sense of purgation or purification (καθαρμὸς in Greek) certainly enters into all these explanations; and indeed it seems to have been taken for granted, (especially by Greek writers,) that the Latin *Lustrum* and the Greek καθαρμὸς were convertible terms: on which principle it must have been supposed that the root of the word even in Latin was the Greek λούω, in the sense of *lavo, to wash,* or *to make clean.* This practice however of deriving particular Latin words from the Greek, and especially those which are confessedly the oldest in the Latin language, howsoever familiar with grammarians both ancient and modern, is an objectionable one. If this word came into being first with the institution of the census, its proper signification at first must have been derived from its relation to that institution, and from nothing else: and from such a relation as that it could derive no meaning so properly as that of a cycle of five years.

The phrase *Lustrum factum* or *Lustrum conditum* is of standing occurrence in Latin: but only of the ceremony which closed or consummated the census. Livy observes of the first census [15], Censu perfecto ... edixit (Servius) ut omnes cives Romani... in campo Martio prima luce adessent. ibi instructum exercitum omnem Suovetaurilibus lustravit: idque conditum lustrum adpellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est: from which it is plainly to be inferred that the name of the *Lustrum* must have been given to the whole process of the census, and that of the *Lustrum conditum* only to this concluding ceremony, which as it were sealed and laid it up.

It cannot be denied that to *purge,* to *cleanse,* to *expiate* is a classical meaning of *Lustro* in the Latin; nor yet can it be denied that another equally classical sense of the word is to *view,* to *survey,* to *go over,* to *examine,* to *contemplate.* In our opinion, it is from this simple idea of *viewing* or *surveying,* not from that of *cleansing* or *purifying,* that we are bound to derive the primary intention of the word; and if we must fetch it from some Greek root or other after all, it would be much more probably from λεύω or λεύσσω than from λούω. The whole process of the census was a review: the concluding ceremony was only the most formal and solemn, the most comprehensive and complete, survey of the kind; when the entire and total result of the previous inquiry into the military

[14] Ibid. iii. 849. [15] i. 44.

the historical date of the Bellum Etruscum are all found to meet in the same year, B. C. 552, the twenty-fourth year of Servius Tullius; this year must have been the true date of each, and both the former in their origin must have been connected with the latter. We shall proceed to confirm this conclusion by the proof of a still more remarkable coincidence; viz. that the Lustral epoch so dated was taken from

strength of the state passed under the eye of the supreme authority or commander-in-chief in regular martial order.

Lustro then in the original use and meaning of the word was to survey. *Lustrum* in its primary intention too was the act of surveying; in its secondary intention, and as connected with such a survey as this of the census, it was the length of time for which it was intended to last, that is, the proper interval from one such census or survey to another, the proper period of the Lustral cycle: *Lustrum conditum* was the last act of this survey, the ceremony with which it was concluded. If it has also the meaning of an act of purgation, like καθαρμὸς in Greek, it must have acquired it in the course of time; and from its connection with this concluding ceremony. *Lustra* sacrificare occurs in Livy[16] in the sense of such lustral sacrifices.

There is the same difference of opinion and the same uncertainty with respect to the origin of the name of *Censor*. Censor, ad cujus censionem id est arbitrium censeretur populus[17]—Itaque quod hos arbitros instituerunt populi censores appellarunt. idem enim valet censere et arbitrari[18]—Censores dicti quod rem suam quisque tanti æstimare solitus sit quantum illi censuerint[19]. It may be questioned however whether *censere* in the sense of *arbitrari* was a primary meaning of that word, and not entirely a secondary one. But how absurd must it be to attempt to explain the name of Censor without any regard to the census! The census was older than the censorship. The first censors were appointed to hold the census; and for nothing else. What then was the *census?* The declared effect of every census must answer that question. The process of censing was that of inquiring into, ascertaining, reckoning up and mustering, the numbers of the people. The result of the census was the muster-roll, album, or inventory of the whole population: the sum total of the citizens. The proper sense of *censeo* then, in the meaning of *censum agere, censum habere,* could have been nothing but that of this counting, reckoning, and summing up. The first censors must have been so called because they had been expressly appointed for the purpose of making it: and this simple duty of counting up, reckoning, mustering, the people was always their first, their most proper, and most indispensable duty: whatsoever else in the course of time came to make part of it also.

16 xlv. 41. 17 Varro, De Lingua Lat. iv. 24. 18 Ibid. Fragmenta, p. 242. Apud Nonium. 19 Festus, iii. 73. 7.

the Nundinal calendar for the time being: the same calendar of that denomination from which the calendar of Romulus itself had been derived; viz. the Etruscan one of the epoch of March 25 B. C. 860: and that the institution of the Lustral cycle by Servius at this particular juncture of time, in connection with the census instituted at the same time, was virtually the adoption of the Nundinal calendar at Rome, (in connection with these two things at least, the census and the Lustral cycle,) along with the calendar of Numa.

In the first place, though the Nundinal calendar of Romulus had been superseded at Rome by the correction of Numa; yet as the date of that correction was B. C. 712, and the date of the institution of the census and of the Lustral cycle by Servius was B. C. 552, it is manifest that the interval from one of those terms to the other was just 160 Julian years: and 160 Julian years would be equal to 32 Lustral cycles of the standard of five years each perpetually. It follows that if the course of time in the calendar of Numa had been measured by periods of five years from the correction downwards, that is, if such a cycle as the Lustral cycle had been incorporated in the calendar of Numa from the first, the first Lustral cycle of Servius, B. C. 552, must have been Lustral in the calendar of Numa also. The first such cycle of Servius and the thirty-third cycle of Numa must have coincided together B. C. 552.

In the next place, the first Nundinal day in the calendar of Numa, Cycle i. 1, was the Nones of January U. C. 42, Feb. 21 B. C. 712; the third Nundinal day was consequently March 9. And March 9 B. C. 712 being Nundinal March 9 B. C. 552, just 160 years afterwards, would necessarily be Nundinal also. For in this number of mean or actual Julian years, from March 9 B. C. 712 to March 9 B. C. 552, there would be 120 common years and 40 leap years. The sum of the Nundinal epact on the former would be 600; and on the latter 240: on both 840, or 105 Nundinal cycles exactly. March 9 then B. C. 712 having been Nundinal, March 9 B. C. 552 would necessarily be Nundinal also. Our Roman calendar B. C. 552, Cycle vii. 17, shews that such was the case, the Kalends of January that year falling on March 5, and the Nundinal character of the year being 5; and conse-

quently the first Nundinal day being the Nones of January March 9. And this too would be a remarkable coincidence; viz. that the first Nundinal day in the Roman calendar of Numa was the Nones of January, and the first Nundinal day in the same calendar, at the epoch of the institution of the census and of the Lustral cycle by Servius, was again the Nones of January. In the accommodation of the Lustral cycle to the Nundinal year we can make no distinction between the Nundinal epoch and the epoch of the Lustral cycle. The first day of such a cycle must necessarily be Nundinal; and if such a cycle was instituted B. C. 552, connected at once with both the proper Roman calendar, the calendar of Numa, and the Nundinal calendar, its epoch must have been taken from March 9: the first Nundinal term which under the circumstances of the case was common to both.

In the third place, the second Nundinal Period, such as we gave an account of supra[t], came to an end, and the third began, Dec. 17 B.C. 641, Epiphi 22 Nab. 107. Hence then the following scheme of the decursus of Nundinal cycles of *six* years and of Equable cycles of *five* years, from that time to B. C. 552.

Third Nundinal Period of 110 *equable years.*

Dec. 17 B. C. 641 Epiphi 22 Nab. 107.

	B. C.		Nab.		
Cycle i. year 1.	641	Dec. 17.	107	Epiphi	22.
17 Cycles =	− 85	− 38 days.	+ 85		− 17 days.
Cycle xviii. 1	556	Nov. 9	192	Epiphi	5
.. .. 2	555	Sep. 9	193	Pachon	4
.. .. 3	554	July 10	194	Phamenoth	3
.. .. 4	*553	May 9	195	Tybi	2
.. .. 5	552	March 9	196	Athyr	1

It thus appears that in the 5th year of the xviiith cycle of six Nundinal years, and five Equable years, the 90th year of the third Nundinal Period of 110 Equable years, 132 Nundinal years, the head of the Nundinal year was falling on Athyr 1 Nab. 196, March 9 B.C. 552. March 9 then B. C.

[t] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. v. vol. i. p. 150.

552 by the law of the Nundinal calendar must necessarily have been Nundinal that year; as we have already shewn that it was. And this day, March 9 B. C. 552, Athyr 1 Nab. 196, would be the proper epoch of the Nundinal calendar of the epoch of March 25 B.C. 860, brought down according to its proper law from that date to this of March 9 B. C. 552. If therefore it was considered expedient by Servius Tullius just at this time, when he was about to embark on a long and formidable war with the whole of the Etruscan community, (with a view to which beforehand he was at the same juncture of time also instituting the census,) to incorporate the Etruscan calendar for the time being with the Roman; it is almost self-evident that he could not have derived the link of connection between them from any term but this of March 9 B. C. 552; the first Nundinal day common to both: the proper epoch of the Nundinal cycle in terms of the Roman calendar for the time being, the Nones of January U. C. 202, Cycle vii. 17 of the calendar of Numa, and the proper epoch of the Nundinal cycle in terms of the Etruscan calendar, Period iii. 90, the first of the Nundinal March Cycle xviii. 5.

Again, learned men have taken occasion to observe, after the Jurisconsulti of antiquity, that the *locationes* or contracts made by the censors of after-times had a stated date, from which they were properly reckoned; the Kalends of March[u]: and this if true would imply also a stated connection between the Kalends of March and the Lustral cycle. We have met with proof, of a very critical nature, of such a connection between the contracts of the censors and the month of March; which we hope to lay before our readers by and by. Macrobius asserts that the public engagements of the state, of this kind, were so made in March: Hoc mense... vectigalia locabant[w]. Among the Romans of later times, and under the emperors, the first of March was the stated date of a grand military exhibition; the review of the troops under arms every year in the Campus Martius. It is asserted by Lydus, De Mensibus[x], that the ancient cycle of the Lustrum bore date in the month which was dedicated to the

[u] See the Geniales Dies of Alexander ab Alexandro, iii. 13. p. 720 Varr.
[w] Saturnalia, i. 12. 256. [x] iii. 15. 39. 20.

Phrygian mysteries, i. e. the month of March. The official ingress of the censorship was never, so far as we know, attached to the first of March; but on the contrary always either to the Kalends of January or to the Kalends of Quinctilis. We cannot therefore account for these coincidences except by supposing that the Lustral cycle, or term of five years, which notoriously regulated all the public acts of the censors, by the original appointment of Servius Tullius was attached to the first of March, in the sense of the *first* of the *Nundinal* March; and all through his reign, and so long as it continued to be reckoned according to his own rule, was dated from the first of March: though under the republic it might be found more convenient to reckon it from the Kalends of March, the first of the month called Martius in the proper Roman calendar.

Again, it is necessary here to refer to the statement which we had occasion to produce from Macrobius[y], and to consider at some length; relating to the Nundinal incidence on the Nones of the month, as an object of suspicion among the Romans of former times: and to the reason alleged for the character supposed to be attached to it; viz. its connection with the memory of Servius Tullius. The difficulties and even the absurdities involved in that statement, understood without any qualification, and simply as it was proposed by Macrobius, were sufficiently exposed at the time; but we intimated our opinion at the same time also that there was possibly some historical foundation for it, had Macrobius himself rightly understood what that was: and that with proper explanations and qualifications this tradition, relating to the Nones and to Servius Tullius, might have been the means of conveying down to posterity a very interesting matter of fact in ancient Roman history.

The true explanation of the tradition we believe to be the fact that, when Servius Tullius borrowed from the Etruscans, and at this time, (that of the date of the institution of the census and of the Lustral cycle,) their Nundinal calendar, he borrowed also another custom or rule of theirs, connected with the Nundinal calendar; that of a stated concourse and attendance of the people about and upon their kings or chiefs

[y] Diss. v. ch. ii. sect. iii; iv. vol. i. p. 461.

on the Nones of the Nundinal month. For we are told that such was the custom among the Tusci or Etruscans; That the people resorted to their kings, the people and the kings met in public, on the Nones of every month[z]. It is necessary only to explain that these meetings among the Etruscans were *Nundinal;* i. e. they were held on the Nones, in the sense of the *ninth* day, of every Nundinal month: and these meetings appointed by Servius in imitation of them were Nundinal also; i. e. they were attached to the Nones, in the sense of the ninth day, of the proper months likewise. But the word *Nonæ* in the Roman language was ambiguous. It might be supposed to denote either the *ninth* days merely in such and such months, or the *Nones* of the months of Numa; which never fell on the *ninth* day but always on the *fifth* or on the *seventh.* It was very possible therefore for an appointment, like this of Servius', of a general meeting of the people on the *ninth* day of every Nundinal month, to go down to posterity as an appointment attributed to him of a meeting of that kind on the *Nones* of the Roman months. On which principle, we should account for the origin of this traditionary connection of Servius with the Nones of the Roman months; without any prejudice to the real truth of the case.

It does not exactly appear whether the stated meetings of the kings and the people among the Etrusci on the ninth day of the Nundinal month were for civil or for military purposes; or for either according to circumstances: but there is no reason why we should not suppose that any similar meetings among the Romans appointed by Servius, coinciding in their institution with that of the census also, should not have been intended to be subservient to the census, and to its proper end and design; and therefore for purely military purposes: that what he appointed, at the time when he instituted the census, intending it to be of stated and regular occurrence on the *ninth* day of every Nundinal month, was a general meeting and muster of the whole military population, as ascertained and defined, and classed and digested, by the census itself. If that was the case, it is easy to see that,

[z] Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 54. 59. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 15. 273, 274. Festus, xv. 432. 1 Regifugium: 12 Regiæ Feriæ.

though such meetings of the citizens in arms under the eye of the king might be of stated and regular occurrence in the lifetime of Servius; they would be the very first of his constitutions which the younger Tarquin, when he came to the throne, for many reasons would be likely to suppress: and that, even after the Regifuge and under the Republic itself, these meetings of the martial population of Rome and the country once a month would probably be the last of the institutions of Servius which the Roman senate would think of reviving. And these Nundinal meetings of Servius, before restricted to the Nones, having thus for prudential reasons come to be suppressed; nothing further is necessary to account for the tradition of the suppression of the Nundinal incidence on the Nones, because of its connection with Servius Tullius.

Again, among those to whom Roman tradition ascribed the institution of the Nundinal conventus Servius Tullius was one[a]. Servius did actually institute a Nundinal conventus such as we have described; i. e. of a particular kind and for a particular purpose. He was the author too of a Nundinal calendar among the Romans for that particular purpose; and to have been the author of a Nundinal calendar and the author of the Nundinal cycle itself was almost the same thing, or might easily come to be represented traditionally as the same thing: especially as the Nundinal cycle of this calendar of Servius was absolutely the same as that of the calendar of Romulus at first, or that of the calendar of Numa at this very time. It has been seen too[b] that it was an ancient custom of the college of Augurs at Rome, to meet among themselves on the Nones of every month. It would be the duty of the augurs to meet on these stated days of the Nundinal assemblies appointed by Servius, in order to take the auspices; and those being the Nones of the Nundinal month, the custom of meeting together on the Nones of the Nundinal month having once been introduced among them in the reign of Servius, and kept up for 19 years afterwards at least before it could have been suspended or interrupted in any way; it is very conceivable that it might continue to be observed as a rule of their own, though it was no longer

[a] Diss. vii. ch. i. sect. v supra, p. 10. [b] Diss. iii. ch. ii. sect. xvii. vol. i. 256.

necessary for the same purpose as at first: and that the stated day of these meetings might be transferred from the Nones of the Nundinal months to the Nones of the months of the calendar of Numa, and yet continue nominally attached to the same day.

Again, it has been seen from the authorities quoted by Macrobius[c], Geminus and Varro, that the real beginning of the custom attributed to the people of Rome, of meeting to keep the memory of Servius Tullius, was later than the expulsion of the kings; and yet in the first instance fell on a Nundinal day. We have shewn supra[d] that the day after the expulsion, June 2 Roman June 30 Julian, B. C. 508, was a Nundinal day: and it must be self-evident that the first opportunity which the people could possibly have had for meeting of their own accord, either to do honour to the memory of Tullius, or for any other purpose which supposed them to have been free agents, could not have been earlier than the day after the Regifuge. The tradition to which we refer[c] implied too that either the object or the effect of that first meeting on the Nundinal day in honour of Servius was to *parentate* to his memory; and the proper meaning of that verb is *justa parenti reddere*—to pay the last honours to the memory of a deceased parent or relative, as their children or their surviving relations would be bound to do. It is very conceivable that this might never have been done at Rome on the part of the people at large from the day of his death to the day of the Regifuge itself; so that nothing could be more natural or more appropriate than the object or the effect of this first meeting in honour of Servius on the day after the expulsion: this *parentation* to his manes on the part of *his people* in general.

But the most remarkable circumstance about this first Nundinal meeting after the expulsion of the Tarquins, and that which does most to authenticate the tradition which connects it with the memory of Servius, and to confirm our previous conclusions respecting the Nundinal meetings of his own institution, and their proper times and occasions, is this; That it coincided with the stated time of one of these meetings of Servius' own appointment, It will appear from the scheme of the Nundinal calendar of Servius, which we have

[c] P. 11. supra. [d] Diss. viii. ch. i. sect. ii. supra, p. 142.

compiled and subjoined to this Dissertation, in order to shew the decursus of the Lustral cycle in that calendar ever after, that the first year of the ixth cycle of that calendar entered on the first of the Nundinal March, February 19 B. C. 512: from which it follows that the sixth year of that cycle would enter on the first of the Nundinal March, April 19 B. C. 508: and the second month of that year on May 21, the third on June 22. Each of these days, April 19 May 21 June 22, that year would be Nundinal in its turn; and June 22 being Nundinal and the first of the lunar or Nundinal month (probably the Nundinal Maius), the ninth of that month, June 30, would be Nundinal also: as in fact we have already seen that it was.

The day after the Regifuge then, the second of June Roman, the 30 June Julian, and the ninth of the Nundinal Maius of Servius, was Nundinal both, in the regular course of the cycle and according to his appointment; and as Nundinal according to the appointment of Servius it would be the stated date not only of an ordinary Nundinal meeting but of an extraordinary one: a Nundinal meeting of all who were bound to meet, or privileged to meet, on such an occasion under arms, and in classes and centuries, according to the form and manner prescribed by Servius himself. Such a meeting of all the ranks and orders and divisions of the body politic might very properly be described as a *Comitium*, a coming of the people together on a large and comprehensive scale; but in contradistinction to every other kind of coming together collectively in the same way, (as the coming together in *Curiis*, the coming together in *Tribubus*,) this kind of coming together in classes and centuries, according to the constitution of Servius, was called the *Comitium in Centuriis*, the *Comitia Centuriata*.

It is asserted by Dionysius and by Livy[e], that the first consuls were created *in comitiis centuriatis*; and Livy adds, by the Præfectus urbis ex commentariis Servii Tullii. Now we never could understand in what manner the election of the two first consuls could have been prescribed by the commentaries of Servius; for that would imply that Servius had foreseen the contingency of such an election some time or other, and had provided for it accordingly. Every one how-

[e] Dionysius, iv. 84. Livy, i. 60.

ever must allow that the forms and ceremonies of the census, and of every thing connected with it, and consequently, among the rest, of these stated meetings on the Nones of the Nundinal months, would be prescribed by Servius and laid down accordingly; and in these very documents attributed to him, his memoirs or commentaries. We are persuaded therefore that the true explanation of this statement is That the day after the expulsion itself being the stated date of one of these meetings in classes and centuries according to the constitution of Servius, and that of the first too which could have been held, according to his own rule, from the day of his death to that day, the people were called together into the Campus Martius exactly in the manner prescribed by him:—and being there assembled in classes and centuries, after parentating to his memory with public honours for the first time since his death, elected the first two consuls of the republic *in comitiis centuriatis;* in an assembly composed of the people in their classes and centuries.

On the strength then of these various coincidences we think that we may safely come to the conclusion that, when Servius Tullius was preparing to enter on his long war with the Etrurian community, he judged it expedient to adopt the Nundinal calendar of the Etrurians; and having instituted the census at the same time, he prescribed the proper cycle of this Nundinal calendar, the cycle of five equable years, six Nundinal years, as the proper cycle or period of the census. And it is a singular coincidence, and a striking confirmation of this conclusion, that when Servius, at this particular juncture of time on the eve of this war, thus adopted the Nundinal calendar of the Etrurians without discarding the Roman, the Etrurians, as we hope to shew hereafter, exactly at the same point of time adopted the calendar of the Romans without discarding their Nundinal calendar also. We might imagine various reasons for this act of Servius; but as they would all be conjectural and would add nothing to the proof of the fact over and above the grounds on which we have already placed it, we do not think it necessary to inquire any further into them.

It may be observed however that to adopt the Nundinal calendar of the Etrurians, (especially that of the epoch of

March 25 B. C. 860) was virtually to revive the calendar of Romulus; for the Nundinal calendar of Romulus and the Etrurian one of that epoch and of that type, as we shewed in our second Dissertation, in all but the lengths of the months were absolutely one and the same. The revived Nundinal calendar of Servius however could not have been the same with the similar calendar of Romulus in any thing but the cycle of the Nundinal day, and the first day of the year in each, and possibly the names and order of the months; though this last must always be an uncertain point: for the names of Servius' Nundinal months might be those of the Etrurian calendar, whatsoever they were. But in that circumstance, in which Romulus' Nundinal calendar probably differed from every form of the same calendar older than his own, viz. the lengths of the months, it differed from Servius' also; in which the length of the months must have followed the proper Nundinal rule: otherwise the Nones of his months could not have been uniformly Nundinal, nor could the ninth of his third Nundinal month, cycle ix. 6, have fallen on June 30 B. C. 508, as we have shewn that it must have done.

And having arrived at these conclusions respecting the Nundinal calendar of Servius, and his Lustral cycle, and the connection of both with his institution of the census, we can have no difficulty in assigning the probable dates of his four censuses and of his four Lustra facta. The first census would probably begin on the ninth of his Nundinal March, March 17 B.C. 552. Livy tells us the process of this first census was purposely accelerated Metu legis de incensis latæ cum vinculorum minis mortisque[f]. And as it does not seem to have been usual even in much later times, when many more had to be censed, to allow more than a month * for the mere enrolment of names; if this first census began on March 17th the ninth of the first Nundinal month, it might easily be concluded by the cere-

* Cf. Livy, xliii. 14. (11. 12.) U. C. 585 B. C. 170-169. Also the census going on at the time of the Actio in Verrem, B. C. 70. Festus, ix. 196. 6: Justi dies dicebantur triginta, cum exercitus esset imperatus et vexillum in arce positum. This rule was probably as old as the institution of the census; which as first intended and first applied was to all intents and purposes a delectus militum too.

[f] i. 44.

mony of the Lustrum factum on the ninth of the second, April 18.

The second would begin on the ninth of the Nundinal March, March 15 B. C. 547; and be consummated in like manner on the ninth of the Nundinal Aprilis, April 16. And in this year we are also of opinion that Servius most probably dedicated the Ædes of Luna, and the Ædes of Diana, both on the Aventine hill; the former on the 31 March Roman, the latter on the Ides of Sextilis, Sextilis 13 g. The third census would begin on the ninth of the Nundinal Martius March 13 B. C. 542; and the third Lustrum factum be celebrated on the ninth of the Nundinal Aprilis, April 14. The date of the fourth census would be the ninth of the Nundinal Martius, March 10, and that of the fourth Lustrum factum the ninth of the Nundinal Aprilis, April 11 B. C. 537.

We shall have occasion to recur to this subject of the Nundinal calendar of this and of former times in the next Dissertation: and we may take our leave of it for the present by observing that, if the proper period of the census and that of the Lustral cycle among the Romans was thus connected in its origin with the proper cycle of the Nundinal calendar, it would be manifestly improper to trace either of the former from this time forward except in conjunction with the latter. We have added therefore a Table of these Lustral cycles in the proper sense of these Nundinal periods to the Table of Censuses; and we have subjoined it to this Dissertation along with that. It is very necessary to keep an eye on the proper succession of these Nundinal Lustra from this time forward, as well as on that of the *Lustrum* properly so called, the cycle of five years in the proper Roman calendar. The rule of Servius was never absolutely restored, not even after the Regifuge; nor yet ever absolutely laid aside. We have seen reason to conclude that from the date of the Regifuge downwards the Romans had a double Lustral cycle; one which was reckoned by the Nundinal calendar of Servius, another which was reckoned by the calendar of Numa: the former dated from the first of the Nundinal March, the latter from the first of the Martius of Numa;

g Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. vi. supra, p. 100: cf. Diss. iii. ch. v. sect. v. vol. i. 363.

the former restricted to five Equable and six Nundinal years perpetually, the latter consisting of five years of the calendar of Numa, and consequently of variable lengths in themselves, according to the years of the cycle. And we have seen reason to conclude that the Lustrum factum in particular was regulated by the former cycle; and that no Lustrum was ever sealed by the proper ceremony except within the limits of its proper cycle of that description.

SECTION IX.—*On the second epoch of the Lustral Cycle.*

If we trace the succession of the Lustral cycle in periods of five years perpetually from B. C. 552 downwards; B. C. 307 will be found to have been a regular lustral year as much as B. C. 552: and if we trace the succession of censors and of Lustra facta in the Fasti or in contemporary history from one of these points of time to the other; we shall see clear proof in a multitude of instances that the actual succession of censors, and the actual series of Lustra facta, must have proceeded in general for the whole of the interval in question after the same manner as the regular course of lustral periods. Variations indeed in both the former from the latter may occasionally be discovered; but it may also be perceived that they must have been accidental in their origin and temporary in their effects: and that though the harmony of these several cycles, the cycle of Lustra, the cycle of Censors and Censuses, and the cycle of Lustra facta, might have been interrupted for a time, it was always restored at last. It may be taken for granted then that from B. C. 552 to B. C. 307, a period of 245 years, there was and must have been no recognized epoch of the Lustral cycle among the Romans but that of its original institution, B. C. 552.

The censors and the census of B. C. 307 are attested by Livy[h], as well as by the Fasti Capitolini; the two former M. Valerius Maximus C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. Their Lustrum conditum is still extant in the Fasti of Sigonius as the xxvii. There can be no doubt then that B. C. 307 was both a regular lustral year, and also one that had censors.

The next pair of censors, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus

[h] ix. 43: 42: 28: x. 1. Cf. Valerius Max. ii. ix. 2 De Censoria Severitate; ii. 9 De Mag. Off.

P. Decius Mus, is well attested also[i]; and their censorship is authenticated by the fact of the institution of the ceremony of the Equitum Transvectio[k] on the Ides of Quinctilis, uniformly attributed to them, or to one of them, Fabius, in particular: if not also by the institution of a similar ceremony at the opposite quarter of the year, that is in Februarius, at the Lupercalia[l]. The date of their censorship may be collected from Livy[m]; and in the Fasti Capitolini it plainly appears as U. C. 449 of their æra, B. C. 304. If so, they must have come into office only three years after the censors of B. C. 307; and in a still less time after the Lustrum factum which sealed their cycle.

Now this is a remarkable fact. Nothing like it can be perceived to have happened any where before, from the first institution of the censorship, B. C. 442, to B. C. 307. Nor does it detract from the extraordinary character of this single exception to the rule which must have been uniformly observed until this time, that irregular as the date of this censorship may be, compared with every instance of the same kind before, it is not irregular in comparison of those which follow it. The next pair of censors entered the Fasti B. C. 299; the next to those B. C. 294; the next B. C. 289; and so on: all at the legitimate distance of five years or of one lustral cycle asunder. Nor have we any doubt that the censors which followed, from B. C. 289 to B. C. 234, succeeded each other according to the same rule; liable only to occasional interruptions: though in the arrangements of the Fasti by Sigonius they do not appear to do so uniformly; nor have we the means of comparing these arrangements with the contemporary accounts of Livy, which begin to fail in the liiird cycle B. C. 294, and continue to do so until the lxviiith B. C. 219. It is clear however that B. C. 234 must have been lustral by precisely the same rule as B. C. 304. And, when we come to B. C. 214 and to the censors of that year and of those which follow, we find them succeeding each other, for 60 years, or twelve Lustral cycles, from B. C. 214 to B. C. 154,

[i] Livy, ix. 46. Cf. Auctor De Viris Q. Fabius Rullianus.

[k] Supra, Nundinal Cycle, p. 114.

[l] Valerius Max. ii. ii. 9 De Mag. Off.

[m] ix. 45: 46.

in regular order, and at the proper distance of five years asunder, without interruption.

After B. C. 154 and with the next pair of censors the actual succession, according to the Fasti at present, begins again to vary from the rule; and continues to do so more or less down to B. C. 109. It was accidentally disturbed in B.C. 109 also; and it continued disturbed until B.C. 89; but not longer: for the censors of that year even in the Fasti entered according to rule. B. C. 89 must have been lustral if B. C. 154 was so. It is selfevident however that the first beginning of this irregularity, with the censors next to B. C. 154, must have been something accidental. A rule which had been uniformly observed for 60 years before could not have begun to be interrupted just at that point of time except from some accidental cause; and though the general succession of censors for a time might be affected by it, we might expect to see it rectified again at last, and subjected to the same rule as before: as indeed it was on two several occasions in this very interval of time, B. C. 109 and B. C. 89.

We have thus traced the actual succession of censors from B. C. 304 to B. C. 89, or if we will, to B. C. 86, when the censors who actually sealed that Lustrum succeeded those who were first appointed in it; and making allowance for accidental cases of variation to the contrary, the reasons of which are possible to be discovered and assigned in almost every instance, we have seen the censorian ingress and the succession of the Lustral cycle each following the same law: which begins to appear *de facto* first at the ingress of the LIST cycle B. C. 304, and is still perceptible at that of the XCIVth B. C. 89. The cycle of Lustra and the succession of censors, from B. C. 304 to B. C. 89, are seen to have been referred to no epoch but this of B. C. 304; and the more regularly both went on in the intermediate time the more clear and indisputable in the case of each is the fact of that reference. Under these circumstances we cannot hesitate to infer that B. C. 304 for some reason or other a change must have been made in the Lustral epoch; that whereas for 248 years before without interruption the course of the Lustral cycle had been referred to one epoch only, and that the most proper and

natural of all, the epoch of its own institution, B. C. 552; yet B. C. 304 with the ingress of the LIST cycle, and that of the two censors, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus and P. Decius Mus, in the same year, it began to be referred to a new epoch, B. C. 304: and for 215 years afterwards at least it continued to be referred to it.

SECTION X.—*On the cause of the change in the epoch of the Lustral Cycle.*

With regard however to the reasons or cause of this change, so long as the fact of the change itself and at this time was unquestionable, and indispensable to the explanation of the actual reckoning of the Lustral cycle and of the actual succession of censors from this time forward; it would make no difference whether we could assign them or not. The matter of fact would remain the same whether it could be accounted for or not. In our opinion however even the matter of fact in this instance may be satisfactorily explained, by the help of two other facts; one of which is known from the general history of the time, and the other is discoverable from our scheme of the Nundinal calendar of Servius, and from its particular relation to the Decemviral calendar at this point of time.

The former of these two facts is that of the publication of the Fasti by Cn. Flavius, B. C. 304. We have determined the date of this publication with great probability to the Kalends of January this very year[n], Cycle vii. 1 of the Decemviral correction. The stated date of the censorian ingress at this time also, as we hope to shew hereafter, was the Kalends of Quinctilis, six months in the Roman year later than the Kalends of January; so that there must have been ample time and opportunity, even after the appearance of the Fasti of Flavius on the Kalends of January, for considering and settling any further question which might possibly have arisen out of it, (like this of a change in the epoch of the Lustral cycle,) before the usual time of electing the censors who might be the first intended to enter according to the new rule.

With regard to the second fact, the relation of the Nundinal

[n] Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect iii. supra, p. 58.

calendar of Servius to the proper Roman calendar, i. e. the Decemviral, at this point of time; the reader scarcely requires to be reminded that if a year like the Nundinal was liable to lose one day perpetually in six years of its own denomination, 1824 days and nights, on five equable years, 1825 days and nights; it must be liable to lose still more in the same length of time on five such years as were capable of entering the regular Roman calendar; and would sometimes contain 1843 days and nights, sometimes 1842; though at other times they might contain only 1819 or 1820, or even only 1797. It may be seen accordingly from our Table *infra*, that though both the first day of the Nundinal Martius, in the first year of the first Lustral cycle of Servius, and the Nones of the Roman Januarius set out together on the 9th of the Julian March B. C. 552; yet at the beginning of the LTH cycle the first day of the Nundinal cycle was falling on November 19th Julian B. C. 308, and both that day and November 19 as referred to the Roman calendar of the time being, Cycle vi. 21. U. C. 446, were falling on iv Idus Novembres, November 10 Roman.

Now four Nundinal years would contain 1216 days and nights exactly: and if you reckon on 1216 days from November 19 Julian B. C. 308 you come to March 19 Julian B. C. 304: and if you turn to our Roman Calendar, Cycle vii. 1 you find March 19 Julian B. C. 304 falling on vii Nonas Martias, March 2 Roman, U. C. 450: and the interval from iv Idus Novembres, November 10 Roman, U. C. 446 to vii Nonas Martias, March 2 Roman, U. C. 450 you find to be 1216 days also; the same as in four Nundinal years exactly.

It appears to us then that in these two facts put together we have all the explanation which we can desire of the phenomenon which begins to be perceptible just at this point of time; that of a change in the epoch of the Lustral cycle. The Fasti having been made public on the Kalends of January in this very year, if there was previously any mystery respecting the course and succession of the Lustral cycle as requiring to be reckoned, and as reckoned *de facto*, perpetually in terms of the Nundinal calendar of Servius as much as in terms of the Roman; half of it must have been drawn aside and revealed, by making the Roman calendar at least and all its secrets accessible to every one, and intelligible to every

one. It would have answered no purpose from this time forward to affect any further reserve respecting the Nundinal calendar. And as the Lustral cycle was something in which all orders of persons at Rome, and especially the knights and the middle class of the citizens, were constantly interested; nothing would probably appear more desirable, or more likely to be acceptable to the people at large, than that the reckoning of this cycle for the future should be made to bear date from the time of this publication of the Fasti. Add to this that the proper epoch of this cycle in its own calendar, the Nundinal, had now receded to such a distance behind the Nones of January, or the Kalends of March, in the Roman calendar, as called for some readjustment and rectification; and that could never be more conveniently made than at this juncture, B.C. 304, when, by a singular coincidence, the first of the Nundinal March, Cycle l. 5 was falling on the 2nd of March Roman in the calendar, Cycle vii. 1. By transferring then the epoch of this cycle from Nov. 19 B.C. 308 to March 19 B.C. 304, they would not only restore it as nearly as possible to its original epoch, B.C. 552, March 9, but also identify the two forms of the cycle, both that of its reckoning in the Nundinal calendar, from the first of the Nundinal Martius, and that of its reckoning in the proper Roman calendar, from the Kalends of Martius, also; for these two epochs of the cycle, B.C. 304, as we have seen, within one day would be the same. There was sufficient in these coincidences to determine the judgment of a people, so attentive to considerations of this kind, and so predisposed to be influenced by them, as the ancient Romans. We need not therefore be surprised at the effect itself; an actual change in the epoch of the reckoning of the Lustral cycle from this time forward: one at least which begins to appear *de facto* at this point of time but not before.

SECTION XI.—*On the third epoch of the Lustral Cycle.*

If we continue our review of the succession of censors and censuses, from B.C. 86 the beginning of the civil commotions of Marius and Sulla, or from B.C. 81 the close of them, in the same manner as before, we meet with no express evidence of either in any quarter, for ten years at

least; viz. from B. C. 80 to B. C. 70. Yet there is an allusion in Cicero[o] to certain Locations of Ædes Sacræ, as going on in the consular year of L. Octavius C. Aurelius, U. C. 679 B. C. 75, and by these consuls themselves. And as this was part of the proper duties of the censors, and one of the most stated and regular of all; we must conclude from this fact that though there might be no censors at the time the consuls must have been acting as censors, and discharging the duties of the censorship, at this time, just as they had done before the institution of the office itself. And as the consuls were necessarily in office only for *one* year, we look upon this coincidence as a decisive proof that this consular year, U. C. 679 B. C. 75, must have been lustral; the first year of a lustral cycle, at the beginning of which such locations were usually made, and for the term of which they were expected ordinarily to last*.

Now if B. C. 75 was a lustral year B. C. 70 would be lustral also; and *this* year has censors even in the Fasti, otherwise too as well authenticated as those of any year before: viz. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius. That the year then was censorian cannot be doubted. The only question can be whether it was lustral also? and if B. C. 75 was so according to rule at this time B. C. 70 could not be otherwise.

Again, we know from other testimony besides that of the Fasti that B. C. 65[p] had censors: and this too would be a regular lustral year, if B. C. 70 and 75 were so. We know the same of B. C. 50[q]. It appears from the arrangements of Sigonius too that B. C. 55 also had censors; and that fact also may be inferred from testimony[r]. Though we do not know the names of any actual censors B. C. 60, we may notwithstanding infer from various allusions[s] that it must have been a lustral year; and that is the more important consideration of the two. Now all these years must have been lustral alike, if any of them was so according to rule;

* And for the same reason B. C. 80 U. C. 674 the consular year of L. Sulla Q. Metellus, as it appears from the same passage of Cicero, must have been lustral also.

[o] Oratio vi. In Verrem Actio ii. lib. i. 50, 130. [p] In Anno. [q] In Anno. [r] In Anno. [s] In Anno.

and we have seen reason to conclude that B. C. 75 and B. C. 70 were both lustral according to rule.

Again, though the civil war of Cæsar and Pompey, which broke out in the ciind lustral cycle, B. C. 50—49, might well be supposed to have disturbed the regular observance of the census, and the regular succession of censors while it lasted; yet Sigonius has a Lustrum factum in B. C. 50; and some facts are upon record which would imply that B. C. 45 must have been a regular lustral year.

Again, the first census of Augustus and the first Lustrum conditum attributed to him are recorded in the Fasti under B. C. 29, and contemporary testimony also fixes them to B. C. 29 or 28; not indeed in the first year of a regnlar lustral cycle, yet not later than the second or the third. The Lustrum conditum however of this census was really held in B. C. 28; 41 or 42 years after that of Lentulus and Gellius, B. C. 70 or 69: as we learn from the Ancyran monument. And as the Lustrum was seldom closed under 18 months from the beginning of a census even in times when the details of the census were infinitely less complicated and tedious than they must have been in the time of Augustus; we may take it for granted that no Lustrum conditum of Augustus was ever celebrated in less than 18 months or two years from the beginning of its proper census: and that would determine the commencement of *this* census to B. C. 30, the first year of our cvith cycle. His last census and last Lustrum are dated in the Fasti of Sigonius A. D. 14 U. C. 767; and yet, as we learn from Suetonius[t] and by implication from Pliny also[t], this census actually began in U. C. 765: nor, as we learn both from Suetonius[t], and from Dio[t], and from the Ancyran monument[t], was the Lustrum conditum celebrated under two years afterwards.

We pass over the cviith, the cviiith, the cixth, and the cxth cycles, B. C. 25, 20, 15, 10 respectively; though something might be said to shew that each of those years must have been lustral in its turn. But the cxith cycle B. C. 5 is too important to be passed over unnoticed. It was the date of the publication of the Δόγμα or decree of Augustus Cæsar, commanding that General Census of the empire which was

[t] Cf. ad Annum.

going on at the time of the Nativity[u]. The date of this cycle in the Nundinal calendar was Jan. 5 Julian, Jan. 4 Roman, B. C. 5. A decree like the above issued in this year would be issued in the first year of a regular cycle. It would be promulgated in the provinces in the spring and the summer of B. C. 5; and it would be every where in the process of completion, (as it is seen to have been in Judæa in particular,) in the spring of B. C. 4: the second year of its proper cycle*.

Again, the census of Claudius was certainly going on U. C. 800 A. D. 47[w]. But the Lustrum conditum was celebrated in the next year, U. C. 801 A. D. 48; and before autumn that year[x] at least: and, as this census was the most considerable (in its results) which had ever yet been held at Rome, if it was over before the middle of A. D. 48 it must have begun before the middle of A. D. 46; and that would be according to rule, in the first year of the cxxist cycle.

Again the lxxvth Lustrum conditum, the last which appears to have been actually recorded in the Fasti[y], is one of the most authentic of all. It was celebrated U. C. 824 A. D. 74[z]. The coins of Vespasian shew that he had already assumed the title of censor in U. C. 825 A. D. 72; and that he continued to retain it down to U. C. 827 A. D. 74: but not later[a]. He is recognized by Pliny[b] as censor U. C. 826 A. D. 73; and the census was then going on: and it may be further collected from Pliny that the process of this census lasted *four* years; i. e. for three years and part of a fourth: Accedunt .... exempla recentissimi census, quem intra quadriennium Imperatores Cæsares Vespasiani pater filiusque censores egerunt[c]. This does not mean *within* four years, in the sense of before the time when Pliny made this observa-

* Another important cycle is the cxiiith, which began December 31 A. D. 5 U. C. 758; because it included the census of Cyrenius or Quirinius. See our Dissertations, i. 275 note.

[u] Dissertations on the Principles and Arrangement of an Harmony of the Gospels, i. 466. Diss. xiv: iv. 5. App. Diss. xv.

[w] Cf. ad Annum.

[x] Cf. Tacitus, Annal. xi. 25. (23) 25—31.

[y] Censorinus, De Die Natali, xviii.

[z] Cf. ad Annum.

[a] Cf. our Dissertations, xv. vol. ii. 76, 77.

[b] H. N. iii. 9. 611.

[c] vii. 50. 220.

tion, but *in* four years; in four years' time. It is similar to another phrase, which also occurs in Pliny, speaking of the Balsam plant in Judæa, and of the revenue derived from it by the imperial exchequer: Amputatio ipsa surculusque veniit *intra* quintum devictæ annum &c.[d]; i. e. within five years of the close of the Jewish war, within four years and part of a fifth, from A. D. 70 or 71. Pliny was writing this work A. D. 76; and it would be absurd to suppose that he would speak of a census, which was over in A. D. 74, as within four years of A. D. 76. He must have intended the details and process of the census itself; and if those took up three years complete and part of a fourth, and yet were over in A. D. 74, they must have begun in A. D. 71; i. e. in the first year of the cxxvith cycle.

We have thus brought down the review of the Lustral cycle from B. C. 75 to A. D. 74, the date of the last Lustrum conditum publicly registered at Rome; a period of 148 years: and we have seen that, if the first year of this period B. C. 75 may be supposed to have been a regular lustral year, every other must have been so, consistently with the established length of the cycle. Now on what principle is that to be explained, without calling in question the equally well attested matter of fact, of which also we have already become cognizant; that down to B. C. 89 the epoch of the Lustral cycle, as measured by its recognized standard of five years perpetually, was one year lower both in the Æra of the city and in the Æra Vulgaris than B. C. 75 could possibly be? There can be only one means of explaining it; viz. by supposing that, between B. C. 89 and B. C. 75, the epoch of the cycle and the reckoning of Lustra must again have experienced a change, as they had done once before in B. C. 304.

Section XII.—*On the reasons of the second change of the Lustral Epoch.*

The interval between B. C. 89 and B. C. 75 was an important one in Roman history. The first civil war came between these dates; and that entailed a variety of changes in the preexisting state of things. At present our purpose requires

[d] xii. 54. 635.

that we should confine ourselves to the consideration of the effect which it produced on the Lustral cycle.

If the rule of the cycle, such as it appears to have been from B. C. 75 downwards, may be extended five years from the same epoch upwards also, B. C. 80 must have been a Lustral year on the same principle as B. C. 75. Now this year is the date of the autocracy assumed by Sulla, under the name of the dictatorship. It is that at least of his second consulship, only two months later than his dictatorship, as we hope to shew hereafter; and when his authority was just the same. It is the date of the time when Sulla was absolute, and at liberty to do what he pleased[e]; and when most of those ordinances, laws, and constitutions which are afterwards spoken of in Roman history under the name of his *Acta* must have been made and carried into effect.

It is clear from Appian[f] that whether with or without the title of censor he must have been exercising the powers of the office at this very time; both in a senatûs lectio, and in the incorporation of a new tribe, composed of Libertini and called the Tribus Cornelia after his own name, (to which frequent reference occurs in subsequent history): and in sundry other regulations too which have been recorded as his doing, yet imply the same thing. It would be nothing extraordinary then to find that he made a change in the reckoning of the Lustral cycle at this time also; appointing that for the future it should begin and proceed from B. C. 80 instead of B. C. 79. It could scarcely yet have been forgotten among the Romans that a similar change had been made in B. C. 304; and a greater change at that time than what it was proposed to make at this: the current cycle having been shortened by two years in order to *that* change, but in *this* being about to be shortened only by one. It could scarcely have been forgotten too that one motive to the change made at that time, and certainly one effect of it, had been to restore the original relations of the reckoning of the Lustral cycle, both in the Nundinal calendar and in the Roman, one

[e] Plutarch, Sulla, xxxiii: Δικτάτωρα μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε... ἐψηφίσθη δ' αὐτῷ πάντων ἄδεια τῶν γεγονότων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσία θανάτου δημεύσεως κληρουχιῶν κτίσεως πορθήσεως, ἀφελέσθαι βασιλείαν καὶ ᾧ βούλοιτο χαρίσασθαι.

[f] B. C. i. 100: cf. 103. Cf. also Cicero, Oratio vii. In Verrem Actio ii. lib. i. 50, 130. Livy, lib. lxxxix.

to the other; and the same motive might contribute to the same effect at this time also.

For it appears from our Table *infra* that at the ingress of the xcivth cycle the first of the Nundinal March was falling on the iv Nonas Januarias or January 2 Roman; and both on December 13 Julian B. C. 90: and at the ingress of the xcvth cycle the first of the Nundinal March was falling on the Pridie Idus Decembres, December 12 Roman, and both on December 10 Julian B. C. 85. The Nundinal Martius then was again greatly behind the Roman Martius; to which it had been left attached at the epoch of cycle li, B. C. 304. If however we reckon on five Nundinal years, or 1520 days, from December 10 B. C. 85, we come to Feb. 7 B. C. 80; and if we reckon on for the same number of days in the Roman calendar, from Pridie Idus Decembres (December 12 Roman) U. C. 669, we come to vi Idus Februarias (Feb. 8 Roman) U. C. 674, the Julian date of which day too was Feb. 7 B. C. 80. On this principle the head of the Nundinal year, cycle xcv. 6, and the vi Idus Februarias, Feb. 8 Roman, U. C. 674, were absolutely coincident. We are therefore entirely of opinion that the reckoning of the cycle having been changed this year a second time, its decursus was attached from this time foward to the first of the Nundinal Martius, cycle xcv. 6; and to the vi Idus Februarias U. C. 674, the 7th of February Julian B. C. 80: a conclusion which appears to be fully sustained by the facts which we have already adduced, relating to the actual course and succession of the cycle itself, and to every thing connected with it, the census and the Lustrum conditum, from that time forward down to A. D. 74 at least.

This much therefore may suffice with respect to the history of the Lustral cycle; its proper or original epoch; and the changes subsequently made therein. We shall now pass to such other inquiries as are most properly connected with the subject of the present Dissertation; beginning with that of the rule of the Censorian Ingress.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.—*On the rule of the Censorian Ingress.*

So long as the duties of the censorian office were still performed by the consuls, the rule of the censorian ingress could be nothing distinct from that of the consular; and it has been shewn that the consular ingress from the date of the Regifuge B. C. 508 to B. C. 450 was attached to the Kalends of January; from B. C. 449—448 to B. C. 280 was attached to the Ides of December: and as the first pair of censors were appointed in B. C. 442, the consular rule of that time was to enter on the Ides of December, and had been so six years. The circumstances of this first appointment deserve to be particularly considered.

In the first place, the date of the institution of the census and of the Lustral cycle, and of the Nundinal calendar of Servius Tullius, by which both were intended to be regulated at first, having been B. C. 552, and that of this first appointment of censors, as a distinct order of magistrates, for the sake of the census and of every thing connected with it, having been B. C. 442; it is clear that there must have been just 110 years' interval between them. Now 110 years was the measure of the Secular Period, most properly connected with the Etrurian Type of the Nundinal calendar from which Servius Tullius' had been taken. The equable date of the first period of this kind in connection with the Nundinal calendar of Servius was Athyr 1 Nab. 196; that of this second would be Phaophi 9 (22 days lower in the equable notation than Athyr 1) Nab. 306: the former coincident with March 9 B. C. 552, the latter with January 19 B. C. 442; the former the date of the Nundinal March of Servius, cycle i. 1, the latter that of the same Nundinal term, cycle xxiii. 1: as our Table shews.

Now as the appointment of distinct magistrates, under the name of censors, for every Lustral cycle was the only thing necessary to complete the institution of Servius, and to adapt it to the change in the public state of things, entailed by the

expulsion of the kings and by the substitution of the consular government for the regal; it can hardly be supposed that the coincidence of this appointment so critically with the end of the first and the beginning of the second Secular Period of 110 years, so proper to the Nundinal calendar of Servius, could have been the effect of chance. But if not, then this time must have been purposely selected for it; and both in the first institution of the cycle, B. C. 552, and at this period of its decursus, when it might almost be said to have been instituted *de novo*, or for the first time, special and equal regard must have been paid to the law of the Nundinal and to the law of the Roman calendar alike.

The date of this xxiiid Lustral cycle Martii 1 in the Nundinal calendar was the xv Kalendas Februarias Januarii 16 in the Roman. The ingress of the consular year at this time was the Ides of December, 32 days earlier than January 16 Roman. It so happened this year that, as the Nundinal March 1, cycle xxiii. 1, fell on January 16 Roman, the last month in the Nundinal calendar (a month of 16 days) cycle xxii. 6 must have fallen on Pridie Kalendas Januarias, Dec. 29 Roman. Both these days were Nundinal in the Roman calendar, cycle i. 6 and i. 7, as our scheme of that calendar perpetually shews. From Dionysius' account of the institution of the censorship[g] it is plainly to be collected that the consuls of the year, M. Geganius Macerinus ii T. Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus v, who first proposed the institution, had not been long in office when they did so. The same thing may be inferred from Livy[h]; who tells us that the consuls of the preceding year, L. Papirius Mugillanus L. Sempronius Atratinus, were purposely elected the first pair of censors, in order to compensate for the shortness of their tenure of office the year before; Ut eo magistratu parum solidum consulatum explerent. The ostensible ground of this observation was no doubt the fact of which we have already been made cognizant[i]; viz. that their official year had been 73 days shorter than it would ordinarily have been: because they had superseded the regular magistrates of the year just that number of days later than the usual time of the ingress. It would however have been a singular reason

[g] xi. 63. [h] iv. 8. [i] Diss. vi. ch. i. sect. vi. Vol. i. p. 518.

for appointing them to an office of five years' duration, that they had held an office, which could be retained only for one year at the utmost, three months less than they ought to have done; unless it was well known and understood at the time that the actual duties of this new office would have to be performed in the *first three* months, from the Kalends of January to the Kalends of March: which, in this year, cycle i. 7, an intercalary year of 378 days, was not less than 80 days, and might nominally be estimated at three months. We may infer then even from this account of Livy's, that the first pair of censors in all probability must have been appointed between the Ides of December, U.C. 311, when they themselves would go out of office as consuls, and the Kalends of January U. C. 312; and very probably so as to enter on the Kalends of January U. C. 312, Jan. 4 B. C. 442: only 15 days before the first of the Nundinal March, January 19.

The first censors then having entered on the first of January Roman; we are entirely of opinion that the proper censorian ingress was understood to have been thereby determined to the Kalends of January in the Roman calendar: and that, if the succession of censors had gone on regularly according to the intention of those who first instituted the office, and the term of the office had continued to be five years perpetually, we should have found every fresh pair of censors, as a general rule, entering every sixth year on the Kalends of January. There was only one day which could be considered as likely *a priori* as the Kalends of January to have supplied the date of this ingress perpetually; viz. the first of the Nundinal Martius of Servius. And if the official term of the censorship had been intended from the first to be reckoned in any kind of years but those of the proper Roman calendar; it would be difficult to say that it must not necessarily have borne date on the first of the Nundinal March perpetually. But it is clear from the subsequent history of the censorship, and at no greater a distance of time too from its first institution than the next cycle, that the proper term of this office was not expected to be reckoned even from the first in any kind of years but those in and by which every other office of the republic was reckoned also. The Lustral cycle indeed and the Nundinal Martius might

be, and probably were, connected together perpetually; but the censorian ingress appears to have had no necessary connection with the beginning of the former, or with the proper date of the latter: or if it ever had such a connection it must have been broken by the Æmilian law, only five years after the institution of the office. In the subsequent history both of the Lustral cycle, and of the censors who represented it, nothing is clearer than *this* fact; That the decursus of a particular Lustrum and the election or ingress of its proper censors were totally independent of one another; and that the censors of a particular Lustrum both might be, and actually were, so elected as to enter upon their office in any year of the cycle indifferently, and sometimes in the very last year of the cycle itself.

The ingress of the second pair of censors in the Fasti according to Sigonius is dated U. C. 319=320 B. C. 434: and Livy at first sight appears to confirm this date[k]. It is however to be observed that the election of these censors is not mentioned by him: he recognizes merely the fact of their being already in office in the consular year of C. Julius ii L. Verginius, the true date of which was U. C. 320 of Varro U. C. 319 Cap. B. C. 434. Eo anno, says he[k], C. Furius Pacilus et M. Geganius Macerinus censores villam publicam in Campo Martio probaverunt, ibique primum census populi est actus. And as to the history of Dionysius, it breaks off just after the appointment of the first two censors in B. C. 442.

The proper date of this second pair would be that of the xxivth Lustrum, B. C. 437; the ingress of which, if reckoned from the Nundinal March, would be Jan. 17 Julian B. C. 437, December 26 Roman U. C. 316. There is no reason why they should not be supposed to have come in, like their predecessors, on the Kalends of January U. C. 317, Jan. 21 B. C. 437. The actual year of their ingress in the Fasti Capitolini is wanting; and the learned appear to have assigned it to this year, B. C. 434, partly because of the testimony of Livy above alluded to, and partly under the idea that this second pair of censors, like all the rest who came after them, had only an 18 months' term of office: in which case, if they

[k] iv. 21, 22.

went out of office in B. C. 433, they must have gone in in B. C. 434.

But with respect to this last assumption, it seems to us to be clear even from Livy's account of the proceedings connected with the Æmilian law[l] that the official term of the censors for the time being was not affected by it. The dictator Æmilius himself was appointed only U. C. 321 B. C. 433, C. Julius iii L. Verginius ii, in the *last* year of the xxivth Lustral cycle; and the professed object of his law was to abridge the term of office of future censors, not of the present; whose time was almost run out as it was. Grave esse, was the reason assigned for the change, iisdem *per tot annos* magna parte vitæ obnoxios vivere: and there would have been a meaning in that, if the existing censors had been four years and upwards in office, and not merely six months.

These censors retaliated on the dictator with a *Nota Censoria;* not however because he had done a personal injury to them, but because he had *degraded* their office itself; Magistratum populi Romani minuisset[m]: he had lowered its dignity and had impaired its influence and authority. We are of opinion therefore that these censors served their full time; and consequently must have come in in B. C. 437. That they were first noticed historically by Livy in B. C. 434 might be due to the fact that for some reason or other they had been waiting for the completion of the Villa Publica in the Campus Martius, alluded to *supra,* even before they set about the census, the proper business of their office itself; much more before they held the Lustrum conditum.

With regard however to the next pair of censors who would have to come into office subject to that abridgment of its tenure which had been imposed by the Æmilian law; the first question is *this:* The official term of the censorship from this time forward being restricted to 18 months, yet no Lustral cycle notwithstanding, in the ordinary course of things, being either intended or expected to have more than one pair of censors; would each of these pairs come in at the beginning of their proper cycle, and go out three years and six months before its end? or would each come in three years and six months after its beginning and go out exactly at its

[m] iv. 24.

end? It is clear from the ingresses in the Fasti, especially those which are most authentic and most in conformity to the rule of the Lustral cycle itself, and are best and most circumstantially attested by the contemporary history, that the rule, under ordinary circumstances, was to enter in each instance at the *beginning* of the proper Lustrum; and not 18 months before the end.

The next question then will be *this;* The duration of the censorship being limited to 18 months, and the rule being to enter notwithstanding at the beginning of the proper Lustrum; did the censors in general enter on the Kalends of January in the first year, and go out on the Kalends of Quinctilis in the second? or did they enter on the Kalends of Quinctilis in the first year, and go out on the Kalends of January in the third? This question can be decided only by an appeal to the matter of fact. It appears in repeated instances that the dates of censorships recorded in the Fasti are those of the ingresses, not of the Lustrum conditum. It appears also in repeated instances from contemporary history that the Lustrum conditum was the last thing done before these censors went out of office; and it may be proved in repeated instances that this ceremony of the Lustrum conditum under such circumstances was not only the last thing done before the censors went out of office, but going on at the end of the Roman year. Laying these facts together then we draw *this* conclusion from them; That the actual rule must have been to enter at the *middle* of one year, and to hold the Lustrum conditum at the *end* of the next; to enter on the Kalends of Quinctilis in the first year of the proper cycle, and to close or seal the Lustrum 18 months afterwards, at the end of December, in the second. There are repeated proofs of this fact, we say, in the history of Livy; especially for that period of time during which the reckoning of Lustra and the succession of censors went on most regularly; viz. from B. C. 214 to B. C. 154: and these proofs we shall have occasion to produce in repeated instances hereafter, in connection with the subject of the verification and illustration of particular periods in the Roman calendar.

Nor can it be denied that under the circumstances of the case this was as natural and obvious a rule as any which

could have been adopted for an office subject to so peculiar a restriction as that which had been imposed upon it by the Æmilian law. There could be no alternative under such a law except to enter at the beginning of one year and to go out at the middle of the next; or to enter at the middle of one year and to go out at the end of the next: and this latter appears to have been considered on the whole the most convenient order of things. One reason for preferring it might be to keep the censorian comitia and the censorian ingress distinct from the consular; with which they must otherwise have coincided more or less closely. Another might be that, as the epoch of the Lustral cycle invariably fell in the winter season, and the census of the citizens was always the first thing expected to be done after the censors entered on office; it was easy to foresee that to have to perform this part of their duties in the depth of winter was not desirable: not to say that with a view to the purposes of the census in general, and to the numerous and complicated details of business of every kind to which the censors were expected to attend, especially when the public and private relations of the state had come to be extended beyond the limits of Italy and beyond seas also; no time of the year could be so eligible for the censorian ingress as the middle of summer. Be the reason however, which must have led to the adoption of this rule, what it may; still the fact of the rule is certain: as any one may satisfy himself by a careful perusal of the contemporary Roman history; especially with the benefit of our calendar to assist him in fixing as he proceeds the true chronology of the transactions which he finds on record. We shall mention at present only one or two facts in confirmation of it.

SECTION II.—*On the confirmation of the rule of the Censorian Ingress by some particular facts.*

For example, it is mentioned incidentally by Pliny[n] that the first thing done by a new pair of censors, on coming into office, was *locare anserum cibaria:* Est anseri vigil cura Capi-

[n] H. N. iv. 26: cf. xxix. 14. Cf. Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, xcviii. Cicero, Oratio ii. Pro Roscio, 20, 56. Columella, viii. 13. § 2. Servius ad Æneid. viii. 652: 655. Arnobius, vi. 205. Ælian, De Animal. xii. 33.

tolio testata defenso, per id tempus canum silentio proditis rebus: quam ob caussam cibaria anserum censores in primis locant. This may appear at first sight a slight and unmeaning circumstance; but it is seen to be significant on the present question when taken along with the fact which we learnt from Lydus[o], that this provision for the geese kept at the public expense in the Capitol must have been made in the proper year before the iii Nonas Sextiles: and that was so near to the Kalends of Quinctilis that trifling as this part of the duties of the censorship may seem, yet to have discharged it officially, by entering into the usual quinquennial contract for the maintenance of these geese, before the end of Quinctilis, might well suppose them to have entered not later than the first of that month: and this duty to have been in reality one of the first things which they could have attended to.

Again, the institution of the Quinquatrus minores, or Holiday of the trumpeters, at Rome, on the Ides of June, is dated upon that day B. C. 311; in the censorship of Appius and Plautius[p]. Yet if we attend to the story connected with this institution, and to the circumstances out of which it arose, viz. the affront put on these Tubicines, which led to their secession in a body from Rome to Tibur; we shall see every reason to conclude that, if Appius and Plautius had come into office before the Kalends of Quinctilis B. C. 312, we should have found this institution dated on the Ides of June B. C. 312, not on the Ides of June B. C. 311.

It is an equally critical coincidence that the institution of the Equitum Transvectio is unanimously attributed to the censors of B. C. 304; and yet is uniformly also dated on the Ides of Quinctilis[q]. These censors must have come into office on the Kalends of Quinctilis B. C. 304. The census of the citizens including the knights, (of which this Transvectio or passing in review before the censors with their horses made part,) must have been over long before the Ides of Quinctilis B. C. 303. Or if we are to suppose even this ceremony first instituted and first held on the Ides of Quinctilis B. C. 303; what was the date of the institution of the Transvectio, also

[o] De Mensibus, iii. 40. p. 46. l. 20. Diss. viii. ch. i. sect. iv. 154 note. Cf. Plutarch, De Fortuna Romanorum, xii. Augustin, De Civitate, ii. 22.

[p] Supra, Nundinal cycle, p. 116.

[q] Ibid. 114.

attributed to these censors, at the opposite quarter of the year, the Lupercalia in Februarius? These censors themselves must have gone out of office before the Lupercalia, B. C. 302.

Again, though the duration of the censorian office had been shortened by law in B. C. 433, and there cannot be any doubt that from that time forward its legal term was only one year and six months; yet it appears from Livy that in the course of time it had become usual to grant to each pair of censors a certain prolongation of their office, for a particular purpose: which indulgence it was also customary that they should ask for expressly, just as their legal term of office was about to expire. And this seems to have become in process of time so much the rule, and so entirely matter of course, that we find it no where distinctly mentioned in the contemporary history; we are made aware of the fact itself only by one case of the kind, incidentally referred to in Livy.

The censors of the lxxviiith Lustral cycle, B. C. 169–167, C. Claudius Pulcher and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus applied for this indulgence, just as they were going out of office; i. e. at the end of December Roman, B. C. 168; and it was refused them through the veto of one of the tribunes of the people, whom they had offended in the discharge of the duties of their office: though it had probably never been refused to any censors before; and but for its unexpected and unexampled refusal to them in the present instance it would probably not have been mentioned by Livy that they had ever applied for it. Petentibus ut *ex instituto*, ad sarta tecta exigenda, et ad opera quæ locassent probanda, *anni et bimensis* tempus prorogaretur, Cn. Tremellius tribunus quia lectus non erat in senatum intercessit[r].

The learned in their reasonings and speculations concerning the censorian office among the Romans have either overlooked this testimony of Livy, or mistaken its meaning; as if the indulgence which these censors had asked for had been something peculiar to themselves: and yet it is clear from Livy's own words that they had done nothing singular; the indulgence for which they had applied was something which

[r] xlv. 15.

it was usual both to apply for and to concede *ex instituto*— according to form, to rule and precedent, long established. The reason assigned for it too could be nothing peculiar to them. All censors had to make contracts and engagements relating to buildings or repairs of buildings; and all would want the same prolongation of their term of office for such a purpose as this of *sarta tecta exigenda,* and of *opera quæ locassent probanda.*

We may infer then, with almost absolute certainty, from this testimony of Livy's that it was usual at this time and had been so long before to grant the censors a special prorogation of the legal term of their office for such purposes as these. If so, we may draw two conclusions from the fact of the rule itself; one that their proper term of office bore date from the Kalends of Quinctilis; the other that these Locations or contracts, of stated occurrence in every Lustral cycle and under every pair of censors, were reckoned from the Kalends of March. The proper duration of the office was one year and six months; this special indulgence of one year and two months more made it a term of two years and eight months: and two years and eight months was the exact measure of the interval in the Roman calendar from the Kalends of Quinctilis in one year to the Kalends of March in the third from that.

There are moreover many cases of censorships both under the regular and under the irregular calendar of which it may be proved by means of testimony, of one kind or another, that the official term in such cases must have begun to be reckoned from the middle of the Roman year; so much so that we may lay it down as a test and criterion, which will seldom be found to fail, that the mention of the censorian comitia as arrived or at hand is so far an intimation of the Roman May or June: and the actual process of a census supposed to be going on in the senatus lectio or in the census of the citizens, (which were always the first things done,) is a still more decisive intimation of the Roman Quinctilis. We will mention two cases of this kind at present.

i. In Cicero's first oration against Verres, B. C. 70, there is an allusion to a census going on at the time: Non committam ut tum res judicetur cum hæc frequentia totius

Italiæ Roma discesserit; quæ convenit uno tempore undique comitiorum ludorum *censendique* caussa[s]. Frequentiam dicit, observes Asconius[t], plebis rusticæ . . . . . convenerat autem ex municipiis cujuscumque modi multitudo aut . . . . . aut ut censeretur apud censores Gellium et Lentulum qui tunc erant. Now the date of this Actio prima was the Nones of Sextilis; Nonæ sunt hodie Sextiles[u]: and the comitia consularia the same year had been held only vi Kalendas Sextiles previously[w]. It is clear then that this census must have been going on in Quinctilis.

ii. Again, it may be collected from Cicero's Epistles[x] that the censorian ingress, cycle cii B. C. 50, when Appius Claudius Pulcher and L. Calpurnius Piso entered upon the office, must have fallen out in Quinctilis. The details of this proof will appear, we trust, more clearly hereafter. It is however morally certain that Cicero was under the persuasion that Appius had been already elected censor in the Roman June, B. C. 50. And that such must have been the case may be argued as follows: Appius was cited before the people this very year, and when he was now censor, by Cicero's son in law Dolabella; and in his trial before them he was defended by Hortensius, and by Brutus his own son in law, in conjunction[y]. Hortensius died only a few days after he had rendered him this service; and Cicero first heard of his death at Rhodes[z]: when he was returning from his province in B. C. 50. It is demonstrable that he must have been at Rhodes in the month of September Roman; and nearer to the beginning than to the end of that month: and that it would require five weeks, even in the summer, to bring him the news of an event, which happened at Rome, from thence to Rhodes. If so Hortensius must have died about the end of Quinctilis or the beginning of Sextilis. He was dying when Cœlius one of Cicero's correspondents, B. C. 51–50, wrote him a letter from Rome which is still extant[a]. Appius consequently must have been already in office in Quinctilis. Yet

[s] Orat. v. In Verrem Actio Prima, 18, 54: cf. 5, 15: 6, 17: 7, 18. 19: 8, 23: 9, 24.

[t] Page 42: cf. A. Gellius, v. 6.

[u] Orat. v. In Verrem Actio Prima, 10, 31.

[w] Asconius, page 30, 31.

[x] Ad Fam. iii. 11: 13: Ad Att. vi. 4: Ad Fam. ii. 19: ii. 17: cf. iii. 4: viii. 12: 14.

[y] Cicero, Brutus, 94, 323. 324: cf. 64, 229, 230.

[z] Ibid. 1, 1.

[a] Ad Fam. viii. 13. Cf. Plutarch, Cato Min. lii.

he had been elected in Maius or Junius. We may conclude then that he actually entered upon office on the Kalends of Quinctilis.

SECTION III.—*On the relation of the* Lustrum factum *or* conditum *to the Lustral Cycle.*

It is a well known observation of Censorinus' that the number of Lustra condita actually recorded at Rome was not in proportion to the number of Lustral cycles. Ita quidem a Servio Tullio institutum ut quinto quoque anno censu civium habito lustrum conderetur: sed non ita a posteris servatum. nam cum inter primum a Servio rege conditum lustrum et id quod ab imperatore Vespasiano v et (Ti.) Cæsare iii Coss. factum est anni interfuerint paullo minus sexcentis quinquaginta; lustra tamen per ea tempora non plura quam septuaginta quinque sunt facta: et postea plane fieri desierunt [b].

This reasoning indeed at first sight appears to make no distinction between the Lustrum conditum and the Lustral cycle; and therefore to imply that an irregular succession of the former was an argument of an irregular succession of the latter. But *this* would be by no means a necessary consequence of *that*. There was no absolute connection between the Lustrum and the Lustrum *conditum*. The latter was a part of the census, it is true; i. e. it was never performed except as part of the ceremony of the census: but it was no necessary or indispensable part of the census. The census as such was always over before the Lustrum conditum was held; and a census once held and completed was competent to answer all its proper purposes, whether it included this ceremony or not. There are as many censuses in Roman history without Lustra facta, as Lustra without censuses; and it would be just as great a mistake to judge of the number of censuses from that of Lustra facta as of the number of Lustral cycles from that of censuses.

The proper use and effect of the ceremony of the Lustrum conditum was to attest and affirm the Lustral cycle. It served to authenticate a particular cycle; that, viz. in which it was performed. And hence the term applied to the ceremony; the Lustrum *factum* or Lustrum *conditum*. The Lu-

[b] De Die Natali, xviii.

strum was as it were *made* by it; was as it were *laid up* and *sealed* by it: because it was solemnly and publicly attested as well as consummated and closed by it. It follows that it authenticated a particular Lustrum in a very distinct and emphatic manner; but only its own, that in which it happened to be performed. And it seems that a public account was kept of such Lustra as were known to have been distinguished by this ceremony; but of none else. The number of such Lustra consequently was known; because the recorded instances of the performance of this ceremony were known.

And this being the case, it could make no difference to the end or to the effect of the Lustrum conditum, at what particular point of time in its proper cycle it might take place; whether at the beginning, or at the middle, or at the end. Under any of these circumstances it was still competent to attest and to seal its proper cycle. It could rarely happen, except in the time of Servius, and under the first consuls, that both the census and the Lustrum conditum could be held in the first year of the Lustral cycle. Under the censors, and under the restrictions imposed by the Æmilian law, the rule was to hold the census at the middle of the first year, and to *make* or *seal* the Lustrum at the end of the second.

SECTION IV.—*Whether one Lustral Cycle could have more than one Lustrum factum.*

If this account however of the relation of the Lustrum factum to the Lustral cycle is just and true; it is an obvious inference from it that the same Lustral cycle could not or ought not to have had more than one Lustrum factum. There could not be more than one census in one cycle; nor consequently more than one concluding ceremony of the census. Nor could there be more than one formal and public attestation of one and the same Lustrum. On the same principle there ought not properly to have been ever more than one pair of censors, to hold the same census and to close and attest the same Lustrum. And though this last was a distinction which in the nature of things could not uniformly hold good; neither of the other two was an im-

possibility in itself, nor as far as we have been able to discover was ever contrary to the matter of fact. There are repeated instances of Lustral cycles with more than one pair of censors; but none of Lustral cycles with more than one census, nor, as we may venture also to assert, with more than one Lustrum factum.

Livy tells us of the censors who sealed the liiird Cycle[c] B. C. 294, P. Cornelius Arvina C. Marcius Rutilus, that they were the 26th pair from the first, L. Papirius Mugillanus L. Sempronius Atratinus, the censors of the xxiiird cycle, B. C. 442. Yet the number of cycles between the latter and the former was 30; so that some four cycles could have had no censors at all. In all these cases however, and whether the same Lustrum had more pairs of censors than one or not, the closing and laying up of the Lustrum by the concluding ceremony was the work of one; that which was the last appointed, and that which actually held the census. We may illustrate this by a remarkable instance of the fact itself. The xcivth cycle, B. C. 89—84, had two sets of censors; one which came in regularly, B. C. 89, another which entered irregularly, B. C. 86. There was an interval of three years between them; and it might be supposed that in the first three years of this Lustrum the ordinary duties of its proper censors, already appointed too, must have been completed. Yet we learn from Cicero[d] that under these censors, whom he styles Julius and Crassus, absolutely nothing had been done; Nullam populi partem esse censam: whereas the census and the Lustrum conditum too, actually held by their successors, L. Marcius Philippus and M. Perperna, are as well attested[e] as any thing of the kind which is still on record.

It would be a real inconsistency in the relation of the Lustrum factum to the Lustral cycle, and a real difficulty, could it be made to appear that the same Lustral cycle had ever more than one census, or than one Lustrum factum. And though it cannot be denied that *apparent* cases of this kind do occur in the Fasti; yet upon examination they all turn out to be of a very questionable nature. The dates of

[c] x. 47: 37. [d] Oratio xxvi. 5, 11: Pro Archia. [e] Cf. in Anno.

the ingress and of the egress of the censors who represent such Lustra are always involved in more or less of obscurity and of uncertainty. For instance, the censors of the lxxxviiith cycle, L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, according to Sigonius entered in B. C. 115; i. e. in the last year of their proper cycle. They are recognised in the Epitome of Livy; the Senatus lectio held by them, in one book[f], the Lustrum conditum celebrated by them also, in the next to it[g]: and the former book ends apparently in B. C. 115 the latter begins in B. C. 114; which so far seems to confirm the arrangement of Sigonius: as if these censors had actually entered in the last year of Cycle lxxxviii, and closed the Lustrum in the first year of Cycle lxxxix. It is far from unusual however even in the entire books of Livy, much less in this Epitome, to find allusions under one year to things which really happened the year before. Even according to the Epitome, this Lustrum conditum could not have been later than B. C. 114; for it appears to be prior even there to the discovery of the incest of the Vestals made this year, and, as we hope to shew elsewhere, before the Saturnalia, December 17 Roman, this year, U. C. 640 B. C. 114. In all such cases however as these it behoves us to look narrowly to the Nundinal date of the current cycle and of the next to it. Now the Nundinal date of Cycle lxxxix, the next to this, was December 24 Julian B. C. 115, January 8 Roman U. C. 640: and that was seven days later than the consular ingress, Jan. 1 Roman, the same year. It is manifestly possible that the Lustrum conditum of Cycle lxxxviii might have been celebrated between Jan. 1 and Jan. 8 Roman, this year; and so have come within the limits of its proper cycle, though it was registered under the consuls of U. C. 640.

Yet the cases of this kind which appear in the Fasti in their present state are few. There is one, Cycle lvii, B. C. 274. This cycle also had two pairs of censors; one which entered apparently in the third year, B. C. 272, M' Curius Dentatus L. Papirius Cursor; another which came in in the fifth, B. C. 270, of which Ti. Coruncanius was one: and the

[f] lxii. [g] lxiii.

same Lustrum conditum is ascribed by Sigonius to both, as if it had been performed at twice, and yet had sealed only one Lustrum, and had been registered itself as the xxxivth of its kind notwithstanding. There is no doubt some confusion here; though in the absence of proper data it may not be easy to rectify it. A Lustrum conditum performed at twice, and even a Lustrum conditum instaurated or renewed merely on account of some accidental informality, would be a very unexampled thing. The censorship of Manius Curius and L. Papirius is certainly attested by Frontinus, De Aquæductis[h]. Yet these two were censors also together Cycle liv B. C. 289[i]. That Ti. Coruncanius too was sometime censor appears from Festus[k]. Be these things however as they may; the proof is not clear that more than one Lustrum factum was celebrated in this cycle, whether it had two pairs of censors or only one.

The next case which appears to exhibit any anomaly is that of the xlth and that of the xlist Lustrum factum respectively; the former of which in the Fasti Censorii is dated in the first year of our lxvth cycle, B. C. 234, and the latter in the fifth. B. C. 230: on which principle this lxvth cycle must have had two Lustra facta. But the censors at this time according to Sigonius were entering very irregularly; and had done so from as far back as Cycle lv; which in his arrangement has two pairs of censors, one regular, in the first year, B. C. 284; the other, irregular, by whom the Lustrum itself was closed in the fifth year, B. C. 280. And the departure from rule, thus introduced in Cycle lv, is seen to be perpetuated in the lvith, lviith, lviiith, and lixth cycles also; the censors and the Lustrum conditum of each of which are also

[h] 160. 6. Frontinus gives us reason to conclude that Man. Curius and L. Papirius were acting as censors on this occasion, U. C. 482 of Varro, Spurio Carvilio L. Papirio ii Coss. If so, they represented the 57th Lustrum, B. C. 274–269, and not the 58th, B. C. 269–264. The censor who represents the 55th Lustrum in Sigonius' list, Sp. Carvilius Maximus, is a conjectural one. He might some time or other have been censor, but not necessarily at the time thus assigned him. We are of opinion that the censors of the 56th Lustral cycle in Sigonius ought to represent the 55th; and those of the 57th, the 56th; and the first pair, of the two assigned to the 58th, should represent the 57th. The Lustrum conditum of Cycle 55, as it may be collected from the Epitome of Livy, Lib. xiii. was celebrated by Cn. Domitius Calvinus, (Primus e plebe who performed it,) at the very end of the cycle; which expired March 7 Julian, Pridie Kal. Martias, Roman, B. C. 279.

[i] Cf. ad Annum.

[k] xiv. 357. 13 Portorium.

attached to the fifth year of their respective cycles*. The censors of Cycle lx and of Cycle lxi respectively entered in the second year; but one of those of the latter dying in office, there was a fresh pair in the third year of that cycle: for which reason, the censors of Cycle lxii entered in the third year also, though those of Cycle lxiii and lxiv did so in the fourth.

In this last case however one of the two, Q. Lutatius Cerco, died in office; and therefore the other, L. Cornelius Lentulus, was bound to abdicate: and probably did so. If then there was a census and a Lustrum conditum in this cycle, both must have been held by a fresh pair; and in our opinion this pair was those to whom the Fasti ascribe the xl Lustrum, and whom they suppose to have entered in the consular year of L. Postumius Albinus Sp. Carvilius Maximus U. C. 520 Varr. 519 Cap. B. C. 234. And this being the first year of Cycle lxv, it would seem to be implied hereby that these were the censors of Cycle lxv; in which case that cycle must have had two Lustra: for there is another, registered under it as the xlist, B. C. 230.

These censors however, Atilius Bulbus Postumius Albinus, were more probably *suffecti* than *ordinarii*; and appointed to complete the census of Cycle lxiv, which their predecessors had left unfinished. If these predecessors entered at the middle of B. C. 236, as the Fasti suppose, the regular time of their Lustrum factum would have been the end of B. C. 235. The Nundinal date of Cycle lxv was February 16 Julian B. C. 234, January 29 Roman U. C. 520. The Lustrum conditum of Cycle lxiv might have been held any time between the Ides of December U. C. 519, (the consular ingress at this time,) and the Pridie Kalendas Februarias (Jan. 29 Roman) U. C. 520; and might both have come within its proper cycle, and yet have been registered also under the consuls of U. C. 520.

There are no more cases which present any difficulty of this kind down to B. C. 154. The censors of Cycle lxvi would exhibit no new phenomenon. They merely entered

* These anomalies are rectified by the different arrangement just proposed.

and celebrated the xliind Lustrum in the fifth year of their proper cycle; and that may be considered a well attested fact[l]. The same thing holds good of the census and the Lustrum of Cycle lxviii; and with the ingress of Cycle lxix B. C. 214, we come to a point of time when the proper rule both of the censorian ingress and of the Lustrum conditum begins to be restored, and is seen to have been regularly observed for a long time afterwards: clearly shewing what it must always have been in principle whether uniformly so exemplified in practice or not.

After the lxxxist cycle indeed, B. C. 154, the old irregularity begins to appear again; and continues to appear more or less down to the xcivth B. C. 89. The censors of the intermediate cycles according to the Fasti and to Sigonius entered sometimes in the third sometimes in the fourth and sometimes in the fifth years of their respective cycles, as well as occasionally in the first; yet most frequently in the third: from which fact we might not unreasonably infer that possibly the recorded dates of the ingresses in each of these instances were the actual dates of the Lustra condita; the regular time of which in the usual course of things was the end of the second year, which might easily be confounded with the beginning of the third.

The lxxxvith cycle has two pairs of censors according to Sigonius; one in the fourth year, B. C. 126, the other in the next year, the fifth, B. C. 125: and to these Sigonius assigns the lxth Lustrum conditum. These censors then succeeded each other just one year asunder; i. e. whatsoever was the date of the second pair that of the first was the year before. Now the date of this second pair, Cæpio and Cassius Longinus, may be collected from a statement in Velleius Paterculus[m]; 157 years before his own time: and this time being uniformly referred by him to the consular year of M. Vinicius and L. Cassius Longinus, U. C. 783 of Varro, A. D. 30; it gives the date of this second pair U. C. 626 B. C. 128: and consequently that of their predecessors U. C. 625 B. C. 129, in the *first* year of their proper cycle. So that it must have

[l] Cf. ad Annum.

[m] ii. 10.

been only some accidental irregularity which gave occasion to a second pair in the course of this one cycle *.

We are aware indeed that the numbers in Velleius are often to be suspected; and that his editors would correct even these by reading 154 for 157: nor can it be denied that Frontinus [n] dates this second pair of censors in the consular year of M. Plautius Hypsæus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, U. C. 629 B. C. 125. Yet Frontinus would not be a better authority than Velleius. The former might have taken his date from the Fasti Capitolini [o]. The latter is as much an original authority as these Fasti themselves. On this point however we do not undertake to decide. The numbers in Velleius may be corrupt; and yet the lxth Lustrum might have been celebrated only in its proper order of time within the limits of its proper cycle.

SECTION V.—*On the number of* Lustra condita.

With regard to the number of Lustra facta or condita of which an account had been actually kept at Rome; we may take it for granted that up to the time of Censorinus, who was writing A. D. 238, it was not more than 75: the last of which too was the registered date of the ceremony which closed and sealed the census of cycle cxxvi. The Fasti, as far as they go, virtually confirm Censorinus. The census and Lustrum conditum of Claudius, cycle cxxi, do not appear therein, because they were later than the point of time at which they ended. Yet no doubt this Lustrum was once registered as the lxxivth which until then had been held. On this principle the last Lustrum conditum of Augustus, (the third which he actually held,) must have been recorded as the lxxiiird: and so it appears in the Fasti Capitolini, as restored by Sigonius.

It does not often happen that the numerical order of a particular Lustrum factum is to be met with in terms, out of these Fasti; and as the Fasti are not entire throughout,

* These arrangements however right or wrong are those of Sigonius, not of the Fasti themselves; which for cycle 86 are defective.

[n] De Aquæductis, 162, 8.

[o] See Vol. i. p. 50, note.

even there in particular instances it can be only conjecturally determined. The tenth Lustrum *ab urbe condita* is mentioned by Livy [p] in connection with U. C. 296 B. C. 458; and the nineteenth [q] in connection with U. C. 461 B. C. 293. The former is agreeable to Sigonius' scheme of the Fasti, cycle xix; the latter is not: for the Lustrum conditum of cycle liii, B. C. 294, even in the genuine reading of the Fasti, appears as the xxxth, not the xxixth. There is consequently a difference between the Fasti and Livy in this instance: and if Livy's numbers are more in the right, there must have been one Lustrum factum in the Fasti Capitolini, between cycle xix and cycle liii, above the truth. And as there would thus seem to have been in the Fasti an excess of one more than the truth in this instance so would there appear to be a defect in them also of one less than the truth in another instance.

For it appears from the Ancyran monument [r] that the ceremony of the Lustrum conditum was thrice celebrated by Augustus; once in his 6th consulate B. C. 28, again in the consular year of Censorinus and Asinius B. C. 8, and a third time in that of the two Sexti, A.D. 14: in which year also he himself died. The first and the third appear in Sigonius, cycle cvi B. C. 29 and cycle cxiv A. D. 11; but the second, cycle cx B. C. 10, is wanting. On this principle, if the last registered Lustrum of Augustus was really the 73rd, yet one more was to be added to the list of Lustra facta, which does not appear to have been taken into account in the numerical order of this last; one would require to be subtracted somewhere or other from the number of those which do appear: and possibly that may be from the number recorded up to the xxxth, cycle liii; the numerical order of which appears from Livy to have been the 29th not the 30th.

After all, it is not extraordinary that the number of Lustral cycles from B. C. 552 to A. D. 74 should have been 126; yet

[p] iii. 24: 22.

[q] x. 47: 38. In this last instance Livy means the xixth A primis censoribus. In the Fasti, as supplied by Sigonius, the xith Lustrum is ascribed to the first censors. And the 19th from that would be the xxixth: though the Fasti make that of cycle liii the xxxth. And in this instance the numbers are still extant: at least, according to Piranesi, they are *xxx*. Were the true numbers here xx*ix* not *xxx*?

[r] Livy; Ruperti, iv. 785.

that of Lustra condita only 75. There was no census of which any thing is known in history between the death of Augustus and the reign of Vespasian, except that of Claudius; and therefore there could not have been more than one Lustrum conditum in all that time. The first Lustrum conditum of Augustus stood at the distance of 42 years from the last ceremony of the same kind before it[s]; that which closed the census of Lentulus and Gellius, cycle xcviii, B. C. 70—65. The censorship itself appears to have fallen into abeyance from the xcivth Lustrum, the last which preceded the commencement of the civil wars, B. C. 86, down to B. C. 70[t]. If we trace the succession of Lustra upwards; we meet with considerable intervals during which there is no evidence of any census, much less of any Lustrum conditum. The reign of Tarquinius Superbus (25 years) was purposely destitute of both; and Dionysius gives us to understand[u] that even under the consuls the census had been interrupted 17 years before the appointment of the first censors: that is from as far back as U. C. 296 B. C. 458, Q. Fabius Vibulanus iii and L. Cornelius Maluginensis; under whom there was a census, and a Lustrum conditum, the same which Livy styled the *tenth* ab urbe condita. It may be collected from Festus also[w], that the regular census was intermitted for fifteen years, next after the capture of the city by the Gauls; which would be equivalent to three Lustral cycles. And if we reckon 15 years from the first year of cycle xxxiii, B. C. 392, in the course of which Lustrum the city was taken, we come to the first year of cycle xxxvi B. C. 377; the censors of which are attested by Livy[x]. Yet it must be observed that Sigonius' scheme of the Fasti has censors, cycle xxxiv, xxxv, and xxxvi; and a Lustrum conditum both cycle xxxiv and cycle xxxvii: with neither of which perhaps would it be easy to dispense.

[s] Marmor Ancyranum. Cf. ad Annum.

[t] Cf. ad Ann. Cycle xciv: xcviii.

[u] xi. 63.

[w] xviii. 575. 17—576. Tributorum collatio cum sit alia in capite alia in censu dicitur etiam quoddam temerarium; ut post urbem a Gallis captam collatum est: quia proximis quindecim annis census alius non erat.

[x] Cf. ad Ann.

SECTION VI.—*On the* Fasti Censorii *of our Tables.*

We have taken the Table of Censors and of Lustra condita or facta, annexed to this Dissertation, from the Fasti Capitolini of Sigonius *. Consequently we do not profess to answer for the accuracy of its details throughout: nor have we considered it necessary for our purpose at present that we should enter on a strict chronological examination of them, further than has been done above. We have therefore made no change in Sigonius' names or numbers, except in the years of the Æra of the city; which we have raised uniformly one year where it was necessary, from U. C. 245 the Varronian date of the Regifuge to U. C. 422: agreeably to that principle of rectification and correction which was explained in a preceding Dissertation. The consular or censorian succession and its proper relation to the years of the city, whether in the Varronian or in the Capitoline Æra, are not disturbed by these corrections.

And here we cannot but observe how important the course and succession of the Lustral cycle, rightly defined and rightly applied perpetually, is to the decision of this further question of the details of the Consular Fasti from the Regifuge downwards. Take for example the xxxiiird cycle, B. C. 392—387, the cycle in which Rome was captured by the Gauls. The Nundinal date of that cycle was Dec. 27 Julian B. C. 393, December 20 Roman U. C. 361. The Lustrum conditum of this cycle was registered according to Dionysius in the 119th year of the æra of the Regifuge; that is not earlier than the Kalends of January U. C. 364 B. C. 390. These two notes of time then, the third year of the xxxiiird cycle ineunte, and the 119th year of the æra of the Regifuge, dated from the Kalends of January U. C. 246, might have been absolutely coincident in this instance, and both have met in the Kalends of January U. C. 364 B. C. 390. Another remarkable case is that of cycle xlv U. C. 422 B. C. 332. In the unrectified Fasti of Varro the consuls of U. C. 421 B. C. 333 are not merely ψευδώνυμοι; they are absolutely spurious, and must be

* In some instances however we have corrected his readings of these Fasti by those of Piranesi.

eliminated *in toto* to make way for those of the year before them. But the censors of this year, U. C. 422 B. C. 332, are authentic. It is certain that this year, B. C. 332, must have been Lustral. Consequently that between it and cycle x B. C. 507 the first after the Regifuge there must have been 35 periods of five years, 175 Lustral years: and if so, 175 pairs of consuls, but no more.

With regard to the censorian dates of the Fasti Capitolini in general, we may observe that as the Consular years of these Fasti and the Triumphal years also are dated ex Palilibus perpetually; on the principle of analogy it must be supposed that its Censorian years are so reckoned also: in which case, while the censorian ingress was the Kalends of January, they would be two or three months later than the truth; and when it was the Kalends of Quinctilis they would be so much earlier: and very possibly this positive rule of the reckoning of the censorian ingress might serve to explain some of those inconsistencies between the succession of censors, according to these Fasti, and the parallel succession of Lustral cycles, which have been pointed out.

As to the Lustra facta, which always stand over against these dates of the ingresses, it never could have been intended thereby to imply that the dates of these Lustra facta and those of these ingresses were the same; since there could seldom be less than 18 months' interval between them. In fact this note of the Lustrum factum in conjunction with a particular pair of censors and a particular cycle is merely historical; and denotes no more than that the censors in question held that ceremony also in the course of the cycle in question. Where these entries are entire, they generally run in one and the same way. The censors are mentioned by name under their proper consuls, and in their proper place in the years of the city; and then, if it was known that they had actually held this ceremony which sealed their proper Lustrum, it is added *Lustrum fecerunt,* specified according to its numerical order in reference to all which had preceded it. This note then is not chronological, except within the proper limits of a given Lustral cycle. It is simply historical. It ascertains what censors were known or believed to have held this ceremony of the Lustrum conditum, in contradistinction

to those who were not; and within certain limits, defined by the dates of their proper cycle at its beginning and at its end, it ascertains also when they held it: but not further.

SECTION VII.—*On the subsequent history of the Census and of the Lustral Cycle under the Emperors.*

The powers and privileges of the censorship among the Romans, like those of every other office of dignity or of authority under the republic, were concentrated at last in the persons of the emperors. It is observable however that even they did not assume the style of Censor, as a permanent addition to their other titles, as they did that of Pontifex Maximus, or of the Tribunicia Potestas. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ, says Dio[y] of the state of things in his time, αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται... τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μέν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς διὰ βίου. οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἱροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτὴν οὔτε τὴν πρόσκλησιν αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς κτῶνται.

The census however continued to be held at stated times under the emperors. And it was usual even under them to nominate individuals to the office of censor, in order to superintend and to execute these censuses. Thus Dio speaks of Ulpius Julianus as Τὰς τιμήσεις ἐγκεχειρισμένος[z] in the reign of Antoninus Bassianus or Caracalla, the son and successor of Severus; and Lampridius of Claudius (afterwards emperor) as censor under Heliogabalus[a]. The most interesting circumstance in these allusions is that they furnish historical proof of the continued decursus of the Lustral cycle, such as our Table exhibits it, down to these times themselves. With respect to the first of the two, the allusion comes in A. D. 217 when Antoninus was on his Parthian expedition; and as he was killed himself April 8 Roman A. D. 217, this appointment of Ulpius Julianus must have coincided with the ingress of cycle clv A. D. 215—216. In like manner Claudius' appointment under Heliogabalus must

[y] liii. 17, 18. [z] lxviii. 4. [a] Historiæ Augustæ SS. Heliogabalus, 12.

have coincided with the ingress of cycle clvi A. D. 220—221. The most critical case of this kind however is the following.

In Trebellius Pollio's life of Valerian[b], it is recorded that Valerian was nominated to the office of censor, with a view to an approaching census, in the reign of Decius, and by that emperor himself. Trebellius dates this appointment on the vi Kalendas Novembres, October 27, A. D. 251; but Decius was not alive at that time: and therefore the necessity of the case obliges us to understand the year of A. D. 250. It seems then that a census was expected A. D. 250 and A. D. 251. If we turn to our Table of the Lustral cycle in the Nundinal year, we find the clxiid entering September 13 A. D. 250; and this is so near to October 27, the date of Valerian's appointment to the office of censor the same year, that it seems scarcely possible not to conclude that the proper time for that census, and for preparing to hold it all over the empire, was considered to have arrived with the ingress of this clxiid Lustral cycle, September 13 A. D. 250.

In further proof of the same thing, (the continued decursus of the old Lustral cycle according to its proper law even under the emperors, and its connection with the cycle of the census under the emperors also,) we may appeal to the following coincidence.

In Pliny the younger's correspondence with Trajan, when he was serving the office of governor of Bithynia, there is an allusion to *censors* in that province; first as censors *designati*[c], and then as censors actually in office[d].

Pliny was two years at least in office in this province. He entered the province the day before the birthday of Trajan, September 18; which he celebrated in it notwithstanding[e]. Consequently in his first year. The first vota, (Jan. 3,) after this, are next mentioned[f]; and then, the first natale imperii[g], Jan. 27: and so forth, down to the second celebration of the birthday of Trajan[h], and consequent beginning of Pliny's second year of office; previously to which comes in the allusion to the censors designate in question: implying

[b] Ibid. Valerianus, 1, 2.
[c] x. 83.
[d] x. 115.
[e] x. 28. 29. 26. He arrived in his Province xv Kal. Oct. His legate, Servilius Pudens, viii. Kal. Dec.: cf. x. 10.
[f] x. 44, 45.
[g] x. 60, 61.
[h] x, 89, 90.

that they must have been elected to their office sometime in the course of his first year, between Sept. 18 in one year and Sept. 18 in the next. After this there is a second allusion to the vota[i], Jan. 3; and a second allusion to the natale imperii[k], January 27: and *then* these censors were already in office[l] and already acting in their proper capacity.

When we were treating of this question of the date of Pliny's arrival in his province, and of the length of his proconsular government of it in general, in our former work[m], the conclusion to which we came was that it must have been one of these years U. C. 862 A. D. 109, or U. C. 863 A. D. 110; and, though we inclined at that time to the opinion that it was U. C. 863 A. D. 110, our Lustral cycle of this period fixes the true date to U. C. 862 A. D. 109. The cxxxivth cycle is seen to have entered November 14 A. D. 110; in Pliny's second year. There is no reason why we may not suppose that these censors had been deputed or designated to their office some time before Sept. 18 the same year; and that they would enter on the actual discharge of its duties at the beginning of the Bithynian year[n]: which at this time bore date December 25. At the time therefore of the second vota or those of Pliny's second year, (Jan. 3 A. D. 111,) they would be already in office: and thus every thing will be consistent. It follows that the date of his persecution of the Bithynian Christians also, the end of his first and the beginning of his second year[o], must have been U. C. 863 A. D. 110.

SECTION VIII.—*On the transition of the* Cycle *of the* Lustrum *into the* Cycle *of* Indiction; *and the time when it probably took place.*

The Lustral cycle of the ancient Romans was a period of five years. The cycle of Indiction under the Christian emperors was one of fifteen years. These two cycles therefore were commensurable; and nothing would be easier than for the cycle of the Lustrum to pass into the cycle of Indiction,

[i] x. 101, 102. [k] x. 103, 104. iv. 420–454. App. Diss. xx. and xxi.
[l] x. 115. [n] Cf. x. 113–116.
[m] Dissertations on the Principles, &c. [o] Dissertations &c. iv. 454.

if it was considered desirable to enlarge it, and to make it a cycle of fifteen years instead of one of five.

Now in the Quæstiones ad Amphilochium, attributed to Photius patriarch of Constantinople, and recovered by Maius[p], it is distinctly asserted that the more modern cycle of the Indiction was derived from the ancient Lustral cycle of five years. The same thing is affirmed by the still earlier writer, Joannes Lydus, in the extant remains of his work De Mensibus[q]: *Ὅτι τρεῖς ἀρχὰς ἦγον Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, μίαν μὲν ἱερατικὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον, αὐξανούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, δευτέραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Μαρτίου πρώτην ἣν πάτριον εἶχον, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔθος αὐτοῖς κινεῖν· τὴν δὲ πολιτικὴν ἢ μᾶλλον κυκλικὴν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου, ἣν ἡμεῖς μὲν Ἐπινέμησιν αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἰνδικτιῶνα καλοῦσιν. τῆς γὰρ ἀρχαιότητος τὸν κύκλον ἐχούσης εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς λοῦστρον, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν πενταετηρίδα, (καθαρμὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ μυστήρια Μητρὸς κατ' αὐτὴν ἐτελεῖτο,) ἔδοξεν ὕστερον πρὸς τιμὴν Ἄρεος (πάτριος δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὥς φασι θεὸς) παρὰ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνανεοῦσθαι τὸν κύκλον.*

We have traced the Lustral cycle of Roman antiquity so nearly down to the times of the Christian emperors themselves, and we have met with such proofs of its continued existence and observance even at so late a period as this, that no one could say there was any thing improbable much less impossible in this statement of Lydus', that it was merged at last in the cycle of Indiction. It did not cease to exist or to be used even under the Christian emperors: it merely began under them to exist in a new form and under a new name; that of the cycle of Indiction, and no longer that of the Lustrum.

With regard to this cycle of the Indiction though nothing is better attested and better ascertained than the fact of the actual use of such a cycle after a certain time; nothing is more obscure and more uncertain than the precise date of the time when it first began to be so used. Athanasius is the earliest ecclesiastical writer who makes use of it[r]. Am-

[p] SS. Deperditorum Vaticana Collectio, ii. No 28. De Anno apud Romanos.

[q] iii. 15. p. 39. 15.

[r] Art de Vérifier les dates. Dissertation, &c. page xiv. § iv. note 4.

brose recognises it also[s]: and it is found in the Codex Theodosianus, attached to A. D. 370[t]. It seems to be agreed too that there were various styles of the Indiction; the Roman, which bore date Sept. 24; the Constantinopolitan, reckoned from September 1; and after a time, and under the popes of Rome, the Pontificial, which bore date on January 1. It seems to be agreed also that the beginning of this æra, and in every style, was fetched back from an epoch which was comprehended between A. D. 312 and A. D. 315: and appears to have been either A. D. 312, or A. D. 313, or A. D. 314, or A. D. 315.

It is almost self-evident of each of these epochs that it must have been *positive;* i. e. purposely assumed as the epoch of a reckoning of its proper kind which *de facto* began much later. The cyclical or positive epoch then of the Indiction in any of its styles, and the true or historical epoch, are very different things, and must be carefully distinguished asunder. And even in this case, and how many soever epochs of the kind might ultimately be found to have been assumed for the sake of an after reckoning in terms of the cycle; it would be absurd to suppose that it could have had more than one actual epoch at first, any more than one actual historical beginning. And since those assumed and positive and merely cyclical epochs of the reckoning in any of its styles are after all found to be limited to these four only, A. D. 312, A. D. 313, A. D. 314, and A. D. 315; it is manifest that these are all among which we have to decide which is the most likely to have been connected with the true historical beginning of the æra of the Indiction itself.

With respect to the first of these A. D. 312, a very early date is certainly extant in terms of the Indiction; Jan. 12 A. D. 355, Indiction 13[u]: which would be entitled to great authority, and might be referred to this epoch of A. D. 312, whether dated from the month of September, or (as was perhaps more likely to be the case at Elephantine in Egypt, where this date was met with) from March 31[w] A. D. 312.

[s] Opp. ii. 885 B. Epp. xxiii. § 16: cf. i. 253 C. De Noe et Arca, xvii. § 60.

[t] Scaliger, De Emendatione, v. 502 C.

[u] Introduction to the Tables of the Fasti Catholici, p. 61 note.

[w] Cf. our Fasti Catholici, iv. 213 sqq. Diss. xvii. ch. iii. sect. i–iii.

But though some chronologers of great name have declared for this epoch in preference to any other; yet we think we shall not be mistaken in setting it aside.

The epoch of A. D. 313 is certainly the most generally adopted of all; and were the question merely from what recognized point of time the cycle of Indiction in its actual use and application was commonly deducible, there would be no hesitation in fixing upon it. Notwithstanding however this very general consent in its favour, since even this must have been some time or other positively assumed, it must be liable to the suspicion of having been fixed upon for a particular reason; viz. because it was the date of the close of the great persecution under Diocletian, which began in A. D. 303 and came to an end in A. D. 313.

With regard to A. D. 314, we are not aware of any claims of this particular year to be the true epoch of the æra; and we have little hesitation in setting it aside, though it may come nearer to the truth than either of the preceding. No date then remains but that of A. D. 315; which on the principle of the disjunctive syllogism must be the true date, as being the only one left. And in our opinion it *is* the true date of the æra; as some time or other set back from its actual or historical epoch to its assumed or positive and merely cyclical one: and our reasons for believing it to be the true date in this sense are the following.

i. This epoch of the æra is virtually the same thing as one which was just two cycles of the æra or 30 years later; that is, as A. D. 345: and that would fall in the ninth year of the emperor Constantius, dated from May 22 A. D. 337, the day of the death of Constantine. And it seems to be agreed that, whensoever the æra of Indiction did actually come into use, it was some time in the reign of Constantius.

ii. A statement occurs in Christian chronologers that the cycle of Indiction was as old as Augustus Cæsar, and the battle of Actium; and was purposely instituted by him to commemorate the battle of Actium: and was purposely attached to its well known epoch of September 1, because the battle of Actium had been fought and won on September 1 or 2. Τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων Νωνῶν Σεπτεμβρίων ἐνίκησεν ὁ Αὔγουστος παρὰ τὸν Λευκάτην τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μετὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ

Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸν τῆς λεγομένης Ἰνδικτιῶνος κυκλον ἐκ προοιμίων τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς ἀριθμεῖσθαι εἰσήγαγεν[x]— Ὁ Αὐγοῦστος ὁ Ὀκταβιανὸς...τῷ...Σεπτεβρίῳ ἐγεννήθη εἰς τὰς κγ', καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Σεπτεβρίου Ἀντώνιον ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἤρξατο τῆς μοναρχίας, καὶ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν Ἰνδίκτου ποιησάμενος, ἤτοι ἀρχὴν χρόνου· ὅθεν ὁ Σεπτέβριος τετίμηται[y]. There is no historical foundation for this opinion. But it might be grounded on the relation of the date of Actium, Sept. 1 B. C. 31, and of the true historical date of the Indiction, Sept. 1 A. D. 345, one to the other. We could not make out a complete number of cycles of Indiction from Sept. 1 B. C. 31 to Sept. 1 A. D. 313; but we can from Sept. 1 B. C. 31 to Sept. 1 A. D. 345: viz. 25.

iii. The epoch of the cycle of Indiction, incorporated in Victorius' Paschal Period of 532 years, was A. D. 316[z]; and this, dated from Jan. 1, is altogether the same as A. D. 315 dated from Sept. 1.

iv. In the Epistles of the emperor Julian there is one which, though *ἀνεπίγραφος* in its present state, was addressed to some part of the empire, and had some reference to the payments due to the imperial exchequer; concluding in these words: Τοιγαροῦν μέχρι μὲν τῆς τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεως ἀφίεμεν ὑμῖν πάντα[a]. Now as this letter was certainly written after he had become sole emperor, it could not have been written before the month of November, A. D. 361, when he became sole emperor, in consequence of the death of Constantius early in that month. If the cycle of Indiction here referred to were to be dated from the epoch of A. D. 312 or A. D. 313; that would be the same as A. D. 357 or A. D. 358: and from either of these the third Indiction (the third year of the cycle) must have been past in November A. D. 361. If dated from A.D. 314 or A.D. 359, it would be already arrived in November A. D. 361: yet Julian speaks of it as still to come. It appears to us therefore that this third Indiction could not possibly have been referred to any epoch but that of A.D. 315 or A. D. 345. The second cycle from A. D. 345 (September 1)

x Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 80. 105. 17.

y Codinus, De Signis CP. p. 55. 7. Bonnæ, 1843.

z Art de Vérifier les dates, Diss. Prél. xiv. § iv. note 4.

a Opp. 429 D. Epp. xlvii.

would begin September 1 A. D. 360; and the second year of that cycle, September 1 A. D. 361, soon after which this letter might have been written: and the third Indiction, dated from Sept. 1 A. D. 362, would be still some months distant. We cannot help thinking that this testimony is decisive respecting the reckoning of the cycle *de facto* in the emperor Julian's time; so near to that of its actual institution; and it is surprizing that the attention of learned men who have had occasion to treat of this question has not been more directed to it than it appears to have been.

Lastly, this conclusion seems to be strongly confirmed by the decursus of the old Lustral cycle itself down to this point of time A. D. 345; which was actually a Lustral year. The clxxxist cycle is seen from our Table to have entered on August 1 that year. The entire cycle of the preceding Lustrum, from the ingress of cycle clxxx to that of cycle clxxxi, would stand as follows.

Nundinal Calendar of Servius, Cycle clxxx.

	Year i	Aug. 3	A. D. 340
	— ii	June 3	— 341
	— iii	April 3	— 342
	— iv	Feb. 1	— 343
	— v	Dec. 2	— 343
	— vi	Oct. 1	— 344
Cycle clxxxi,	Year i	Aug. 1	A. D. 345*

* Among the assumed or positive epochs of the cycle of Indiction in any of its forms, enumerated above; that of A. D. 312 would be referrible to the *third* year of this clxxxth cycle, A. D. 342; that of A. D. 313 to the *fourth*, A. D. 343, and that of A. D. 314 to the *sixth*, A. D. 344. The true or historical epochs of the cycle then would all be referrible to such and such years of the 180th Lustral cycle, A. D. 340–345; the assumed or cyclical ones to the corresponding years of the 174th, A. D. 310 to 315. The epoch of A. D. 342 would be April 3: and that would be so near to March 31 that March 31 might very well be adopted in Egypt in its stead.

Should any one consider it an objection to the above account of the Lustral cycle in general, and of its transition into the cycle of Indiction at last, that it supposes the continued existence of so peculiar a calendar as the Nundinal one of Servius among the Romans from B. C. 552 to A. D. 345; we may reply to this objection that the existence of this calendar is not in reality more extraordinary than the observance of

The epoch of the Julian Greek calendar at this time was October 1. The recognised epoch of the Indiction in the

the Nundinal cycle itself from the time of Romulus down to A. D. 355, of which nevertheless we have proof to produce: nor than the continued existence of the Nundinal calendar from which even that of Servius was derived, the Etrurian, of the epoch of March 25 B. C 860, from that date down to A. D. 240 at least; of which also we have proof to produce.

It is very observable that in the passage quoted from Lydus, p. 322 *supra*, the stated date of the Lustral cycle is said to have been the month devoted to the Phrygian mysteries. The stated date of these mysteries in the Roman calendar was March 22; in the Phrygian calendar it was the first of the Epagomenæ: which in the first year of its proper cyclico-Julian Period of 120 years was March 26 also. According to rule then these mysteries, in both calendars, were always celebrated in the month of March. And the first of March, as we have seen, was the recognised date of the Lustral cycle also in the old Roman calendar. The last cyclico-Julian Period in the Phrygian calendar, before our supposed date of the transition of the Lustral cycle into the cycle of Indiction, bore date A. D. 260, either on March 31 the first of the Phrygian Thoth, or on March 26 the first of the Phrygian Epagomenæ. A. D. 345 the recession in this Period amounted to 21 days; and the stated date of the mysteries A. D. 345 would be March 5: very near the first of the month, the stated date of the old Lustral cycle. It is singular that in the same passage of Lydus these mysteries are said to have been celebrated Κατὰ πενταετηρίδα; and in such cycles of five years as this of the Lustral cycle. Those mysteries in fact were celebrated annually; though it is not impossible that before Lydus' time, as they were celebrated with a particular and special service every 120 years, of which we hope to give an account hereafter, they might be celebrated in a manner different from usual every five years also. And that was very likely to be the case with the worship of the Mater Idæa at Rome, and by the order of Dendrophori there; an order connected with this period of five years: from which their superior himself derived his proper title of Quinquennalis. Or the foundation of the supposed connection of these mysteries with the period of five years and with the Lustral period also may have been that the Lustral cycle itself was properly a period of five equable years.

The observation which occurs just before in the same passage, relating to the first of March, Καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔθος αὐτοῖς κινεῖν, was probably intended by Lydus of the stated date of the old and classical ceremony of the Ancilium motus on the first of March. Yet with respect even to this, we may point out the following coincidence between it and the Phrygian Mysteries. The Ancilia began to be moved on the 1st of March; they were laid up again or composed on the 31st of March: they were kept consequently in a state of motion just 30 days, from March 1 to March 31; and 30 days or the interval from March 31 to March 1 was the stated

Constantinopolitan style was September 1. And as this was exactly the middle term between the epoch of cycle clxxx. 6, October 1 A. D. 344, and that of cycle clxxxi. 1, August 1 A. D. 345; it might be purposely fixed upon as the most convenient compromise which could be made between the two. In the course of time, the epoch of the cycle of Indiction, thus attached to September 1, affected that of the calendar; and caused it to be set back a month, from October 1 to September 1: for that is no doubt the true explanation of the fact that, though the proper epoch of this Julian

amount of the recession of the Phrygian Thoth in its proper Period of 120 years.

On this subject however we may observe that statements occur, in writers of this period and later, that the first of March was the date of a grand military display in the Campus Martius at Rome; and probably in other parts of the empire also. Thus Gregory of Nyssa, De xl Martyribus: Οἱ μὲν ὁπλῖται Ῥωμαίων κατὰ νόμον πάτριον καὶ συνηθείαν παλαιὰν .. ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς (March) τὴν πανοπλίαν ἐνσκευασάμενοι, καὶ χωροῦντες ἐπί τι πεδίον ἡπλωμένον ἱκανῶς, (the Campus Martius).. ἀνάμνησίν τε τοῦ ἔτους ποιοῦνται (commemorate the ancient beginning of the year), καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπίσημον ἄγουσι. Cf. also Anecdota Græca Oxon. iv. 225. 2. and Malela, vii. 173. 1: Ἥνπερ ἑορτὴν κατ' ἔτος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἕως τῆς νῦν, καλοῦντες τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πανηγύρεως .. Μάρτις ἐν Κάμπῳ. And it may be in reference to this custom, on the first of March, that the month of March is described in the Anthologia, iii. 219 Μῆνες Ῥωμαίων:

Ἄρχετ' Ἄρης ἀπ' ἐμεῖο καὶ ἄνθεα καὶ γλαγος ἡδύ,
ἴση δ' εἰκοστῷ ἤματι νὺξ τελεθει.

And in Eustathius, Lib. iv. De Mensium Imaginibus: Στρατιώτης ὁ πρῶτος, τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ χρόνου παραδεικνὺς ὅτε πᾶς ἐκστρατεύει στρατιώτης, ἀνὴρ ὅπλοις ὅλος καταφραξάμενος.

We have met with no proof of this custom under the emperors down to the time of Constantine; though something of the kind might have been instituted by Adrian, or some later emperor. We are of opinion however, (the fact of the custom after a time being admitted,) that if the truth relating to its origin were known it would be found not to have been older than the transition of the Lustral cycle into the Indiction, A. D. 345. March 1 was the opposite time of the year to Sept. 1; and March 1 having been the old epoch of the Lustral cycle, even when this epoch was transferred to September 1 it is very possible that, in commemoration of the ancient rule and of the old beginning of the year, and in character with the name of the month, this annual military review might be attached to the first of March: and not at Rome only but in other parts of the empire also. Ammianus Marcellinus' history for this point of time is defective; or it might have thrown some light on these things.

form of the Lunar Hellenic calendar was October 1, and that such was its epoch *de facto* for a long time, it came at last to be considered and treated as September 1. It was no doubt in order that the cycle of the Indiction and the year might begin together. And as, in thus setting them at par with each other, the effect was brought about by changing the beginning of the year and not the beginning of the cycle; it is evident that the latter must have been considered a much more important thing, and much more fixed and unalterable, than the former.

Lustral Cycle and Nundinal Calendar of Servius Tullius. In Periods of 120 *years.*

PERIOD I.		NUNDINAL.		PERIOD II.		NUNDINAL.		PERIOD III.		NUNDINAL.		PERIOD IV.		NUNDINAL.	
Epocha Prima.		Martii 1. Midnight.				Martii 1. Midnight.				Martii 1. Midnight.		Epocha Secunda.		Martii 1. Midnight.	
Cycle.	B. C.	Julian	Roman	Cycle.	B. C.	Julian	Roman	Cycle.	B. C.	Julian	Roman	Cycle.	B. C.	Julian	Roman
i	552	Mar. 9	Januarii 5	xxv	432	Jan. 14	Januarii 1	xlix	*313	Nov. 21	Novembris 5	lxxiii	194	Jan. 29	Maii 30
ii	547	.. 7	.. 10	xxvi	427	.. 12	.. 6	l	308	.. 19	.. 10	lxxiv	*189	.. 27	Junii 4
iii	542	.. 5	.. 15	xxvii	422	.. 10	.. 11	Epocha Secunda.							
iv	*537	Mar. 2	Januarii 19	xxviii	*417	.. 8	Decembris 21	li	304	Mar. 19	Martii 2	lxxv	184	Jan. 24	Maii 16
v	532	Feb. 28	Merkedonii 28	xxix	412	Jan. 5	.. 25	lii	299	.. 17	.. 6	lxxvi	179	.. 22	Aprilis 3
vi	527	.. 26	Januarii 4	xxx	407	.. 3	.. 7	liii	294	.. 15	Merkedonii 15	lxxvii	174	.. 20	.. 6
vii	*522	.. 24	.. 9	xxxi	402	.. 1	.. 12	liv	*289	Mar. 12	Februarii 19	lxxviii	*169	.. 18	.. 10
viii	*517	.. 22	.. 14	xxxii	398	Dec. 30	.. 16	lv	284	.. 10	.. 24	lxxix	164	Jan. 15	Martii 1
ix	512	Feb. 19	Merkedonii 23	xxxiii	*393	Dec. 27	.. 20	lvi	279	.. 8	Martii 1	lxxx	159	.. 13	Februarii 13
x	507	.. 17	Februarii 27	xxxiv	388	.. 25	.. 2	lvii	274	.. 6	Merkedonii 10	lxxxi	154	.. 11	Januarii 4
xi	502	.. 15	Merkedonii 8	xxxv	383	.. 23	.. 6	lviii	*269	Mar. 3	Februarii 14	lxxxii	*149	.. 9	Decembris 15
xii	*497	.. 13	Januarii 8	xxxvi	378	.. 21	.. 11	lix	264	.. 1	.. 18	lxxxiii	144	Jan. 6	.. 18
xiii	492	Feb. 10	Merkedonii 18	xxxvii	*373	Dec. 18	.. 15	lx	259	Feb. 27	.. 23	lxxxiv	139	.. 4	.. 21
xiv	487	.. 8	Februarii 22	xxxviii	368	.. 16	Novembris 26	lxi	254	.. 25	Merkedonii 5	lxxxv	134	.. 2	.. 24
xv	482	.. 6	Merkedonii 3	xxxix	363	.. 14	Decembris 1	lxii	*249	.. 23	Februarii 9	lxxxvi	130	Dec. 31	.. 28
xvi	*477	.. 4	Februarii 8	xl	358	.. 12	Novembris 12	lxiii	244	Feb. 20	.. 13	lxxxvii	*125	Dec. 28	.. 8
xvii	472	Feb. 1	Merkedonii 12	xli	*353	Dec. 9	Decembris 10	lxiv	239	.. 18	Januarii 24	lxxxviii	120	.. 26	Januarii 5
xviii	467	Jan. 30	Februarii 17	xlii	348	.. 7	Novembris 21	lxv	234	.. 16	.. 29	lxxxix	115	.. 24	.. 8
xix	462	.. 28	.. 21	xliii	343	.. 5	.. 25	lxvi	*229	.. 14	Februarii 4	xc	110	.. 22	.. 12
xx	*457	.. 26	.. 3	xliv	338	.. 3	.. 6	lxvii	224	Feb. 11	.. 8	xci	*105	Dec. 19	.. 15
xxi	452	Jan. 23	.. 7	xlv	*333	Nov. 30	.. 11	lxviii	219	.. 9	Januarii 19	xcii	100	.. 17	Decembris 2
xxii	447	.. 21	Januarii 12	xlvi	328	.. 28	.. 16	lxix	214	.. 7	.. 23	xciii	95	.. 15	.. 27
xxiii	442	.. 19	.. 16	xlvii	323	.. 26	.. 20	lxx	*209	.. 5	.. 28	xciv	90	.. 13	Januarii 2
xxiv	*437	.. 17	Decembris 26	xlviii	318	.. 24	.. 1	lxxi	204	Feb. 2	Februarii 23	xcv	*85	Dec. 10	Decembris 12
								lxxii	199	Jan. 31	Aprilis 9	Epocha Tertia.			
												xcvi	80	Feb. 7	Februarii 8

Lustral Cycle and Nundinal Calendar of Servius Tullius. In Periods of 120 years.

PERIOD V.		NUNDINAL.		PERIOD VI.		NUNDINAL.		PERIOD VII.		NUNDINAL.		PERIOD VIII.		NUNDINAL.	
Epocha Tertia.		Martii 1. Midnight.				Martii 1. Midnight.				Martii 1. Midnight.				Martii 1. Midnight.	
Cycle.	B.C.	Julian	Roman	Cycle.	A.D.	Julian	Roman	Cycle.	A.D.	Julian	Roman	Cycle.	A.D.	Julian	Roman
xcvii	75	Feb. 5	Decembris 23	cxxi	45	Dec. 13	Decembris 13	cxlv	165	Oct. 20	Octobris 22	clxix	285	Aug. 28	Augusti 28
xcviii	70	.. 3	.. 3	cxxii	50	.. 11	.. 10	cxlvi	170	.. 18	.. 20	clxx	290	.. 26	.. 26
xcix	*65	.. 1	.. 7	cxxiii	55	.. 9	.. 9	cxlvii	175	.. 16	.. 18	clxxi	295	.. 24	.. 24
c	60	Jan. 29	.. 10	cxxiv	*60	Dec. 6	.. 6	cxlviii	*180	Oct. 13	.. 16	clxxii	*300	Aug. 21	Augusti 21
ci	55	.. 27	Februarii 3	cxxv	65	.. 4	.. 4	cxlix	185	.. 11	.. 15	clxxiii	305	.. 19	.. 19
cii	50	.. 25	Martii 6	cxxvi	70	.. 2	.. 2	cl	190	.. 9	.. 13	clxxiv	310	.. 17	.. 17
ciii	*45	.. 23	Januarii 25	cxxvii	75	Nov. 30	Novembris 30	cli	195	.. 7	.. 10	clxxv	315	.. 15	.. 15
civ	40	Jan. 20	.. 22	cxxviii	*80	Nov. 27	.. 25	clii	*200	Oct. 4	.. 7	clxxvi	*320	Aug. 12	Augusti 12
cv	35	.. 18	.. 19	cxxix	85	.. 25	.. 23	cliii	205	.. 2	.. 5	clxxvii	325	.. 10	.. 10
cvi	30	.. 16	.. 16	cxxx	90	.. 23	.. 21	cliv	210	Sep. 30	.. 2	clxxviii	330	.. 8	.. 8
cvii	*25	.. 14	.. 14	cxxxi	95	.. 21	.. 19	clv	215	.. 28	Septembris 29	clxxix	335	.. 6	.. 6
cviii	20	Jan. 11	.. 11	cxxxii	*100	Nov. 18	.. 17	clvi	*220	Sep. 25	.. 26	clxxx	*340	Aug. 3	Augusti 3
cix	15	.. 9	.. 8	cxxxiii	105	.. 16	.. 15	clvii	225	*Sep. 24	Septembris 24	clxxxi	345	Aug. 1	Augusti 1
cx	10	.. 7	.. 6	cxxxiv	110	.. 14	.. 13	clviii	230	.. 22	.. 22				
cxi	*5	.. 5	.. 4	cxxxv	115	.. 12	.. 11	clix	235	.. 20	.. 20				
	A.D.														
cxii	1	Jan. 2	.. 3	cxxxvi	*120	Nov. 9	.. 9	clx	*240	Sep. 17	Septembris 17				
cxiii	5	Dec. 31	.. 2	cxxxvii	125	.. 7	.. 7	clxi	245	.. 15	.. 15				
cxiv	10	.. 29	Decembris 31	cxxxviii	130	.. 5	.. 5	clxii	250	.. 13	.. 13				
cxv	15	.. 27	.. 29	cxxxix	135	.. 3	.. 3	clxiii	255	.. 11	.. 11				
cxvi	*20	Dec. 24	.. 25	cxl	*140	Oct. 31	.. 1	clxiv	*260	Sep. 8	Septembris 8				
cxvii	25	.. 22	.. 22	cxli	145	.. 29	Octobris 30	clxv	265	.. 6	.. 6				
cxviii	30	.. 20	.. 20	cxlii	150	.. 27	.. 28	clxvi	270	.. 4	.. 4				
cxix	35	.. 18	.. 18	cxliii	155	.. 25	.. 26	clxvii	275	.. 2	.. 2				
cxx	*40	Dec. 15	.. 15	cxliv	*160	Oct. 22	.. 24	clxviii	*280	Aug. 30	Augusti 30				

SECTION IX.—*Lustra Romana and Fasti Censorii.*

Urbis Con. Cycle.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.	Ab Epocha Prima . Sub Regibus.	Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con. Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
1	202	201	552		*i*	202	201	552
2	207	206	547		*ii*	207	206	547
3	212	211	542		*iii*	212	211	542
4	217	216	537		*iv*	217	216	537
5	222	221	532					
6	227	226	527					
7	232	231	522					
8	237	236	517					
9	242	241	512					
				Ab Epocha Prima . Sub Consulibus.	Fasti Sigonianni. Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con. Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
10	247	246	507	P. Valerius Poplicola ii T. Lucretius Tricipitinus [b]	*v*	247	246	507
11	252	251	502 [c]					
12	257	256	497	T. Lartius Flavus, Dictator Primus [d]	*vi*	257	256	497
13	262	261	492	Sp. Cassius Viscellinus ii Postumus Cominius Auruncus ii [e]	*vii*	262	261	492
14	267	266	487					
15	272	271	482					
16	277	276	477 [f]					
17	282	281	472	L. Furius Medullinus A. Manlius Vulso [g]	viii	281	280	473
18	287	286	467	Q. Fabius Vibulanus ii T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus iii [h]	*ix*	290	289	464
19	292	291	462	Q Fabius Vibulanus iii L. Cornelius Maluginensis Cossus [i]	*x*	296	295	458
20	297	296	457					
21	302	301	452					
22	307	306	447					
				Ab Epocha Prima. Sub Censoribus.				
23	312	311	442	*L. Papirius . Mugillanus* *L. Sempronius . Atratinus* [k]	*xi*	312	311	442
24	317	316	437	*C. Furius . Fusus . Pacilus* *M. Geganius . Macerinus* [l]	*xii*	320	319	434
25	322	321	432					
26	327	326	427	* * *	*xiii*	331	330	423
27	332	331	422					

[b] Dionysius Hal. v. 20. 25. Plutarch, Poplicola, xii.

[c] Cf. Ibid. v. 44. Livy, ii. 16. Epitome, ii. Suetonius, Tiberius, i. § 2. Appian, i. 11. Servius ad Æn. vii. 706. Thesaurum Temporum, Ol. 69. 1.

[d] Dionysius, v. 75.

[e] Ibid. vi. 96: cf. 48, 49: vii. 1: ix. 25: 18.

[f] Ibid. ix. 25: 18.

[g] Ibid. ix. 36.

[h] Livy, iii. 3. Cf. 2. 4.

[i] Dionysius, xi. 63. Cf. x. 20–22. Livy, iii. 22. Eutropius, i. 15.

[k] Dionysius, xi. 63. Livy, iv. 8. 7. Cf. Cicero, Oratio xxxvii. In Pison. 5, 10: Ad Fam. ix. 21.

[l] Livy, ix. 22: 21: 24: 23: 31: ix. 33, 34.

Urbis Con.				Ab Epocha Prima.	Fasti Sigoniani.			
					Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con.		
Cyclo.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.			Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
28	337	336	417	Papirius . *Crassus*				
				* * *	*xiv*	337	336	417
29	342	341	412	* * *	*xv*	342	341	412
30	347	346	407					
31	352	351	402	*M. Furius . Camillus*				
				M. Postumius . Albinus . Regillens [m]	xvi	352	351	402
32	357	356	397					
33	362	361	392	*C. Julius . Julus . In m. m. est*				
				Suffectus. M. Cornelius. Maluginensis				
				L. Papirius. Cursor [n]	*xvii*	363	362	391
34	367	366	387	* * *	*xviii*	368	367	386
35	372	371	382	*C. Sulpicius . Camerinus . Abdicavit*		375	374	379
				Sp. Postumius . Albinus . Regillensis [o]. *In m. m. est*				
36	377	376	377	*Sp. Servilius . Priscus*				
				Q. Cloelius . Siculus [p]	*xix*	377	376	377
37	382	381	372					
38	387	386	367	*Postumius* . Regillensis . Albinus		389	388	365
				C. Sulpicius . Peticus [q]				
39	392	391	362	*M. Fabius* . Ambustus				
				L. Furius . Nepos . Medullin	xx	392	391	362
40	397	396	357 [r]	* * *	*xxi*	397	396	357
41	402	401	352	*Cn. Manlius . Capitolinus . Imperiossus*				
				C. Marcius . Rutilus [s] *. Primus . e . Plebe*	*xxii*	404	403	350
42	407	406	347 [t]	* * *	*xxiii*	409	408	345
43	412	411	342					
44	417	416	337 [u]					
45	422	421	332	*Q. Publilius . Philo*				
				Sp. Postumius . Albinus [w] .	*xxiv*	422	421	332
46	427	426	327					
47	432	431	322	* * *				
				C. Sulpicius . Longus		435	434	319
48	437	436	317	L. Papirius . Crassus				
				C. Mainius [x]	xxv	436	435	318
49	442	441	312	Ap. Claudius . Caecus				
				C. Plautius . Venox [y]	xxvi	442	441	312
50	447	446	307	M. Valerius . Maximus				
				C. Junius . Bubulcus . *Brutus* [z]	*xxvii*	447	446	307

[m] Valerius Max. ii. ix. 1 De Censoria Severitate. Plutarch, Camillus, ii.

[n] Dionysius, i. 74. Livy, v. 31 : ix. 34. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 5. 19. Plutarch, Camillus, xiv.

[o] Livy, vi. 27.

[p] Ibid. 31.

[q] Ibid. vii. 1.

[r] Ibid. 15. Cf. 12.

[s] Ibid. 22. 17 : x. 8.

[t] Ibid. vii. 26. 24. 25. Eutropius, ii. 3.

[u] Ibid. viii. 12, 13. Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 110. 2.

[w] Ibid. 17. 16. Velleius Pat. i. 14. Plutarch, De Fortuna Rom. xiii ad fin.

[x] Livy, ix. 20. 30.

[y] Livy, ix. 29. 30. 33 : ix. 42. Cicero, De Senectute, 6, 16. 11, 37. Ovid, Fasti, vi. 651–710. Festus, xiv. 360. 15 Potitium. Valerius Max. i. i. 17 De Religione : ii. v. 4 De Frugalitate. Diodorus Sic. xx. 36. 27. Suetonius, Tib. j. 4. Claudius, xxiv. 4. Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 159, 5. Eutropius, ii. 4. Auctor De Viris Ill. Appius Claudius Cæcus. De Origine Urbis Romæ, p. 11. 17. Lydus, De Magistratibus, i. 43. 155.

[z] Livy, ix. 43. 42. 28 : x. 1. Valerius Max. ii. ix. 2 De Censoria Severitate.

Urbis Con.					Fasti Sigoniani.			
						Urbis Con.		
Cycle.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.	Ab Epocha Secunda . Sub Censoribus.	Lustrum Factum.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
51	450	449	304	*Q. Fabius* . Maxim. Rullianus *P. Decius . Mus*[a]	*xxviii*	450	449	304
52	455	454	299	*P. Sempronius . Sophus* *P. Sulpicius . Saverrio*[b]	*xxix*	455	454	299
53	460	459	294	*P.* Cornelius . Arvina *C. Marcius . Rutilus*[c]	*xxx*	460	459	294
54	465	464	289	*M'. Curius . Dentatus* *L. Papirius. Cursor*[d]	*xxxi*	465	464	289
55	470	469	284	* * *		470	469	284
56	475	474	279	*Sp. Carvilius . Maximus* *Q. Fabius . Maximus . Gurges* *Cn. Domitius . Calvinus*[e] *. Primus . e . Plebe . Lustrum . fecit*	*xxxii*	474	473	280
57	480	479	274	*C. Fabricius . Luscinus* *Q. Aimilius . Papus*[f]	*xxxiii*	479	478	275
58	485	484	269	*M'. Curius . Dentatus* *L. Papirius . Cursor*[g] *Ti. Coruncanius*[h]	*xxxiv*	482	481	272
				* * *	*xxxiv*	484	483	270
59	490	489	264	Cn. Cornelius . Blasio C. Marcius . Rutilus[i] . ii. Qui In. hoc. honore. Censorin. appel. e.	xxxv	489	488	265
60	495	494	259	C. Duilius *L. Cornelius* . Scipio[k]	*xxxvi*	496	495	258
61	500	499	254	D. Junius . Pera . Abd L. Postumius . Megell . Idem . qui . Pr . erat . in . mag . m . est M'. Valerius . Maxim . Messall		501	500	253
62	505	504	249	P. Sempronius . Sophus[l] A. Atilius . Calatinus	xxxvii	502	501	252
63	510	509	244	A. Manlius . Torquat . Attic[m] C. Aurelius . *Cotta* *N. Fabius . Buteo*[n]	xxxviii *xxxix*	507 513	506 512	247 241
64	515	514	239	L. Cornelius . Lent . Caudin Q. Lutatius . Cerco . In . m . m . e		518	517	236
65	520	519	234	C. Atilius . Bulbus				

[a] Livy, ix. 46. Valerius Max. ii. ii. 9 De Magist. Officiis. Plutarch, Pompeius, xiii. Auctor De Viris, Q. Fabius Rullianus.

[b] Livy, x. 9. 6.

[c] Livy, x. 37. 32–38. 47: ix. 19. Valerius Max. iv. i. 3 De Animi Mod. Pliny, H. N. vii. 60. Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 121_2. ad Ann. 1722.

[d] Livy, Epitome, xi. Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 160, 6. Auctor De Viris, Manius Curius Dentatus.

[e] Livy, Epitome, xiii.

[f] Dionysius, Fragm. xx. 1. Cicero, De Amicitia, 11, 39. Livy, Epitome, xiv. Valerius Max. ii. ix. 4 De Censoria Sev. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 50. p. 164: 54. 181. A. Gellius, iv. 8: xvii. 21: i. 9. Plutarch, Sulla, i. Dio, Fragm. xxxvii. Florus, i. 18, 22. Ampelius, Liber Memor. xviii. Suidas, in Ῥώμη and Ῥωμαίων πόλις.

[g] Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 160, 6.

[h] Festus, xiv. 357. 13 Portorium.

[i] Livy, Epitome, xvi. Valerius Max. iv. i. 3 De Animi Mod. Plutarch, Coriolanus, i. Eutropius, ii. 10.

[k] Marmor Vetus, ad U. C. 494. Cf. Selden, De Diis Syris, p. 59. Prolegomena, cap. 3.

[l] Livy, Epitome, xviii. Valerius Max. ii. ix. 7 De Censoria Sev.

[m] Livy, Epitome, xix.

[n] Livy, Epitome, xix: cf. xxii. 42. Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. Pars ii. 233. Ad. Ol. 134. 3. Ann. 1774. Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 134. 1. Ann. 1773.

Urbis Con.				Ab Epocha Secunda.	Fasti Sigoniani.			
						Urbis Con.		
Cyclo.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.		Lustrum Factum.	Varr.	Cap.	A.Ch. N.
				A. Postumius . Albinus	xl	520	519	234
66	525	524	229	T. Manlius . Torquatus Q. Fulvius . Flaccus[o] . Vit . Facti . Abd.		523	522	231
				Q. Fabius . Maxim . Verrucos				
				M. Sempronius . Tuditan .	xli	524	523	230
67	530	529	224	C. Claudius . Centho				
				M. Junius . Pera[p]	xxxxii	529	528	225
68	535	534	219	*L. Aimilius . Papus*				
				C. Flaminius[q]	*xliii*	534	533	220
69	540	539	214	*M. Atilius . Regulus . Abdicavit*		540	539	214
				P. Furius . Philus[r] *. In . mag . m . est .*				
				L. Veturius . Philo . In . mag . m . est		544	543	210
				P. Licinius . Crassus . Dives[s] *. Abdicavit*				
70	545	544	209	*M. Cornelius . Cethegus*				
				P. Sempronius . Tuditanus[t] *. Neuter . horum . consularis . erat*	*xliiii*	545	544	209
71	550	549	204	M. Livius . Salinator				
				C. Claudius . Nero[u]	xxxxv	550	549	204
72	555	554	199	P. Cornelius . Scipio . African				
				P. Ailius . Paitus[w]	xxxxvi	555	554	199
73	560	559	194	Sex. Ailius . Paitus . Catus				
				C. Cornelius . Cethegus[x]	xxxxvii	560	559	194
74	565	564	189	T. Quinctius . Flaminin				
				M. Claudius . Marcell[y]	xxxxviii	565	564	189
75	570	569	184	L. Valerius . Flaccus				
				M. Porcius . Cato[z]	xxxxviiii	570	569	184
76	575	574	179	M. Aimilius . Lepidus				
				M. Fulvius . Nobilior[a]	l	575	574	179
77	580	579	174	Q. Fulvius . Flaccus				
				A. Postumius . Albinus[b]	li	580	579	174
78	585	584	169	C. Claudius . Pulcher				

[o] Livy, xxiii. 30. 34: xxv. 5: xxvii. 11: xxviii. 45. Dionysius, ii. 25. Valerius Max. ii. i. 4 De Matrim. Ritu. A. Gellius, iv. 3: xvii. 21.

[p] Polybius, ii. 23. § 9. § 5, 6: 26. § 1: 27. § 1. Livy, Epitome, xx. Pliny, H. N. iii. 24. 732. Diodorus, Fr. xxv. Eutropius, iii. 2. Suetonius, Tib. i. 4. Orosius, iv. 13.

[q] Livy, xxii. 22. 23. 21: xxiv. 11: Epitome, xx. Diodorus, ii. 5. Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 57. 590. Cassiodorius, Chronicon, Veturio et Lutatio Coss. B. C. 220.

[r] Livy, xxiv. 11. 18: xxii. 61. 59: xxiv. 43. Valerius Max. ii. ix. 8 De Censoria Sev.: v. vi. 8 De Pietate erga Patriam.

[s] Livy, xxvii. 6. 34.

[t] Ibid. xxvii. 11. 36. 34.

[u] Ibid. xxix. 37: xxxvi. 36. Val. Max. ii. ix. 6 De Censoria Sev. Suetonius, Tiberius, i. 4: iii. 3, 4. Auctor De Viris. M. Livius Salinator.

[w] Livy, xxxii. 7. Cicero, xiv. Pro Cluentio, 48, 134.

[x] Livy, xxxiv. 44. 54: xxxv. 9. Valerius Max. v. v. 1 De Verecundia: ii. iii. 3 De Spectaculis. Asconius, 99, 100.

[y] Livy, xxxvii. 57, 58. 50: xli. 9. 13: xxxviii. 36: xxxiv. 44: xxxix. 52. Plutarch, Flamininus, xviii. Suetonius, Tiberius, i. 4.

[z] Livy, xxxix. 40. 41. 39. 42–44. 52. Valerius Max. ii. ix. 3 De Censoria Sev. iv. v. 1 De Verecundia. Plutarch, Flamininus, xix: Cato Maj. iii. xvi. xix: Cato Min. v: Apopthegmata. Cato, xxiii: Conjugalia Præcepta, xiii. Cicero, Brutus, 15, 61: De Senectute, 6, 19. 12, 42. Cornelius Nepos, Vita Catonis. Vell. Pat. ii. 128. Asconius, 19. In Divin. Auctor De Viris, M. Porcius Cato: L. Scipio Africanus. Panegyrici Vett. viii. Eumenii Gratiarum Actio Constantino Aug. xiii. 3.

[a] Livy, xl. 45. 43. 44. 46. 51. 53: xli. 8: Epitome, xli. xlvi. xlviii. Cicero, xxxv. De Prov. Cons. 9, 21: De Oratore, ii. 71, 287: Brutus, 20, 79. Valerius Max. iv. ii. 1 De Reconciliatione. Festus, xi. 211. 1 Macellum: xvi. 434. 1 Religionis: 446. 9 Retricibus: Frag. 47, 48. Pliny, H.N. xxxv. 4. 393. Plutarch, Numa, ix. A. Gellius, xii. 8.

[b] Livy, xli. 27: xlii. 3. 10. 28: xliii. 16: Epi-

Urbis Con.				Ab Epocha Secunda.	Fasti Sigoniani.			
					Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con.		
Cycle.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.			Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
				Ti. Sempronius . Gracchus[c]	lii	585	584	169
79	590	589	164	L. Aimilius . Paullus				
				Q. Marcius . Philippus[d]	liii	590	589	164
80	595	594	159	P. Cornelius . Scipio . Nasica				
				M. Popillius . Laenas[e]	liiii	595	594	159
81	600	599	154	M. Valerius . Messalla				
				C. Cassius . Longinus[f]	lv	600	599	154
82	605	604	149	*L. Cornelius* . Lentulus . Lupus				
				L. Marcius . Censorin[g]	lvi	607	606	147
83	610	609	144	*P. Cornelius . Scipio . Afric*an . Aimilian				
				L. Mummius . Achaïcus[h]	lvii	612	611	142
84	615	614	139	*Ap. Claudius . Pulcher*				
				Q. Fulvius . Nobilior[i]	lviii	618	617	136
85	620	619	134	*Q. Caecilius . Metellus . Macedonicus*				
				Q. Pompeius[k] *. Ambo . Prim . e . Plebe*	*lix*	623	622	131
86	625	624	129	*Q. Fabius . Max . Servilian*		628	627	126
				L. Caecilius . Metellus . Calvus[l]				
				Cn. Servilius . Caepio				
				L. Cassius . Longinus . Ravilla[m]	*lx*	629	628	125
87	630	629	124	*L. Calpurnius . Piso . Frugi*				
				Q. Caecilius . Metell . Baliaric[n]	*lxi*	634	633	120

tome, xlii. Cicero, Actio ii in Verr. lib. i. 41, 106. Vell. Pat. i. 10. Val. Max. ii. vii. 5 De Disciplina Mil. i. 1. 20 De Religione. Festus, xvi. 434. 5 Religionis. Pliny, H. N. vii. 49. 212. Frontinus, i. iv. i. 32.

[c] Livy, xliii. 14. 15. 16: xliv. 16: xlv. 3. 15: Epitome, xliii. xlv. Cicero, De Inventione, i. 30, 48: De Oratore, i. 9, 38: Brutus, 20, 79: De Divinatione, i. 18, 36. Festus, xvi. 434. 8 Religionis. Val. Max. vi. v. 3 De Justitia. Plutarch, Tib. Gracchus, i. xiv. A. Gell. vi. 16. Auctor De Viris, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. Suetonius, Tib. i. 4.

[d] Livy, Epitome, xlvi. Cicero, xxix: Pro Domo, 50, 130. Festus, xvi. 434. 11 Religionis. Val. Max. vii. v. 3 De Repulsis. Pliny, H. N. vii. 60. 313: xxvi. 4. 775. Plutarch, Paullus Æmilius, xxxviii. Diodorus, xxxi. Suetonius, De Claris Rhetoribus, i. 2. A. Gell. xv. 11. Censorinus, De Die, xxiii.

[e] Livy, Epitome, xlvii. Festus, xvi. 434. 13 Religionis. Vell. Pat. ii. 3. 1. Pliny, H. N. vii. 60. 314: xxxiv. 14. 223. A. Gell. iv. 20. Auctor De Viris, P. Scipio Nasica. Censorinus, xxiii. Ampelius, Lib. Mem. xix.

[f] Livy, Epitome, xlviii. Cicero, xxix: Pro Domo, 50, 130: 53, 136. Festus, xvi. 434. 15 Religionis. Vell. Pat. i. 15. Val. Max. ii. ii. 1 De Mag. Off: iv. 2 De Spect. ix. 10 De Cens. Sev. ix. xiv. 5 De Sim. Formæ. Pliny, H. N. vii. 10: xvii. 38. 725. Solinus, i. § 82. Appian, B. C. i. 28. Orosius, iv. 21.

[g] Val. Max. vi. ix. 10 De Mutat. Morum. Festus, xvi. 435. 4. Religionis. Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. ii. 243. Ol. 158. 3. Ann. 1870. Thes. Temp. Ol. 158. 2. Ann. 1870.

[h] Livy, xl. 51: Epitome, liv. Cicero, Or. iv. Divin. 21, 69: xiv. Pro Cluentio, 48, 134: De Oratore, ii. 66, 268. 67, 272: Brutus, 22, 85: Academica, iv. 2: De Officiis, ii. 22, 76: Somn. Scip. 2. Festus, xvi. 435. 6 Religionis. Val. Max. iv. 1. 10 De Anim. Mod.: vi. iv. 2. De graviter dictis. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 18. 85. 86. Vell. Pat. ii. 128. Plutarch, Paullus Æmilius, xxxviii: Apopthegm. Scipio Minor, xi: Reipublicæ ger. præcepta, xiv. xx. A. Gellius, iii. 4: iv. 17. 20: v. 19: vii. 11: xvi. 8. Dio, Frag. lxxxi. Auctor De Viris, P. Scipio Æmilianus.

[i] Livy, Epitome, lvi. Festus, xvi. 435. 8 Religionis. (Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 20, 79.) xvii. 483. 10 Satura. Suetonius, Tib. 1. 4. Plutarch, Tib. Gracchus, iv.

[k] Livy, Epitome, lix. Cicero, Orat. xxix. Pro Domo, 47, 123: Brutus, 76, 263: De Finibus, v. 27, 82: Tusculanæ, i. 35, 85. Vell. Pat. i. 11. Festus, xvi. 435. 10 Religionis. Pliny, H. N. vii. 45. 187–191. Suetonius, Aug. lxxxix. 6. A. Gell. i. 6.

[l] Val. Max. viii. v. 1. De Testimoniis. Vell. Pat. ii. 8.

[m] Livy, Epitome, lx. Cicero, Actio ii in Verr. i. 55, 143. Vell. Pat. ii. 10. Frontinus, De Aquæductis, 162, 8.

[n] Cicero, De Finious, v. 27, 82. Val. Max. vii. i. 1. Vell. Pat. i. 11: ii. 11. Pliny, H. N. vii. 45. 187–191.

Urbis Con.				Ab Epocha Secunda.	Fasti Sigoniani.			
					Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con.		
Cyclo.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N			Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
88	635	634	119	*L. Caecilius . Metell. Calvus*				
				Cn. Domitius . Ahenobarb[o]	*lxii*	639	638	115
89	640	639	114[p]					
90	645	644	109	*M. Aimilius . Scaurus . Abdic*				
				M. Livius . Drusus[q] . In . Mag . M . e		645	644	109
				Q. Fabius . Max . Allobrog				
				C. Licinius . Geta[r]	lxiii	646	645	108
91	650	649	104	*Q. Caecilius . Metell. Numidic*				
				C. Caecilius . Metellus . Caprarius[s]	*lxiiii*	652	651	102
92	655	654	99	*L. Valerius* . Flaccus				
				M. Antonius[t]	*lxv*	657	656	97
93	660	659	94	*Cn. Domitius* . Ahenobarb				
				L. Licinius . *Crassus*[u].	*lxvi*	662	661	92
94	665	664	89	*P. Licinius* . Crassus		665	664	89
				L. Julius . *Caesar*[w]				
				L. Marcius . Philippus				
				M. Per*perna*[x]	*lxvii*	668	667	86
95	670	669	84[xx]					
				Ab Epocha Tertia . Sub Censoribus.				
96	674	673	80					
97	679	678	75[y]					
98	684	683	70	*Cn. Cornelius . Lentulus . Clodianus*				
				L. Gellius[z]	*lxviii*	684	683	70
99	689	688	65	*Q. Lutatius . Catulus*[a]		689	688	65
				M. Licinius . Crassus . Abdicarunt				

[o] Livy, Epitome, lxii. lxiii. Cicero, xiv. Pro Cluentio, 42, 119: Actio ii in Verr. i. 55, 143. Val. Max. ii. ix. 9 De Censor. Sev: vi. v. 5 De Just. viii. v. 1 De Testimoniis. Suetonius, Nero, i. 3. Cassiodorius, Ad U. C. 639.

[p] Plutarch, Marius, v.

[q] Plutarch, Numa, ix: Quæstiones Romanæ, L. Suetonius, Tiberius, iii. 3. Auctor De Viris, M. Livius Drusus, M. Æmilius Scaurus.

[r] Sallust, Bell. Jug. xci: De Anno A.Ch. N. 108. Val. Max. ii. ix. 9 De Censoria Sev. Cicero, Orat. xiv. Pro Cluentio, 42, 119.

[s] Cicero, xxvii. Post Reditum, Ad Quirites, 3, 6: xxix. Pro Domo, 32, 87: xxxii. Pro Sextio, 47, 101. Vell. Pat. ii. 11. Val. Max. ix. vii. 2. De Seditionibus. Appian, B. C. i. 28. 32. Dio, Fragm. cix. Auctor De Viris, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus.

[t] Cicero, De Oratore, ii. 68, 274: iii. 3, 10. Val. Max. ii. ix. 5 De Censor. Sev. Plutarch, Marius, xxx.

[u] Cicero, Brutus, 43, 161. 162. 164. Val. Max. ix. 1. 4 De Luxuria. Pliny, H. N. xvii. 1. p. 510. 511. Suetonius, Nero, i. 3. De Claris Rhetoribus, i. 3. Tacitus, De caussis corr. eloq. 35. A. Gellius, xv. 11. Plutarch, De capienda ex inimicis utilitate, v: Reipublicæ ger. præc. xiv: De solertia animal. xxiii. Macrobius, Saturnalia, ii. 2. 365.

[w] Val. Max. ix. ii. 2 De Crudelitate. Cicero, xxvi. Pro Archia Poeta, 5, 11. Festus, xvi. 429. 18 Referri diem. Pliny, H. N. xiii. 5. 669: xiv. 16. 90. Solinus, xlvi. 2. 3. Plutarch, Crassus, i.

[x] Cicero, xxix. Pro Domo, 32, 84: ii. in Verr. i. 55, 143: xxvi. Pro Archia Poeta, 5, 11. Livy, Epitome, lxxxiv. Val. Max. viii. xiii. 4 De Senectute Mem. Pliny, H. N. vii. 49. 212. Dio, xli. 14.

[xx] Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 173. 4: ad ann. 1932.

[y] Cicero, vi. In Verrem Actio ii. Lib. i. 50, 130.

[z] Livy, Epitome, xcviii. Cicero, xiv. Pro A. Cluentio, 42, 117–120: 47, 130–132: x. In Verr. ii. v. 7, 15: Asconius, p. 42 (In Verr. Actio i. 18, 54): Orat. iv. in Q. Cæcilium, Divin. 3, 8: xxiv. Pro Flacco, 19, 45: xxix. Pro Domo, 47, 124: xxvi. Pro Archia, 5, 11: De Petitione Consulatus (Q. Fratris) 2: cf. Asconius, 111: 109. Dio, xxxvi. 21. Plutarch, Apopthegm. Pompeius, vii: Vita, xiv: xxii. Photius, Bibliotheca, Codex 97. 84. 14. Sallust, Catilina, 24. A. Gell. v. 6. Marmor Ancyr. iv. 785.

[a] Plutarch, De vitioso pudore, xv: Reipublicæ ger. præc. xiii: Crassus, xiii: Comparatio Crassi et Niciæ, ii: Cato Min. xvi.

Urbis Con. Cycle.	Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.	Ab Epocha Tertia.	Fasti Sigoniani. Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con. Varr.	Cap.	A. Ch. N.
				L. Aurelius . Cotta		690	689	64
				P. Servilius . Vatia . Isauricus[b]				
				* * *				
				* * * [c]	*lxviiii*	693	692	61
100	694	693	60[d]					
101	699	698	55	*M. Valerius . Messalla . Niger*[e]				
				* * *	*lxx*	699	698	55
102	704	703	50	*Ap. Claudius . Pulcher*	"			
				L. Calpurnius . Piso . Caesonin[f]	*lxxi*	704	703	50
103	709	708	45	*L. Antonius*		712	711	42
				P. Sulpicius . Quirinus[g]				
				Lustr. non . fecer				
104	714	713	40					
105	719	718	35					
106	724	723	30	*Imp. Caesar . Octavianus*				
				M. Agrippa[h]	*lxxii*	725	724	29
107	729	728	25	*L. Munatius . Plancus*		732	731	22
				Paullus . Aimilius . Lepidus[i]				
				Lustr. non . fec				
108	734	733	20[k]					
109	739	738	15[l]					
110	744	743	10[m]	...				
111	749	748	5[n]					
			P. CH. N.					P. CH. N.
112	754	753	1	*Imp. Caesar . Augustus*		757	756	4
				Censum . egit . Lustrum . non . fecit[o]				

[b] Val. Max. viii. v. 6. De Testimoniis. Q. Cicero, De Petitione Consulatus, 2. Dio, xxxvii. 9. 1. 10. Plutarch, Cicero, xxvii.

[c] Dio, xxxvii. 46: 49. Acta Diurna, ad iiii Kal. Sept. B. C. 62. Cicero, ad Att. i. 17: 18: ii. 1. Suetonius, Julius Cæs. xx. 7: Appian, B. C. ii. 13.

[d] Cicero, ad Att. i. 17: 18. Dio, xxxvii. 46. Cicero, xxiv. Pro Flacco, 32, 79: 80: 81: (Middleton, Life, i. 313:) 14, 33: xxix. Pro Domo, 23, 59: xxxi. Pro Plancio, 41, 100: xxxii. Pro P. Sextio, 31, 68.

[e] Ad Att. iv. 2. 9. 11. 16. Val. Max. ix. xiv. 5 De Similitudine Formæ.

[f] Dio, xl. 63: 57. Appian, B. C. ii. 48. Cæsar, De Bello Civ. i. 3. Cicero, ad Attic. vi. 4: ad Fam. ii. 13: iii. 11: 13: B. C. 50: De Divin. i. 16, 29. Sueton. Tib. i. 4. Tacit. Ann. vi. 10.

[g] Livy, Epitome, cxv. Dio, xliii. 22: 25: xliv. 5: l. 20. Appian, B. C. ii. 102: 103. Cicero, Philippica, ii. 38, 98. Plutarch, Cæsar, lv. Suetonius, Julius, xli. 6: lxxvi. 2.

[h] Livy, Epitome, cxxxiv: xcviii. Dio, lii. 42 (l. 41): liii. 1: 2: 22. Suetonius, Aug. xxxv. 1: xxvii. 8: xxxviii. 3: xl. 3. Monum. Ancyr. (iv. 785). Et in consulatu sexto censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi: lustrum post annum alterum et quadragesimum feci. (U. C. 726 A. Ch. N. 28.) Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. ii. 257. ad ann. 1991. Thes. Temp. Ol. 188. 1. ad ann. 1989.

[i] Dio, liv. 2. Vell. Pat. ii. 95. Val. Max. vi. viii. 5 De Fide Serv. Pliny, H. N. xiii. 5. 669. Suetonius, Aug. xxxvii. 2: lxiv. 2: Claudius, xvi. 1: Nero, iv. 3.

[k] Dio, liv. 10: 12: 13: 16.

[l] Livy, Epitome, cxxxvi. Dio, liv. 30: 28: 32: 35.

[m] Dio, liv. 35: 36. Marmor Ancyr. iv. 785: Alterum consulari cum imperio lustrum censumque solus feci Censorino et Asinio consulibus, (U. C. 746. A. Ch. N. 8.)

[n] Cf. our Dissertations on the Principles and Arrangement of an Harmony of the Gospels, Diss. xiv. i. 466 sqq.: App. Diss. xv. iv. 5.

[o] Dio, lv. 13: 14: 22. Suetonius, Aug. xxvii. 8.

Urbis Con.				Ab Epocha Tertia.	Fasti Sigoniani.			
					Lustrum Factum.	Urbis Con.		
Cyclo.	Varr.	Cap.	P. Ch. N.			Varr.	Cap.	P. Ch. N.
113	759	758	6[p]					
114	764	763	11	*Imp. Caesar . Augustus* *Ti. Caesar*[q] Desinunt Fasti Censorii Sigoniani.	*lxxiii*	767	766	14
115	769	768	16[r]					
116	774	773	21					
117	779	778	26					
118	784	783	31					
119	789	788	36					
120	794	793	41					
121	799	798	46	Imp. Caesar . Augustus . Ti. Claudius Nero . L. Vitellius[rr]	lxxiv	801	800	48
122	804	803	51					
123	809	808	56					
124	814	813	61					
125	819	818	66					
126	824	823	71	Imperator . Caesar . Augustus . T. Flavius . Vespasianus T. Caesar . Flavius . Vespasianus[s]	lxxv	827	826	74
127	829	828	76					
128	834	833	81[t]					
129	839	838	86					
130	844	843	91					
131	849	848	96					
132	854	853	101					
133	859	858	106					
134	864	863	111					
135	869	868	116					
136	874	873	121					
137	879	878	126					
138	884	883	131					
139	889	888	136					
140	894	893	141					
141	899	898	146					
142	904	903	151					
143	909	908	156					

[p] Cf. our Dissertations, i. 275, note: Diss. xiv. i. 466 sqq.

[q] Marmor Ancyr. iv. 786. Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Cæsare feci Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appulejo cos. Dio, lvi. 28. Suetonius, Aug. xxxvii. 8: xcvii. 2: Tib. xxi. 1: xlii. 3. Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. ii. 263. ad ann. 2029. Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 197. 4. ad ann. 2028.

[r] Ovid, De Ponto, iv. 9. 45.

[rr] Tacitus, Ann. xi. 11. 13: 23: cf. 25–31: xii. 4: Histor. i. 9. 52: iii. 66. Dio, lx. 29. Pliny, H. N. vii. 49. 217: x. 2. p. 7: xv. 21. p. 221: xxxiii. 7. p. 38. Solinus, xxxiii. 14. Suetonius, Claud. xvi. 1: 9: 7: 8: Vitellius, ii. 8. Plutarch, Galba, xxii. Aurelius Victor, Claudius. Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. Pars. ii. 271. ad ann. 2061. Thes. Temp. Ol. 206. 1. ad ann. 2061, Cassiodorius, U. C. 799 A. D. 46.

[s] Censorinus, De Die Natali, xviii. Pliny, H. N. Præfatio ad Tit. Cæs. p. 6: H. N. iii. 9. 611: vii. 50. 223. Suetonius, Vespas. viii. 2: ix. 2: Titus, vi. 2: cf. Dio, lxvi. 15: Historiæ Aug. SS. Antoninus Phil. 1.

[t] Dio, liii. 18: lxvii. 4: Suetonius, Domitian, viii. 6: ix. 6.

Urbis Con.			
Cycle.	Varr.	Cap.	P. Ch. N.
144	914	913	161
145	919	918	166
146	924	923	171
147	929	928	176
148	934	933	181
149	939	938	186
150	944	943	191
151	949	948	196
152	954	953	201
153	959	958	206
154	964	963	211
155	969	968	216
156	974	973	221
157	979	978	226
158	984	983	231
159	989	988	236
160	994	993	241
161	999	998	246
162	1004	1003	251
163	1009	1008	256
164	1014	1013	261
165	1019	1018	266
166	1024	1023	271
167	1029	1028	276
168	1034	1033	281
169	1039	1038	286
170	1044	1043	291
171	1049	1048	296
172	1054	1053	301
173	1059	1058	306
174	1064	1063	311
175	1069	1068	316
176	1074	1073	321
177	1079	1078	326
178	1084	1083	331
179	1089	1088	336
180	1094	1093	341
181	1099	1098	346

DISSERTATION XI.

On the Nundinal Calendars of ancient Italy, older than the Foundation of Rome.

CHAPTER I.

Section I.—*Resumption of the history of the Nundinal Calendar.*

The preceding review of the Lustral cycle of the Romans so far as relates to our particular purpose, (the history of the Primitive calendar and of its various changes and modifications among the inhabitants of ancient Italy,) is most useful because of the light which it throws on the continued existence of the Nundinal calendar, peculiar to that country, so much later than the time of Romulus. It appears from it that the same type of this modification of the Primitive calendar, from which even Romulus' Nundinal calendar had been derived, was still in use in the same quarter of Italy and among the same communities there, for 198 years at least after the Foundation of Rome.

It seems to us therefore to be only a proper and necessary prosecution of this subject, that we should now resume the history of that more ancient correction of the Primitive calendar, which we have agreed to call the Nundinal Lunar Calendar; and which we have already traced as far back as the epoch of the Foundation of Rome, B. C. 750: and even for 110 years beyond that date; as far as B. C. 860. The problem which we have still to solve, if possible, is whether even this earlier correction of the date of B. C. 860 was the first of its kind in Italy. The question is doubtless an interesting and important one, but withal an obscure and diffi-

cult one; about which it might very well be supposed that we were utterly destitute, at the present day, of the means of coming to any safe and satisfactory conclusion. But we are in possession of the Primitive calendar, from which every actual correction of this kind, in its proper order of time, must have been derived. We have ascertained those General Principles which, as founded in the immutable laws and the never varying relations of nature itself, have regulated the course and succession of time perpetually; and cannot be applied in a particular case of that succession without leading infallibly to the discovery of the truth. We are already aware of certain facts in the history of these corrections peculiar to ancient Italy, which by just and necessary inference may serve to authenticate and substantiate more. Lastly, there are many scattered notices in Roman or Italian antiquity, which though not unknown to the learned have never yet been rightly understood by them, nor duly appreciated with respect to such questions as these; on which when properly applied they are found to reflect wonderful light. So that upon the whole, and with the Divine Blessing upon our inquiries, we are perhaps in a condition to resume and continue our investigation of the ancient Nundinal calendar with something like a prospect of tracing it upwards not only to B. C. 860, but also to the date of the very first correction of the kind which was ever actually made in Italy.

SECTION II.—*On the Period of* 120 *Equable years.*

The secular period of 120 years is found in repeated instances connected with corrections of the Primitive calendar; especially with those to which we saw reason to give the name of *Cyclico-Julian*[u]. In these instances, the period can be understood of nothing but 120 mean or actual Julian years. The recognition and use of such a period is an infallible argument of the knowledge of the Julian as much as of the equable year; and of the fact of the regulation of civil or calendar time by the one as much as by the other perpetually: for these cyclico-Julian corrections though virtually and in reality Julian of their kind were nominally and in appearance revolving or cyclical also. But there is no

[u] Fasti Catholici, i. 555. Diss. vii. ch. ii. sect. iv.

reason *a priori*, or in the nature of things, why there should not have been an equable period of 120 years as much as a Julian one; a period of that magnitude measured by equable years, and composed of equable years, not of mean or of actual Julian, perpetually. The result of all our inquiries into this subject, and into the actual matter of fact and the actual course and succession of things in the history of these Nundinal corrections of ancient Italy, is *this;* That they had a close and inseparable connection with the period of 120 years: but of 120 Equable not 120 Julian years. We must therefore resume the investigation of our subject with inquiring into the nature and constitution of this period, considered as a *Lunar*, a *Solar*, and a *Nundinal* period all at once; and what there might be to characterize and to distinguish it first as a Lunar period, secondly as a Solar one in the sense of an Equable, and thirdly as a Nundinal period: each in conjunction with the other two, and each, both in itself and in conjunction with the other two, nominally of the same magnitude perpetually.

i. With regard to the period of 120 equable years considered as a Lunar one; the cycle of thirty years enters four times into the cycle of 120. The number of integral lunar months in thirty equable years is 371; 62 more than 309, the number contained in the Apis cycle, the natural lunar cycle of the Primitive solar year, the cycle or period of 25 equable solar years. Consequently the entire number of integral lunar months in four cycles of thirty equable solar years or one period of 120 equable years is 371×4 or 1484.

Now the sum of mean solar time contained in 1484 mean lunar months of the proper standard of our own Fasti would be as follows[w]:

		d.	h.	m.	s.
1000 Lunations	=	29 530	14	2	33·191 5
400 ..	=	11 812	5	37	1·276 6
80 ..	=	2 362	10	43	24·255 3
4 ..	=	118	2	56	10·212 8
1484 Lunations	=	43 823	9	19	8·936 2
		+.	14	40	51·063 8
		43 824	0	0	0·0

[w] Introduction to the Tables of the Fasti Catholici, Appendix, lxxvi. Table xxv.

The difference between this sum of mean solar time, in mean solar days and nights, and 43 824 days and nights is 14h. 40m. 51·0638 sec.; from which it must follow that, were the mean lunar standard of our Fasti to be increased in a certain proportion, 1484 integral lunar months of that increased standard would contain 43 824 mean solar days and nights exactly. This difference of 14h. 40m. 51·0638 sec. = 52 851·0638 sec: and 52 851·0638 sec. divided by 1484 = 35·6139 sec. Were the mean lunar standard of our Fasti then to be increased by 35·6139 sec. 1484 integral months of that increased standard would contain 43 824 days and nights exactly.

	d.	h.	m.	s.
Standard of the Fasti	29	12	44	2·553
			+	35·614
Standard of the Lunar period of 120 equable years or 1484 lunations	29	12	44	38·167

Accordingly, if we divide this complex of 43 824 mean solar days and nights by 1484 the quotient is 29d. 12h. 44m. 38·167 115 9 seconds, almost exactly. It follows that this complex of mean solar time, 43 824 mean solar days and nights, being assumed as something constant and invariable, the complex of mean lunar time which would correspond to it perpetually, and would exactly represent it perpetually, must be that of 1484 integral mean lunar months of this particular standard.

ii. The sum of mean solar time in 120 equable years reduced to mean solar days and nights is 365 × 120 or 43 800.

100 equable years [x]	=	36 500 days and nights
20 ..	=	7 300
120 equable years	=	43 800 days and nights.

iii. The proportion of annual equable time to annual nundinal is such that in five equable years of 365 days each there must be six nundinal years of 304 days each: and therefore in 24 cycles of five equable years (120 equable years) there must be 24 × 6 or 144 nundinal years. The sum of mean solar time in 144 nundinal years, reduced to mean solar days and nights, would be 304 × 144 or 43 776.

[x] Introduction to the Tables, &c. App. lxxx. Table xxix.

It follows that each of these three periods, that of 1484 mean lunar months of the standard assumed above, that of 120 equable years of 365 days perpetually, and that of 144 nundinal years of 304 days perpetually, being estimated in terms of mean solar time alike, (i. e. each being referred to the same standard of the mean solar day and night, the mean noctidiurnal cycle, the equable period of 24 mean solar hours,) and all being supposed to be combined and to proceed in conjunction perpetually; a very peculiar relation would hold good among them perpetually.

1484 lunations of the standard	=	43824 days
120 equable years	=	43800
144 nundinal years	=	43776.

The third of these periods is just 24 days less than the second; and the second is just 24 days less than the first. It follows, upon these assumptions and in such a combination of periods as this, that the equable period of 120 years would be an exact mean between the lunar period of 1484 integral lunar months of the standard in question, and the nundinal period of 144 nundinal years. It follows, on the same suppositions and in the same combination, that in one of those periods annual and noctidiurnal nundinal time would recede 24 days and nights on equable annual and noctidiurnal, and 48 days and nights on lunar annual and noctidiurnal; and equable annual and noctidiurnal time would recede 24 days and nights on lunar annual and noctidiurnal. In such a combination too as this of mean lunar and of mean solar time, in the sense both of equable and of nundinal, the standard of reference would evidently be taken from the former not from the latter. Nundinal time in such a combination might be referrible to equable; but equable itself must be referrible to mean lunar. And though, in the preceding comparison of one of these complexes of mean solar time with another, we have spoken of the nundinal period of that kind as if it were a solar one as much as the equable; yet in reality, as we have already seen[y], nundinal time, both noctidiurnal and annual, was only another form of lunar. So that, in the combination of three such periods as these perpetually, the comparison would lie between lunar time in

[y] Vol. i. p. 137. Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. iii.

the form of the period of 1484 lunations of the standard in question, and lunar time in the form of nundinal; and between both and equable solar in the shape of the period of 120 years. And the standard of the nundinal lunar month being assumed at 32 days and nights; it is manifest that, in this comparison of the two forms of mean lunar time together perpetually, the epoch of the one would recede on that of the other at the rate of 48 days, (or of one nundinal lunar month and an half,) in every period.

SECTION III.—*On the connection of the Nundinal Corrections of the Primitive Calendar with the Period of* 120 *years.*

It must be admitted that we have met with no express testimony which directly associates the Nundinal correction of Primitive antiquity with this particular period of 120 years; yet the fact of such a connection, (as we hope it will clearly appear hereafter,) is demonstrated and placed out of question by the succession of the different Types of the Nundinal calendar, and by the relation of one to another, and by that of all to the equable year, through *this* equable period of 120 years itself.

As a general argument however of such a connection, and as one among other probable proofs of the traditionary recollection of an ancient period of this kind even among the Romans, we may begin with referring to the following passage of Censorinus[z]: Quot autem sæcula urbi Romæ debeantur dicere meum non est: sed quid apud Varronem legerim non tacebo. qui libro Antiquitatum duodevicesimo ait fuisse Vettium Romæ in augurio non ignobilem, ingenio magno, cuivis docto in disceptando parem; eum se audisse dicentem Si ita esset ut traderent historici de Romuli urbis condendæ auguriis ac duodecim vulturibus; quoniam cxx annos incolumis præteriisset populus Romanus ad mille et ducentos perventurum.

If this Vettius was entitled to the character thus given him by Varro; he must have been a learned man and well versed in Roman or Italian antiquity. This period of 1200 years, prescribed by him for the destined duration of the people of Rome in particular, is evidently that of 120 years

[z] De Die, xvii.

multiplied by ten ; i. e. it is ten secular periods of 120 years : and therefore at first sight it might have been founded on the Etruscan doctrine of sæcula ; which taught that after the lapse of *ten sæcula*, occupied by their previous existence, any race or nation of mankind must come to an end. But the Etruscan sæculum was not this period of 120 years. Why then did Vettius fix on a different measure of each of his ten sæcula, and not on the proper Etrurian one of 110 years ? if he had not heard of a distinct measure of the same kind, of 120 years ; and one older too than this of 110 years. And if so, in connection with some older Type of the Nundinal calendar in general, as the Etruscan secular period of 110 years was connected with the Etruscan Type of the Nundinal calendar in particular. No one could consider that to be improbable, much less impossible, who knew that there were actually once in existence *four* Types of the Nundinal calendar, each older than this particular one of the Etrurian ; and each of them 120 years distant from the next.

It may however be objected to this explanation that the period of 120 years was sometimes assumed by the astrologers of antiquity as the utmost possible measure of human existence ; that is of the life of any one particular member of a given community : and this assumption of the duration of life in a particular instance being combined with the Etruscan doctrine of the decursus of sæcula as affecting the duration of communities ; it might have been inferred from both that the utmost possible measure of the duration of a particular community could not exceed ten times the utmost possible measure of human existence : i. e. ten times this period of 120 years. There is yet another argument of the connection of this period with the nundinal corrections of ancient Italy, and of its recognition from time immemorial among the Romans themselves in this special and express relation to the Nundinal calendar, to which no such objection is applicable.

There was a certain term of days among the Romans, defined and prescribed by the laws for various purposes, and of very common use and observance ; called the Trinundinum. Some allusions to this peculiar period of days were produced on a former occasion[a]. The following are others

[a] Supra, p. 31. Diss. vii. ch. ii. sect. v.

of the same kind. Rutilius scribit .... nono autem die .... Romam venirent ut scita atque consulta frequentiore populo referrentur: quæ trinundino die proposita a singulis atque universis facile noscebantur: unde etiam mos tractus[b] ut leges trinundino die promulgarentur. ea re etiam candidatis usus fuit in comitium nundinis venire et in colle consistere unde coram possent ab universis videri. sed hæc omnia negligentius haberi cœpta, et post abolita, postquam internundino etiam ob multitudinem plebis frequentes adesse cœperunt[c].

We learn from these statements that no proposition could pass into a law, or a general resolution of the whole body of the people, which had not been *promulgated*, that is, *notified* and *made public*, for one period of this kind beforehand, at least. Hence Cicero: Ubi lex Cæcilia et Didia? ubi promulgatio trinundinum[d]? We learn from them too that, before the numbers of the citizens were so great as they afterwards became, and in particular while the members of the Rustic tribes were still more numerous than those of the Urban, candidates for office were bound to appear in the comitium, and to take their stand on the highest ground therein, for one of these periods successively; in order to make themselves known in that capacity to the rustic as well as to the city voters. And though Macrobius speaks of this latter custom as after a time no longer observed; yet the Trinundinal declaration of a candidate in order to his eligibility, and as a condition of his election, does not seem to have ever become obsolete. The case of Julius Cæsar at least B. C. 50–49 proves that it was still in force at that time[e]. A remarkable instance of this Trinundinal notification of a decree of the Roman senate, in connection with the suppression of the Bacchanalia, U. C. 568 B. C. 187–186, is still extant; which we may have occasion to refer to hereafter in its proper order of time. In all actions at law between creditors and debtors, the debt was bound to be publicly asserted and the person of the debtor to be publicly produced, on three nundinal days in succession; before the extreme right of redress, that of the *sectio*

[b] Cf. ii. 13. 372.
[c] Macrobius, i. 16. 282.
[d] Philippica, v. 3, 8.
[e] Cicero, ad Fam. xvi. 12. cf. Dio, xl. 56.

or selling up of the debtor himself[f], could be legally resorted to. In all cases of adoption or of passing from one family to another, or from one order of citizens to another, notice was to be publicly given beforehand of what was intended to be done in this way, for this length of time, the trinundinum, in order to its being legally done before the prætor at last; and to its being allowed to stand good: which makes Cicero observe of the pretended adoption of Clodius, B. C. 58, hurried over in three hours instead of three Nundinæ; Si quod in ceteris legibus trinum nundinum esse oportet, id in adoptione satis est trium esse horarum, nihil reprehendo[g].

This period therefore of the Trinundinum was a stated and regular term of days, prescribed by law and recognized by custom at Rome, for various purposes; especially public purposes, and such as concerned the whole community: one of the oldest of its kind; probably the oldest of all: older at least than the laws of the xii Tables which repeatedly recognized it, but did not first institute it. The question is then What length of time was denoted by it? Trinundinum is *per syncopen* for *trinum nundinum;* and *nundinum* was properly the interval between two nundinal days, or rather that of one nundinal cycle: consequently *trinundinum* must have been that of three nundinal cycles. Such terms indeed as this are ambiguous, if not in themselves, yet in the *modus loquendi* with respect to them, in the idiomatic use of them. Trinundinum under particular circumstances might denote no more than *seventeen days;* in which nevertheless there might be three nundinal days: the first and the last of the number, and one between them. But *trinundinum* absolutely could denote nothing but three cycles of the nundinal day; a continuous period of 24 days: just as our own idiomatic phrase of three weeks absolutely means nothing but three cycles of seven days, or a continuous period of 21 days. Nor can there be any question that the most proper and legitimate sense of the old Roman *trinundinum* was three continuous cycles of the *orbis nnndinalis;* a noctidiurnal period of 24 days, not of 17 merely, or, as some of the learned have supposed, of 27.

[f] Supra, Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. iii. p. 62 note.

[g] xxix. Pro Domo, 16, 41.

Now in a succession of Nundinal calendars, each of them derived from the Primitive Equable calendar, at the distance of 120 equable years one after another, in the manner which has just been explained; this term of three nundinal cycles, or 24 days, would be of stated occurrence. It would measure the distance of the epoch of one such calendar from that of the next before it or the next after it perpetually. The second calendar so derived would stand just 24 days and nights lower in the common notation of days and nights than the first; and the third just 24 days and nights lower than the second: and so on to any extent. We have drawn out the scheme of five Types of this kind, of each of which we have discovered competent proof; and we hope to subjoin it to the present Dissertation: from the inspection of which the fact of which we are speaking will appear at once.

In our opinion *this* fact and *this* alone is the true explanation of the origin of this peculiar measure of the noctidiurnal cycle, the *trinundinum*, or period of 24 days, three Nundinal cycles: as well as of the long and confirmed prescription in its favour among the ancient Romans, attested both by the injunctions and requisitions of the laws and by the rule and practice of common life. While the calendars of Italy were nundinal alike in general, yet nundinal of a different epoch and of a different Type in particular, this period measured the difference between one such calendar and another in days and nights. The reduction of the style of one such calendar to that of another was by means of this period, and of the multiples of this period; and by nothing else. It was consequently one in which the members of the various Italic communities had an equal interest; for which they had all the same occasion, both in public and in private, perpetually: and with the use and application of which they were all equally familiar. There is no reason to suppose that the recognition or use of this period was peculiar to the Romans. The Socii nominis Latini in after-times were as familiar with it as the Romans themselves; and all their neighbours, who were successively admitted to the rights of Roman citizenship, must have been so too. In fact, the period was inseparable from the Nundinal calendar, derived as it was every where from the same primitive original, and

in the same way. We contend therefore, (and, we think, only justly,) that this old, recognized term of three nundinal cycles, 24 days, traced up to its origin, was a standing token of a difference to the same extent according to the style of different calendars, yet in the common and simultaneous reckoning of that which was otherwise the same in all; the Nundinal cycle itself. If so, it is an argument also of the derivation of one of these calendars after another from the same primitive original, the Equable solar year; at the distance too of 120 equable years asunder. We want no other proof of the connection of this equable period of 120 years with the Nundinal correction than the acknowledged existence of this very ancient term, the Trinum nundinum; and its perceptible relation both to the Nundinal and to the Equable calendar, when it comes to be properly understood.

SECTION IV.—*On the absolute or primary epoch of the Nundinal Period of* 120 *Equable years; and on the Lunar, the Nundinal, and the Hebdomadal character of the Nundinal Period.*

We propose therefore for the future to designate this particular period of 120 equable years by the name of the NUNDINAL PERIOD. The most important question which we have still to consider is that of the number of such periods which may be discoverable; and that of the absolute or primary epoch of the entire succession of such periods: if any such is capable of being ascertained. And, in order to prepare the way for possibly arriving at the truth upon each of these points at last, we must begin with inquiring into the Lunar, the Nundinal, and the Hebdomadal characters of the Nundinal period of 120 equable years; and whether they were such as to be of stated and regular recurrence in a succession of periods of this kind one after another, or different.

i. With respect to the Lunar character of this Nundinal period perpetually: According to such an assumption of the standard of the mean lunar month as we began with supposing, it is manifest that the number of days and nights in one Nundinal period must be 24 less than the number of days and nights in 1484 mean lunations of the standard in que-

stion. Consequently, whatsoever was the lunar character of the first day of one of these Nundinal periods, in a constant succession of such periods one after another it must be liable to recede 24 terms on itself; i. e. in the retrograde order of the lunar notation perpetually. And, if the actual or civil standard of the reckoning of lunar time even in this Nundinal period is supposed to be the positive standard of the mean nundinal month, 32 days and nights, perpetually; it is easy to see that the lunar character of one of these periods after another must vary according to a peculiar rule.

For example, if the Lunar character of the first such Nundinal period was the nundinal *πανσέληνον*, the 17th of the nundinal lunar month; that of the next such period must be the lunar 17−24 (32+17−24), the lunar 25th: i. e. the Lunar character of the period in the course of one revolution of the period itself would be found to have receded from the 17th to the 25th; from the nundinal *πανσέληνον* to the nundinal second dichotomy. In like manner, the Lunar character of the second period being the lunar 25th; that of the third must be the lunar 25−24, or the lunar 1st: i. e. the Lunar character of the period in the course of two periods of its proper kind would be found to have receded from the nundinal *πανσέληνον* to the nundinal *νουμηνία*. In like manner, the Lunar character of the third period being supposed to be the luna prima; that of the fourth would be the luna 1ª—24, i. e. the luna 9ª: and the Lunar character of the period in the course of three revolutions of its proper length would be seen to have receded from the nundinal *πανσέληνον* to the nundinal first dichotomy. In the same manner the Lunar character of the fourth period being assumed to be the luna 9ª; that of the fifth must be luna 9ª−24, i. e. the luna 17ª, or the nundinal *πανσέληνον*: i. e. in four revolutions of the period itself the Lunar character of the period would be found to have receded from the nundinal *πανσέληνον* to the nundinal *πανσέληνον* again; and consequently after four revolutions of the period, (but not in less than four,) and at the beginning of the fifth period, it would be seen to be again recurring exactly as at the beginning of the first. And it is manifest that, on such

principles, and according to such assumptions, as these which we are supposing, this alternation, and cycle of things would go on just in the same way perpetually.

With respect then to the proper Lunar character of a period like the Nundinal; in a succession of such periods one after another it must preserve a distinct and definite relation to what it was at first. It must recede on itself 24 terms in the retrograde order of the nundinal month perpetually. If the proper Lunar character of the first period was the full moon, that of the second must be the second dichotomy; that of the third must be the new moon: that of the fourth must be the first dichotomy; that of the fifth only could be the full moon or *πανσέληνον* again. So that the proper cycle of the Lunar character of the epoch, in a succession of Nundinal periods like this, would be a cycle of four periods, or 480 equable years; but not less.

ii. With regard to the Nundinal character of the same period; the equable year was a cycle of 365 days, neither more nor less, perpetually. The Nundinal period therefore was a cycle of 365×120 or 43 800 days, neither more nor less, perpetually. The Nundinal cycle was a cycle of eight days, neither more nor less also. The cycle of eight days would be contained 5 475 times, neither more nor less, in the cycle of 43 800; for $5\,475 \times 8 = 43\,800$ exactly. It follows that whatsoever was the Nundinal character of one of these periods, (that is, on whatsoever feria of the Nundinal cycle the first day of one such period might happen to fall,) the same must be the character of every succeeding period of the same kind; i. e. on the same feria of the Nundinal cycle must the first day of every succeeding period of the same kind also fall. It would be impossible that this particular character of the Nundinal period, the Nundinal character of the period itself, while the cycle of day and night continued to go on in the same way, and the length of the *orbis nundinalis* and the length of the equable year continued to be the same also, could ever vary. And for this reason, this Equable period of 120 years in its own nature must be considered as much a Nundinal period, in the most proper sense of the term, as an Equable; a Nundinal period of 5 475 cycles of

8 days perpetually, as truly and properly as an Equable one of 120 cycles of 365 days.

iii. With respect to the Hebdomadal character of the Nundinal period; the solar cycle of the equable year is a cycle of seven equable years[h]: that is, whatsoever may be the hebdomadal character of a given equable year, or the feria of the hebdomadal cycle on which the first day of a given equable year may fall, the same will be that of the *eighth*, and that of the *fifteenth*, and that of the *twenty-second*; and so on perpetually. It follows that the hebdomadal character of the 120th equable year, that of the first year of the 18th such cycle of sevens, must also be the same as that of the first; and therefore that of the 121st year, (the first year of the second Nundinal period of 120 equable years,) must be one number higher in the order of the hebdomadal cycle than that of the first. This will appear at once, if we reduce the number of days and nights in 120 equable years to cycles of sevens, or weeks. This number of days and nights is 43 800; and 43 800 days and nights contain 6 257 cycles of sevens, with one day over of the 6 258th. It follows that the feria of the first day of the 121st equable year must be one term higher than that of the first. If *this* was the feria prima *that* must be the feria secunda; and so on.

It is evident then that, while the Nundinal period would be a perfect and absolute measure of the Nundinal cycle perpetually, it would be only a relative one of the Hebdomadal. But even in the Nundinal period the Hebdomadal cycle would still follow a fixed and determinate law; viz. that of advancing one term or one feria in the order of its proper notation through one of these periods after another perpetually. It follows that in a succession of periods of this kind the Hebdomadal character of every later one must depend on that of the preceding; and the Hebdomadal character of all the later in common must depend on that of the first. If then the Hebdomadal character of any one period of this kind is known, howsoever late in the order of succes-

[h] Fasti Catholici, i. 496. Diss. vi. ch. iv. sect. xii: Introduction, 132. Part ii. ch. iii. sect. vii.

sion that may be, it must be possible to ascend from it to that of the very first.

SECTION V.—*On the knowledge of the Hebdomadal cycle in ancient Italy.*

Now though the history of the Hebdomadal cycle among the ancient inhabitants of Italy is confessedly very obscure, and there is no testimony extant of which we are aware which expressly deposes to the fact of its being either known in theory or applied in practice among them; yet indirect testimony is not wanting, from which we may reasonably infer that to one of the ancient communities of Italy, the ancient Etrurians, it must have been known in theory at least: and very probably, for certain peculiar purposes, it must by them have been applied in practice too.

Etruscis quoque libris Fatalibus, says Censorinus[1], ætatem hominis duodecim hebdomadibus describi Varro commemorat .....ceterum post annos octogintaquatuor a mente sua homines abire neque his fieri prodigia. On what could this doctrine have been founded, except the Hebdomadal cycle, as a stated and definite measure by sevens of some kind? Twelve cycles of sevens=84. Twelve cycles of seven days=84 days; Twelve cycles of seven years=84 years. In this mode of applying the cycle, it is a cycle of years; but it is still an hebdomadal cycle: it is a cycle of *sevens;* a week of *years,* though not a week of *days.* The subject of the cycle is changed; the measure or law of the cycle is not changed. This week of years then must presuppose the week of days; and must be ultimately founded upon it. All simple and proper ideas and terms are necessarily prior to the same ideas and the same terms, transferred to other things and used metaphorically. A week of years is a metaphorical week; the foundation of which nevertheless must have been the same thing in its simple and proper sense. If then this particular doctrine relative to the week of years was actually contained in the Libri Fatales of the Etrurians; they could not have been ignorant of the week of days, that is, of the simple Hebdomadal cycle. Nay more, if they actually made this application of the week of years, that very fact is a strong

[1] De Die, xiv.

ground of presumption that they must have been previously familiar with the week of days.

Again, we read also in Censorinus[k], speaking of the natural interval between the conception and the birth, as 274 days, = $39 \times 7 + 1$: Alter autem ille partus qui major est majori numero continetur, septenario scilicet, quo tota vita humana finitur, ut et Solon scribit et Judæi in dierum omnium numeris sequuntur et Etruscorum Libri Rituales videntur indicare. The Hebdomadal period then was recognized in these Libri Rituales of the Etrurians, either as a period of days or as a period of years measured by sevens perpetually. And, even in this latter case, the inference from the fact of the recognition would be just the same; viz. that the week of years as such, in any sense and in any application, must presuppose the week of days. Censorinus' meaning in this passage we apprehend to be that according to these ritual books of the Etruscans also, as well as to Solon, (in his well known lines on the several stages of human life,) the whole period of the human existence was measured or measurable by sevens; either in the sense of so many years, or in that of so many days. It is almost indifferent to our argument whether they were years or days. A week of years is as much an Hebdomadal cycle of its kind as a week of days. Probably too these Ritual books of the Etrurians referred to in this instance were not distinct from the Libri Fatales before referred to. The former however, as we shall perhaps see hereafter, were certainly as old as the decursus of the Etruscan sæcula, and as the doctrine, peculiar to the Etrurians, connected with it; that is, as old as B. C. 860. So far back then must the knowledge of the Hebdomadal cycle also have gone among them. And this is confirmed by another fact, of which too we hope to produce proof hereafter; viz. that the Hebdomadal cycle under Planetary names was known to, and received among, the ancient Etrurians also. The reception of the Planetary cycle of this kind presupposes the simple one of the same kind; and as the former was not older even among the Egyptians, who first devised it[l], than B.C. 798, it

[k] De Die, xi. Cf. cap. ix.

[l] Fasti Catholici, i. 413: Diss. vi. ch. ii. sect. iii: iii. 489: Diss. xv. ch. viii. sect. viii.

could not be so old among the Etrurians; much less older among them than B. C. 860.

Again, if the Hebdomadal cycle was known to the ancient Etrurians from as far back as B. C. 860, when the Nundinal cycle also was certainly in existence in Italy and among the Etrurians in particular; it must follow from this fact that after a time both these cycles were coexistent in the same country and among the same people, yet without being confounded; and in such a manner as in effect and practice to be always distinct from each other: and that, though the actual measure of time of this kind for all public and private purposes was the Nundinal, yet for purposes of a peculiar kind, those of the astrology, or of the more recondite science of the time, it was notwithstanding the Hebdomadal. The question is therefore, If these two measures of the same thing cannot be supposed even under such circumstances to have always existed together, and always to have gone on in conjunction; which must have been the older of the two? which must have been some time associated with the other? the Hebdomadal with the Nundinal, or the Nundinal with the Hebdomadal? No one could hesitate to answer to such a question That the Hebdomadal cycle even in Italy might have been older than the Nundinal; but the Nundinal could not possibly have been older than the Hebdomadal: the Nundinal cycle even in Italy might sometime have been substituted for or associated with the Hebdomadal, but not the Hebdomadal either substituted for or associated with the Nundinal. It cannot be denied that in point of fact the antiquity of the Hebdomadal cycle must have been incomparably greater than that of the Nundinal; the Hebdomadal cycle must have been in existence every where long before any other cycle of the same kind could have been so any where. If then both cycles are found in Italy after a time in conjunction, this is, or ought to be, a decisive argument that the Nundinal must sometime have been associated in Italy with the Hebdomadal; and not the Hebdomadal with the Nundinal.

Again, it has been seen from the testimony of Roman antiquity that the first day of the Nundinal cycle was supposed to have a certain sacredness of character, such that on whatsoever day of the month it fell it made a feria or holyday of it for the time. This property and effect of the Nundinal in-

cidence on and among the days of the month was the foundation of the distinction, recognized by the grammarians of old, between *Feriæ cum festo* and *Feriæ sine festo;* the latter in particular such as were so constituted by the Nundinal incidence. Ferias antiqui festas vocabant; et aliæ erant sine die festo ut Nundinæ, aliæ cum festo ut Saturnalia [m]: the meaning of which is that there were feriæ which were not attached to any stated day of the month, and feriæ which were; the former the Nundinal days in every month, the latter such fixed and regular terms as the xiv Kal. Januarias, the calendar date of the Saturnalia perpetually. Feriarum autem publicarum genera sunt quatuor: aut enim stativæ sunt, aut conceptivæ, aut imperativæ, aut Nundinæ [n]. The Feriæ *stativæ* were such as had a stated date in the calendar, and were of regular occurrence on the same day; like the Saturnalia just mentioned. The Feriæ *conceptivæ* were such as must be celebrated on some day or other every year, but not on any one day; only on some day selected and appointed for the purpose: like the Feriæ Latinæ, the Feriæ Sementivæ, the Compitalia, the Paganalia, and the like. The Feriæ *imperativæ* were all such as were to be enjoined for the occasion, and celebrated at a time and in a manner prescribed *pro re nata;* like the *Lectisternium,* the *Clavifigium,* or the *Ludi votivi,* of antiquity. The Nundinal holidays were opposed to all these; to the *conceptivæ* and the *imperativæ* as being of stated and regular occurrence, as regular as the *orbis nundinalis* itself: to the *stativæ* as not being confined to any one month or to any one day of the month perpetually. But in this particular capacity of being *feriæ* in general, in this privilege of making a particular day an holiday as often as they fell upon it, and as long as they fell upon it, the Nundinal days were not opposed to the rest.

It appears too that the Nundinal days were not only *feriæ* or holidays in general, but *feriæ* or holidays sacred to Jupiter in particular. Quod autem nundinas ferias dixi . . . Julius Cæsar sextodecimo Auspiciorum libro negat Nundinis concionem advocari posse, id est cum populo agi: ideoque Nundinis Romanorum haberi comitia non posse. Cornelius etiam Labeo primo Fastorum libro Nundinas ferias esse pronuntiat . . . ait enim (Granius Licinianus) Nundinas Jovis ferias esse;

[m] Festus, vi. 147. 5 Ferias. [n] Macrobius, i. 16. 277.

siquidem flaminica omnibus Nundinis in regia Jovi arietem soleat inmolare[o]. The truth of this last mentioned fact being admitted, it must do much to establish the conclusion that as the first day of the Hebdomadal cycle is the most sacred term according to the Christian rule, and the seventh according to the Jewish; so the first in the Nundinal was the most sacred according to the rule and observance of ancient Italy. If this first day was dedicated to Jupiter, (the Supreme Principle in the estimation of all antiquity,) and if its relation to Jupiter was distinctly attested by a special service in honour of Jupiter on that day perpetually; what further proof can we desire of the religious character and estimation of this one term in the Nundinal cycle above that of any other besides? What other proof is there of the sacredness of the *seventh* term in the Hebdomadal cycle in the estimation of the Jews, and of that of the *first* in the estimation of Christians, but this, that special services and special observances either did characterize or do still characterize those two terms of the cycle in particular, among Jews and Christians respectively? but no other term besides.

Now this superior sacredness of some one day in the Nundinal cycle above any other could not have been the necessary consequence of the cycle itself; or of the mere place of this day in the order of the cycle. A succession of days and nights indeed, after a certain order and by a certain number at a time, must have a *first* term; *with* which the succession must be supposed to have begun at first, and *from* which it must be supposed to be periodically renewed ever after. That is, every such succession, which had a beginning, must have had an *epoch;* and this first term, with which it began at first and from which it was afterwards renewed perpetually, would be that epoch. But to be the *epochal* term in such a succession, to be the *first* in the numerical order of the succession perpetually, and to be a *sacred* or *religious* term also, to be devoted to uses and purposes which were not derivable from the numerical order of the succession, are not necessarily connected. It is not of the essence of the mere measurement of the noctidiurnal cycle, according to any law howsoever fixed and definite, that even its epoch

[o] Macrobius, i. 16. 28 r.

should be a sacred or religious term ; except *by appointment.* The first term of the sexagesimal cycle is not a sacred one among the Chinese, because it was never appointed to be so; nor was the first term of the Tonalli, or 13 days week, of the ancient Toltecs and Aztecs, sacred among them : never having been expressly so constituted. The seventh term in the Hebdomadal cycle *was* sacred among the Jews, because it was expressly appointed to be so ; and the first term *is* sacred among Christians, no doubt by appointment too : as we see every reason to conclude, as soon as we begin to inquire into the history of the observance of the first day among Christians any where.

We must therefore conclude that if the Nundinal day was always distinguished above any other term in the Nundinal cycle by a certain sanctity of character there must have been some particular reason for it ; beside and beyond its place in the order of the cycle. And this would be explained, if the Hebdomadal cycle of the beginning was really older even in Italy than the Nundinal cycle ; if the Nundinal cycle, even in Italy, was some time or other simply associated with the Hebdomadal, or even substituted for it : if the Nundinal cycle in the first instance was actually *grafted* upon the Hebdomadal ; and if the *first* term common to both in this first instance was the *seventh* day of the Hebdomadal cycle itself. No one can require to be reminded that the seventh day in the Hebdomadal cycle of the beginning was endued with a character of sanctity as old as the cycle itself ; and that to take the *seventh* term of the Hebdomadal cycle and to make it the *first* of the Nundinal would be to transfer the sanctity of the seventh term of the Hebdomadal cycle to the first of the Nundinal : so that in point of religious estimation there could be no difference even from the first between the seventh term of the Hebdomadal cycle and the first of the Nundinal.

On this principle the *first* term of the Nundinal cycle of ancient Italy must have been purposely substituted for the *seventh* of the Hebdomadal ; and therefore it must have been ever after the representative of the seventh : it must have succeeded from the very first to the proper character and proper relations of the seventh, whatsoever they were.

Among these relations none is better attested, or more notorious after a time, than that of being sacred to Saturn. The seventh term in the Hebdomadal cycle, in the form of the Planetary, was notoriously sacred to Saturn: and the first in the Nundinal cycle, according to testimony, was sacred to Saturn also. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ τὰς ἀγομένας δι' ἐννέα ἡμέρων ἐπ' ἀγορὰν συνόδους, νουνδίνας δὲ καλουμένας, ἱερὰς τοῦ Κρόνου νομίζεσθαι[p]. This statement indeed is peculiar to Plutarch; but that ought to be no objection to it. Plutarch must have found it on record that the Roman *Nundinæ* were sacred to Kronos or Saturn; as *he* indeed seems to have thought simply because they were *market* days, i. e. stated times for *buying* and *selling*: and so far merely memorials of the times of Saturn, when people had nothing to do but to buy and sell. But in proposing this explanation he must have forgotten that the times of Saturn, (the golden age as it was called,) were not those of buying and selling. There was no occasion for either; every thing which must otherwise have been bought and sold being freely and gratuitously supplied by the happiness of the times themselves.

In medium quærebant, ipsaque tellus
Omnia liberius nullo poscente ferebat[q].

The *fact* itself asserted by Plutarch, that the *Nundinæ* were sacred to Saturn, might be true; for even that would not depend on his *ipse dixit* merely: *this* explanation of the fact, (like many others which occur in this part of his works, in order to account for a variety of ancient usages or ancient opinions and traditions among the Romans or the rest of the inhabitants of Italy,) is purely imaginary. The most probable explanation of the fact is the coincidence which has just been pointed out; that the Nundinal day was the representative of the seventh day from the first: and therefore succeeded to its character and to its relations. In that capacity it must be sacred to the Supreme Principle; whether Jupiter or Saturn: most properly indeed to Jupiter, as the representative of the seventh term in the Hebdomadal cycle; yet to Saturn also, as that of the seventh in the Planetary. It is observable however that tradition among the Italians must have handed it down as standing in that relation to

[p] Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, xlii. [q] Georgica, i. 127.

Jupiter long before, and long after too, it was considered to stand in a similar relation to Saturn; and that also would be only consistent with the actual course of things. The relation of the first term in the Nundinal cycle to Jupiter must have been inherited by it from the Hebdomadal cycle, and from the first; its relation to Saturn could not be older than the Planetary cycle: and that was 542 years younger than the Nundinal cycle itself.

SECTION VI.—*On the absolute epoch of the Nundinal Period,* Æra Cyclica 2667 B. C. 1340.

The conclusion to which we have thus seen reason to come, viz. that the Nundinal cycle was originally derived from the Hebdomadal, and that the first term of the former inherited its acknowledged character of sanctity from the similar estimation of the seventh of the latter, especially in conjunction with what has been previously established, respecting the Lunar, the Nundinal, and the Hebdomadal character of such a period as the Nundinal, traced perpetually downwards from its proper epoch; this conclusion, we say, along with that, is of great importance to the determination of the question which we began with proposing: That of the absolute or primary epoch of the Nundinal Period itself.

The Nundinal calendar of Romulus has been traced back from its proper epoch, Mesore 14 Æra Cyclica 3256 Feb. 4 B. C. 750, to the date of an earlier correction of the same kind with itself, Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147 March 25 B. C. 860. The interval from one of these terms to the other was 110 equable years; and, though that is not the same as the Nundinal period of 120 years, it is an approximation to it, it is only ten years less: and as it is it was the measure of the Etruscan secular period in equable years, as we hope to shew more fully hereafter; and it was just as much entitled to the name of a Nundinal period as the period of 120 years itself: the first day of this period being the same feria of the Nundinal cycle perpetually, as much as the first of that. If then we might only assume that this Nundinal period of 110 years, peculiar to the Etruscans, was purposely substituted by them and among them for the Nundinal period of 120 years, nothing would seem to be more natural or more rea-

sonable than the inference from that fact; that the epoch of the first of these secular periods of 110 years must have been that of one of the periods of 120 years also. Indeed it does not seem possible that this succession of periods of 110 years could have been substituted for, or have carried on, that of the period of 120 years, on any other principle. And that this assumption itself would not be merely hypothetical; that the secular and Nundinal period of 110 years was actually substituted B. C. 860 for the secular and Nundinal period of 120 years, will be made to appear by and by.

It has been shewn from the testimony of antiquity, confirmed by the matter of fact and by actual calculation, that the Nundinal year, notwithstanding the peculiarity of its constitution, was a lunar year of a certain kind; a lunar year formed on the cycle of lunar phases or lunar quarters, according to a positive standard. It has also been shewn that the natural epoch of such a lunar year, on its own assumptions and in conformity to its own principles, must have been that one of the lunar phases, or visible states of the moon, of which the senses are the most competent to judge correctly[r]; viz. the full moon: and it has been seen that in the case of the earlier Nundinal correction, from which we have derived that of Romulus, the correction of Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147 March 25 B. C. 860, this characteristic criterion of the epoch actually held good; and that each of these days, one in the equable, the other in the Julian, style of the Noctidiurnal cycle for the time being, besides being the first day in the Nundinal cycle alike, was also the full of the moon alike[s]; that is, according to the positive standard of the lunar Nundinal month, each was the Nundinal lunar 17th, the Nundinal *πανσέληνον* alike.

Now, if a period of 110 equable years at this point of time was taking up and continuing a period of 120 equable years, the first day of the former at this point of time must have been coinciding with the first day of the latter; and therefore the Nundinal feria of the first day of the former must have been absolutely the same with the Nundinal feria of the first day of the latter. It has been shewn that, in a succes-

[r] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. iii. vol. i. p. 137: ch. i. sect. ii. Ibid. p. 64.
[s] Ibid. sect. iv. p. 145.

sion of Nundinal periods of 120 years, the Nundinal character of the period would be invariable. If the first day of the first period was the feria prima of the Nundinal cycle, the first day of every other period must be so too. The first day of the Nundinal period of 110 years, Æra Cyclica 3147, was the Feria prima of the Nundinal cycle: and the first day of any earlier succession of Nundinal periods of 120 years, brought down to the same point of time from any earlier epoch which coincided with the feria prima of the Nundinal cycle also, at that point of time must have been the feria prima of the Nundinal cycle too. It is manifest then that the epoch of this Nundinal period of 110 years, Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147, and that of one among more of a succession of Nundinal periods of 120 years, the Nundinal character of which had been unity perpetually, at this moment might have been the same.

Again, it has been seen that the Lunar character of this Nundinal period of 110 years, of the epoch of Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147, was the Nundinal *πανσέληνον*, the Nundinal lunar 17th. It has been seen too that the most natural lunar epoch of such a lunar calendar as the Nundinal was the Nundinal *πανσέληνον*, the Nundinal lunar 17th. But it has also been seen that, according to the law which must necessarily determine the cycle of the Lunar character of the period, if the Lunar character of the first Nundinal period was the lunar 17th, this character could not recur in less than four periods. The cycle of the Nundinal character of the period was the period itself; that of the Lunar character was four revolutions of the period perpetually. It follows that a given Lunar character, like the 17th, in a particular instance must be either that of the first period in a succession of this kind, or that of the fifth, or that of the ninth, or so forth, perpetually; for there is no other alternative with respect to this particular test or criterion of the succession, its Lunar character. It must indicate either the first period in its proper succession of periods, or some one later than the first by four, or by some multiple of four, perpetually. Now the Lunar character of the Nundinal period of 110 years, which we have traced up to Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147, is seen to have been the lunar 17th. If that period then was taking up and

continuing an older succession of periods of 120 years, which set out from the lunar 17th, the natural lunar epoch of such a period as the Nundinal; it is manifest that it must have been taking up at this point of time and continuing either the *fourth* period in such a succession, or the *eighth*, or some one later by four perpetually in the order of the succession itself.

How then, it may be demanded, are we to decide in a case of this kind; and where the difference is so great as that between the first and the fifth or the first and the ninth at least, in a constant succession of one and the same thing? The Hebdomadal character of such a succession is also to be taken into account; and for the sake of distinguishing between the parts of the succession it is more important and more significant than either of the other two. The Nundinal character recurs in *one* period; and therefore it cannot discriminate between one period in the order of succession and another: it can discriminate between nothing but the period and the parts of the period itself. The Lunar character recurs in four cycles of the period; and therefore it can discriminate only between four successive periods one after another. But the Hebdomadal character, as it has been shewn, cannot recur in less than seven cycles of the period; and therefore it is competent to distinguish between successive periods for seven periods at least.

If then the primary epoch of this succession of Nundinal periods, which we are supposing to have been brought down to Æra Cyclica 3147 from some earlier point of time, was also that of the introduction of the Nundinal cycle into use in ancient Italy; and if, as we have concluded on other grounds, the Nundinal cycle itself was originally grafted on the Hebdomadal; and if the first day of the Nundinal cycle was purposely taken from the seventh of the Hebdomadal; then *this* consequence must necessarily result from *those* coincidences: viz. That in a constant succession of such periods so characterized, and from such an epoch, the Hebdomadal character of the first being the *feria septima*, that of the second must be the *feria prima*, that of the third the *feria secunda*, that of the fourth the *feria tertia*, and that of the fifth the *feria quarta*.

Let us then proceed to inquire into the Hebdomadal cha-

racter of the first of Thoth Æra Cyclica 3147, the first day of the Nundinal period of 110 years, which by hypothesis at that point of time was succeeding to the place of some Nundinal period of 120 years, in a constant succession of such periods until then. In our General Tables, or Fasti Temporis Catholici, the hebdomadal character of every equable year from Æra Cyclica 1 to Æra Cyclica 6008 is marked perpetually; and it may be seen from them that the first of Thoth Æra Cyclica 3147 entered the general succession in that Æra B. C. 860, March 24 at 18 hours from midnight according to the primitive rule of the noctidiurnal cycle, March 25 at midnight according to the Julian: and in either case on the *feria quarta* of the Hebdomadal cycle. The Dominical Letter of the year, in the solar cycle of the Tables, was D; and when D is the Sunday Letter, and the first of January reckoned from midnight according to the Julian rule is the *feria quinta* or Thursday, March 25, reckoned from midnight according to the same rule, is the *feria quarta* or Wednesday.

It appears then that these three criteria, the Nundinal character, that of unity or the *feria prima* of the Nundinal cycle, the lunar, that of the Nundinal *πανσέληνον* or Lunar 17th, and the Hebdomadal, that of the *feria quarta*, all met together and coincided at the epoch of the Nundinal period of 110 years which took its rise on the first of Thoth Æra Cyclica 3147, March 25 B.C. 860, each reckoned from midnight according to the Julian rule. Now this was a combination of characters which must necessarily meet at the epoch of the *fifth* in a constant succession of Nundinal periods of 120 years, which had set out from the *feria prima* of the Nundinal cycle, from the lunar 17th or Nundinal *πανσέληνον*, and from the *feria septima* of the Hebdomadal cycle; and had gone on without interruption until then. It follows then that if we go back *four* periods of 120 equable years, or 480 equable years, from Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147, the epoch of this period of 110 years, we must come to the epoch of the *first* of those periods of 120 years, the *fifth* of which this period of 110 years was taking up and continuing Æra Cyclica 3147.

Now 480 equable years reckoned back from Thoth 1

Æra Cyclica 3147 bring us to Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667. Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667 therefore on this principle must have been the epoch of the *first* Nundinal period of 120 years, the *fifth* in the constant succession of which from that point of time downwards was coinciding with Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 3147. And if it was so, it must have united in itself, and at that point of time, the three *epochal* characters of the period; the *feria prima* of the Nundinal cycle, its proper and primary Nundinal character; the *feria septima* of the Hebdomadal, its proper and primary Hebdomadal character; and the Nundinal lunar 17th or *πανσέληνον*, its proper and primary Lunar character. Let us therefore proceed to apply each of these tests or criterions to this date of Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667; and to its corresponding Julian date at that time, July 19 B. C. 1340: each of them, according to the Julian rule, reckoned from midnight.

i. With regard to the Nundinal character, *unity;* the Nundinal character of the epoch in a succession of this kind is invariable. If that of the *fifth* period was the *feria prima* of the Nundinal cycle that of the *first* must have been so too. Consequently if Thoth 1, reckoned from midnight, Æra Cyclica 3147, was the *feria prima* of the Nundinal cycle; Thoth 1, reckoned from midnight, Æra Cyclica 2667, must have been the same: and as *that* has been ascertained to have been the case *this* may be confidently assumed to have been the case also.

ii. With regard to the Hebdomadal character; our General Tables shew that Æra Cyclica 2667 entered the regular succession of annual equable time from the beginning of things until then on the first of Thoth at 18 hours from midnight according to the primitive rule of the noctidiurnal cycle, July 19 at midnight according to the Julian, B. C. 1340; in either case on the *feria septima* of the Hebdomadal cycle, reckoned whether from 18 hours after midnight, or from midnight. The Dominical Letter of the year was E; and when E is the Sunday Letter, and January 1 reckoned from midnight is the *feria quarta*, July 19 reckoned from midnight is the *feria septima.*

iii. With regard to the Lunar character, the Nundinal *πανσέληνον*; the natural full moon is a visible lunar phenomenon, which under ordinary circumstances could not fall

out later than the sixteenth day of the natural lunar month: and this being assumed as the general rule of its incidence, it is manifest that its proper date in the Nundinal lunar month would be the middle of the month; 16 days from the beginning and 16 days from the end. The positive rule in the actual reckoning of the parts of the natural lunation in this peculiar standard of the civil lunar month appears to have been to assume that each of them happened critically *eight* days, or one *quarter* lunation, one *nundinal cycle,* before or after another: the first dichotomy critically between the 8th and the 9th of the month; the full moon critically between the 16th and the 17th; the second dichotomy critically between the 24th and the 25th; and the new moon critically between the 32d day of one month and the first of the next: yet so that the recognized calendar date of the new moon in this kind of reckoning was the first of the month; that of the first dichotomy was the 9th; that of the full moon was the 17th; and that of the second dichotomy was the 25th. With respect therefore to the Lunar character of the epoch of such a calendar reckoning of lunar time as this; the only coincidence which we ought to expect to find holding good in the first instance of all is that of the incidence of the natural full moon on the first day of the period. For if it did so fall, that would be sufficient to designate this first day as the lunar 17th; as the civil *πανσέληνον,* in the nundinal lunar month.

Assuming therefore the meridian of Rome, as that for which the calculation might be properly instituted, we have calculated the full moon of July B.C. 1340 for that meridian, and found as follows:

	h.	m.	s.	
The mean full moon July 19.	3	19	26	mean time.
The true full moon July 19.	4	9	35·8	mean time.

It follows that the true date of this natural phenomenon for the meridian in question was as nearly as possible the middle point of the first day of the primitive Thoth, Æra Cyclica 2667, reckoned according to the primitive rule from July 18 at 18 hours to July 19 at 18 hours; so that no day could have been better adapted for representing the Lunar *πανσέληνον* of the Nundinal month: the lunar 17th in the Nundinal

lunar month. The *third* of our criterions therefore, that which must be derived from the Lunar character of the epoch, would hold good of this point of time as completely as the other two.

There cannot be any question then that Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667, July 19 B. C. 1340, both reckoned from midnight according to the Julian rule, must have been the epoch of the *first* of a constant succession of Nundinal periods of 120 years each, relatively to which Thoth 1 Æra cyclica 3147, March 25 B. C. 860, each reckoned from midnight also, was the epoch of the *fifth*. The only question will be Whether Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667, July 19 B. C. 1340, was the epoch of the *first* of a series of periods of that kind, or the epoch of some one in a continued succession of the same kind, which had been going on from some earlier point of time until then? And this is virtually the same thing as the question Whether Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667, July 19 B. C. 1340, must have been the *absolute* epoch of the Nundinal period, and of the Nundinal calendar associated with it from the first, or not? *This* question is easily decided. The ascertained characters of this epoch, Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667 July 19 B. C. 1340, remaining the same, the Nundinal character, the *feria prima* of its proper cycle, the Hebdomadal character, the *feria septima*, and the Lunar character, the Lunar 17th; they must be the characters of the *absolute* epoch, as much as of this one of Thoth 1 Æra cyclica 2667 B. C. 1340: and, if this epoch was not the absolute or primary epoch, its characters could not have been meeting now for the first time; they must have been *recurring*: i. e. meeting a second time at least, if not a third, after having met once before at first. The *absolute* epoch must have united them all for the *first* time. If they were meeting in any epoch distinct from that, they must have been doing so a *second* time, if not a *third*, at least. What then is the period or length of time, which would bring all these characters together again exactly in the same state of relation to each other, and to the Nundinal period, as at first? The cycle of the Nundinal character is *one* period of 120 years; that of the Lunar is *four* periods; and that of the Hebdomadal is *seven*. The cycle of all in conjunction must consequently be

one of $1 \times 4 \times 7$ or 28 periods of 120 years; that is 3360 equable years. If therefore Thoth 1 Æra cyclica 2667 was not the *absolute* epoch of this decursus of Nundinal periods, combining these three different characters; we should have no alternative except to go back 3360 years at least in the same Æra, in order to find it; and that would take us 693 years in the Æra Cyclica beyond the beginning of things itself. The *absolute* epoch therefore of the entire decursus of the Nundinal period, peculiar to ancient Italy, must have been Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667; which must have been an *actual* epoch of such a decursus, from Æra Cyclica 2667 to Æra Cyclica 3147, in any case. Any other is excluded by its own impossibility, and therefore its own absurdity. These *epochal* characters of the decursus could never have met more than once in the whole compass of human time, from the beginning of things down to Æra Cyclica 3147. The point of time therefore which *actually* united them all must have been the *absolute* epoch of the decursus itself.

SECTION VII.—*Type* I *of the Nundinal Calendar of ancient Italy.*

Equable epoch Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667 at midnight.
Julian epoch July 19 B. C. 1340 at midnight.

Nundinal character the Feria prima.
Hebdomadal character the Feria septima.
Lunar character the Luna 17[a].

On the probable derivation of the first Type of the Nundinal Calendar from ancient Egypt.

The account which has thus been given of the Nundinal period of 120 years, and of the lunar and the solar elements which entered it in conjunction, and of the relation of one of them to the other, cannot fail to remind the readers of our Fasti Catholici of the Phœnix period; into the history and explanation of which we had occasion to enter so much at large in that work[t]. The points of resemblance indeed between that much older period of the Egyptians and this Nundinal period of ancient Italy are too obvious and too close to escape even the most superficial observation. A lunar

[t] Fasti Catholici, iii. 199 sqq. Diss. xv. Cf. 499. ch. ix.

and a solar element entered alike into both, and in a very peculiar relation one to the other perpetually; though not the same kind of lunar and the same kind of solar element in each instance. The solar element in the Phœnix period was mean annual *natural*, or mean annual *Julian*, time of that denomination; in the Nundinal period it was mean solar in the sense of *equable* only. The lunar element combined with the solar in the former was the mean lunar standard obtained from the Noctidiurnal period of 182 617 d. 6 h. of mean solar time divided by 6 184; the similar element compounded with solar in the latter was the mean standard obtained in like manner from the division of the Noctidiurnal period of 43 824 days by 1484; and mean lunar time of a purely positive and conventional standard in the sense of Nundinal. And in the Phœnix period mean lunar time of the standard and complex in question was constantly referred to mean annual natural, and mean annual natural to mean annual Julian; and each in the cycle of 500 years at a time: and in this Nundinal period mean annual lunar time in the form of Nundinal was constantly referred to mean annual solar in the sense of equable; and mean annual solar in the sense of equable to mean annual lunar of the standard and complex of the period. And in the Phœnix period mean lunar time so referred to mean annual natural fell back upon it by a stated quantity, 3 days 21 hours, in the course of every cycle of 500 years; and mean annual natural so referred to mean annual Julian fell back upon it by the same quantity also exactly, 3 days 21 hours, in the course of every cycle of 500 years: and in the Nundinal period mean annual lunar time in the sense of Nundinal, constantly referred to mean annual solar in the sense of equable, fell back upon it by a stated quantity, 24 days and nights, in every cycle of 120 years; and mean annual solar in the sense of equable, constantly referred to mean annual lunar of the standard and complex of the period fell back, on that also by a stated quantity, 24 days, in every cycle of 120 years.

It can scarcely be denied that so remarkable an analogy between the constitution of the Phœnix period and that of the Nundinal, as these coincidences imply, could not have been purely accidental. But if not, and if it was the effect of contrivance and design, it necessarily leads to the inference

that whosoever were the authors of the Nundinal period, that is, the first to conceive the idea of such a period, and the first to lay it down and to delineate it on such principles as these, they must have had some previous knowledge of the Phœnix period. They could not have been ignorant at least of the existence of such a period; of the general principle on which it was constructed; of the elements which entered into it; of the manner in which they were combined in it; of the mode in which they worked conjointly in it, and of the relation in which they stood to each other perpetually. A general knowledge of the nature and constitution of the Phœnix period the first contrivers of the Nundinal period we say must have possessed. The first idea of their own period is evidently to be traced up to it. It was too plainly conformed to it to be accounted for on any principle but that of design, and of a studied imitation of the Phœnix original. The respective dates of these periods tend only to confirm this inference. The Phœnix period was conceived and laid down in B. C. 1847; the Nundinal, as we have seen in B. C. 1340. The former was consequently 507 years older than the latter. Next to the institution of the Phœnix period too, and the first delineation of the sphere made at the same time, the most important and most interesting fact in its history would be the renewal of the period at the end of its first cycle; and the rectification and readjustment and republication of the sphere, concurrently with it: nor is it a little remarkable that this should have been no sooner done in Egypt in B. C. 1347, than within seven years of the same time, B. C. 1340, the first Nundinal period should have taken its rise in Italy.

The reader must therefore anticipate our own conclusion from such premises as these; That the first conception of the Nundinal period of ancient Italy is ultimately to be traced back to ancient Egypt. It must have been derived from the Phœnix period of ancient Egypt. And it seems only a corollary from this conclusion itself, that the first authors of this peculiar Italian period must have been after all not native Italians but Egyptians. And that being assumed as only a natural and probable inference from the fact of the appearance of a period in Italy so evidently modelled on the Phœnix period of the Egyptians, and so soon after the date of the

second cycle of the Phœnix Period itself; it may assist us to the discovery of the quarter in Italy where it very probably first took its rise: and consequently to the proper name and designation of the first Type of the Nundinal calendar which came into existence along with it; in contradistinction to any others of later date.

SECTION VIII.—*On the probable designation of the first Type of the Nundinal Calendar, as the Umbrian.*

It appears from the testimony of Herodotus, the tradition of ancient Italy, the belief of the Romans, confirmed by the genealogies and family records of illustrious individuals among them, down to the time of Augustus Cæsar, that a colony from Asia Minor, consisting of Lydians, did some time or other migrate to Italy, and obtain a permanent settlement in that country. We may probably have occasion to inquire into the circumstances of that immigration, in connection with another part of our present subject; and we shall perhaps see reason to conclude that, though a very remote event in itself and much older than the Foundation of Rome, it must still have been too late to allow us to suppose that the first introduction of the Nundinal calendar into ancient Italy was to be either directly or indirectly traced up to it.

But besides this colony of Lydians, which some time or other settled in Italy, tradition appears to have perpetuated the fact of the migration of a colony from Egypt to Italy; the most remarkable circumstance about which was that they were represented to have been led into that country from Egypt by the Egyptian Khons, in Greek Χὼν or Χώνς[u]. The Egyptian Khons was the Hercules Lunus of the Egyptians; the impersonated representative of the Lunar mansions of the Egyptians: and these Lunar Mansions of the Egyptians both in their original conception and in their subsequent regulation and administration were inseparably connected with their Phœnix period[w]. The impersonated Type of these mansions, the Egyptian Khons himself, was a mere abstract conception. No actual colony could have passed from Egypt to Italy under such an actual leader as that. But the possible

[u] Fasti Catholici, iii. 316. Diss. xv. ch. iv. sect. x. Cf. i. 202. Diss. iv. ch. ii. sect. x.

[w] Ibid. Cf. iv. 240. Diss. xvii. ch. iii. sect. iv: iii. 328. Diss. xv. ch. v. sect. iii: 345. ch. v. sect. vii.

migration of a colony from Egypt to Italy any time after the first institution among the Egyptians both of the Phœnix period and of the Lunar Mansions, (a colony which might carry with them a knowledge of both,) is a very different thing: and if such a colony of settlers did ever actually pass from Egypt to Italy, bringing with them any such knowledge, nothing would be more probable, or more in accordance with the mythological representation of the simplest matters of fact, so familiar to antiquity, than that it should be supposed to have passed into Italy from Egypt under the conduct of the Egyptian Khons. The Χῶνες have been mentioned in history as an actual people of Italy; and Χωνία, the name of their country, as an actual region of Italy [u]. And what could the Χῶνες be but the people of Χώνς?

We had occasion to shew in our former work that the Umbrians of Italy, (an actual people of that country, concerning whose existence there, and under that name, there can be no doubt,) passed among the ancients for the oldest inhabitants of Italy, if not for the oldest of mankind in general [x]; and it may be taken for granted that if even these Umbrians did first come into Italy at any time not later than the epoch of the first Type of the Nundinal calendar, B. C. 1340, they might well pass ever after for the oldest nation in that country. We know of nothing in ancient Roman or Italian history, relating to the oldest inhabitants of Italy, to the Sabines, to the Prisci Latini, to the Etrurians, or to any others who might be mentioned, which would go as far back as B. C. 1340, by an hundred years at least: so that no nation of Italy in after-times, even the oldest, could have competed in point of antiquity with one which dated its existence in that country from B. C. 1340 at least.

Another extraordinary opinion (and yet an actual one) which appears to have been entertained respecting these Umbri of Italy was that they were older than the Deluge, which had some time or other destroyed the rest of mankind [x]: these Umbrians had even survived the Flood, the Flood of Ogyges itself [z]. And though we could not undertake to say that even this peculiar notion concerning them

x Fasti Catholici, i. 202. Diss. iv. ch. ii. sect. x. Diss. xvii. ch. iii. sect. v.

z Ibid. iv. 244.

might not have been suggested by their name, as derivable apparently from ὄμβρος in Greek; yet we may observe that to derive their name from ὄμβρος in Greek would be to suppose that they never had any name but what they borrowed from the Greek. It is absolutely precarious to assume that the name of the oldest nation in Italy must have been derived from the Greek: or is to be explained by the Greek. For any thing we know to the contrary, or ever can know at present, the Umbrians of Italy might have been called by that name before the Greek language was yet in existence. The Greek language was one of the languages of antiquity, but not by any means the oldest language, much less the only language; nor at the very remote point of time of which we are treating at present any thing like so extensively diffused as it afterwards came to be. It is high time that grammarians and etymologists should banish this absurd and irrational prejudice in favour of the Greek language; as if none of the languages of antiquity could supply those explanations, which their own science requires, but the Greek.

If the Umbrians of antiquity brought the knowledge of the Phœnix period, from any quarter and in any shape, into Italy; it should be remembered that this period in its origin and conception had so close a connection with nothing as with the Flood. The Phœnix of the fable itself was the world *before* and the world *after* the Flood[a]. The cycle of the period was determined by the interval which held good in the first instance of all between the year of its institution, B. C. 1847, and the year after the Flood, B. C. 2347; and by nothing else[a]. If the recollection of the Flood still survived in so many parts of the ancient world, (among the Hellenes or Greeks, and among the inhabitants of the north of Europe, as well as the rest,) so long after B. C. 1340; what right should we have to assume that the tradition of such an event could not have been brought into Italy in B. C. 1340? But if not; what improbability would there be in supposing that strangers from abroad, who came into Italy about that time, bringing with them a period associated with the Flood, and traditionally referrible to the Flood, might come in the course of time to pass with the people of Italy of later date, or with

[a] Fasti Catholici, iii. 245. Diss. xv. ch. ii. sect. vi: 302. ch. iv. sect. viii.

the rest of the ancients, as the children of the Flood? as those who were as old as the Flood? and even as those who had survived the Flood itself?

Again, the universal rule of the reckoning of the Noctidiurnal cycle, as we shewed in our former work on the grounds of a broad circumstantial induction from particular cases of the fact[b], at first was one and the same; that of reckoning it from sunset to sunset, or evening to evening, perpetually. The primitive rule of ancient Italy was no exception to this universal rule of the rest of mankind, as we have shewn in our former work[c]; and as we hope to have more than one opportunity of shewing further in particular instances in the course of this. Yet testimony also is uniform to the effect that the Noctidiurnal rule of the Umbrians was something peculiar; viz. not from sunset to sunset, but from noon to noon. And, though according to testimony too the same rule was characteristic of the Etrurians likewise[d]; we do not know that it was the characteristic rule of any of the nations of Italy but these two, the ancient Umbrians and the ancient Etrurians: and of these the Umbrians were confessedly the older; much older at least than the Etrurians: yet always contiguous to and neighbours of the Etrurians. It is very conceivable then that the Etrurians might borrow this peculiar rule from the Umbrians; but not so probable that the Umbrians could have borrowed it from the Etrurians. The Umbrians must have been characterized by this peculiar rule before the Etrurians of Italy were yet a nation in that country. Now this peculiar modification of the primitive rule of the Noctidiurnal cycle was first introduced into use in Egypt; and at the epoch of the first Phœnix period[e]. It was the Phœnix rule, from the moment of the institution of the period, to reckon the cycle of day and night therein from noon to noon perpetually; and the period itself from noon on the day of the mean vernal equinox at the beginning of one period to noon on the day of the mean vernal equinox at the beginning of the next. If the Umbrians brought the knowledge of the Phœnix period from Egypt to Italy, they must have brought that of its peculiar

[b] Fasti Catholici, i. 131. sqq. Diss. iv. [c] Ibid. loc. cit. [d] Ibid.
[e] Ibid. iii. 236—244. Diss. xv. ch. ii. sect. v.

rule of the Noctidiurnal cycle. Moreover this peculiar modification of the primitive Noctidiurnal rule was first made even by the Egyptians for purely astronomical purposes. The Phœnix period itself was an astronomical period; and the rule in question has always been most characteristic of astronomers: and the Umbrians of ancient Italy, characterized by it also, passed with posterity as Ἔθνος ἀστρολόγον in particular[f].

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson[g] has produced proofs of an intercourse of very ancient date between Etruria and Egypt; and the Umbrians were the nearest neighbours of the Etrurians, and were more in the way of an actual intercourse between Egypt and Italy than the Etrurians themselves. Let us then observe in the last place that the name of these Umbrians of Italy, Umbri in Latin Ὄμβριοι or Ὀμβρικοὶ in Greek, was thought to contain a mystery which even the most sagacious and best informed of the ancients could not explain. Yet what real difference would there be between *Umber* and *Uniber?* or what difficulty in obtaining *Umber* from *Uniber?* And, if we may assume that such a name or term as Uniber or Umber had once an actual existence; what uncertainty could there be about resolving it into *Unus* and *Ber?* or what difference between Uniber or Umber, as resolvable into Unus and Ber, and September, as resolvable into Septem and Ber?

And this brings us to the question of the original form of the names of the months in the original Nundinal calendar; i. e. the proper nomenclature of the oldest Type of the Nundinal calendar, whatsoever that was. Our only clue to any discovery of this kind at present is the Nundinal calendar of Romulus, and its peculiar nomenclature also. The number of months in that calendar was the number prescribed by the nature and construction of the Nundinal calendar; viz. *ten:* and neither more nor less than *ten.* And these ten months in the Nundinal calendar of Romulus all had names; but not all names of the same kind. The first four had proper names, strictly so called; the two next had names of number: the last four had names of number also. It is agreed too that Romulus himself gave those proper names to the first

[f] Fasti Catholici, i. 142. ch. ix. 88. 111.

[g] Manners and Customs, First Series, iii.

four months; and though it is not so distinctly asserted that he gave their names of order and number to the next two also there is every reason to believe that he did so. But it is neither asserted on the faith of testimony any where, nor is there any reason whatsoever on other grounds to suppose, that he gave those names of order and number to the last four. We must therefore conclude that, while Romulus adopted new names for the first six months of his own Nundinal calendar, he retained those of the four last from the pre-existing calendar of the same kind.

Now if four names, such as these of September October November and December, made part of any more ancient Nundinal calendar, it is evident that they must have made the *last* part of it; they must have been the names of the last four of its months. It is agreed that September pointed by its name to its own place in the order of the months, as the *seventh;* October to its own place, as the *eighth:* November, in like manner, to its own place, as the *ninth;* and December to its own place, as the *tenth.* It is agreed too that December was the last of the terms in such a nomenclature, which designated its own order and seat in the calendar by its own name; that there was no Undecimber, which would have pointed to the *eleventh* place, nor any *Duodecimber,* which would have designated the *twelfth.* The inference from these facts is obvious; viz. that this nomenclature must have been invented for a calendar which had ten months, and required ten names for its months; but no more: that is, for the Nundinal calendar.

We contend then that the actual existence of four months in the Nundinal calendar of Romulus, bearing such names as these of September, October, November, and December, and occupying places in the order of the months in that calendar corresponding to those names, is by implication an argument of the existence of six other names, cast in the same mould; which must have entered some older calendar, of the same kind as this Nundinal one of Romulus, along with these four. The *style* of such a calendar from first to last must have run on as follows.

Months of the Nundinal Calendar, and their names; analogous to those of the last four of the calendar of Romulus.

i Uniber, Unber, Umber	vi Sexber
ii Duober	vii September
iii Tresber	viii October
iv Quaterber	ix November
v Quinqueber	x December

For the first four of these Romulus substituted in his own calendar Martius, Aprilis, Maius, and Junius; for the two next, Quinctilis, or rather Quinquetilis[h], and Sextilis: but for the last four he substituted no others: he let those remain even in his own calendar. And, of the six new names which he appears to have actually introduced, it is manifest that the last two, Quinquetilis and Sextilis, were names of order and number, just as much as the four which follow them; that Quinquetilis pointed to the place of the month so called, as the fifth from Martius, and Sextilis to that of the month so called, as the sixth, just as much as September to that of its proper owner, as the seventh, or October to that of its proper subject, as the eighth. It is manifest too that whatsoever might be the proper meaning of the other element, *tilis*[h], combined with Quinque and Sex in these two instances respectively, Quinquetilis and Sextilis were analogous *inter se* just as much as September and October, or November and December; and that the two former were names of number as much as either of the two latter: only not names of number similarly compounded at least in both their parts, and similarly expressed. And we have probably assigned a reason for this distinction[h]; viz. that Romulus gave new names to the first six months in his own calendar because he changed their lengths: but he did not change the names of the last four because he made no alteration in their lengths. He retained at least the old lengths of two of them, September and November, which he intended to correspond to the *menses pleni* among these last four; and he altered the lengths of October and December only, as the representatives of the *menses cavi:* and he retained the old names of all the four. We infer then from these two facts that the actual names of

[h] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. viii. Vol. i. 159. note.

the last four months of his calendar, and the actual lengths of the *menses pleni* among them, were indications and proofs of the rule of the old calendar in the same respects.

Now if we proceed to analyse these names, which must thus have run on in the same way, Uniber, Tresber, down to December; we perceive in the first place that they are all resolvable into the cardinal number in the Latin language, *Unus, Duo, Tres,* as far as *Decem,*—and the affix of *Ber.* In the next place, we see that the cardinal number, so compounded with *Ber* in each instance, stands instead of the ordinal; *Unus* for *Primus, Duo* for *Secundus, Decem* for *Decimus,* and so forth. Now this is an archaïsm of the greatest antiquity; and therefore an argument that those names must have been invented and imposed on these proper subjects thereof at a very remote period of time. It is a characteristic also of the oriental idiom both of thinking and speaking in particular[j]: and so far it is an argument that this particular nomenclature for the Nundinal calendar ultimately came from the East.

But with respect to this affix of *Ber* compounded in each of these instances also with the cardinal number in the sense of the ordinal; it does not appear that it has ever been consistently and satisfactorily explained. The Latin grammarians resolve the names of these months, September, October, November, and December, into Septem and Imber, Octo and Imber, and so on. September nomen habet a numero et imbre; quia septimus est a Martio, et imbres habet: sic et October November atque December ex numero et imbribus acceperunt vocabula: quem numerum decurrentem December finit, pro eo quod denarius numerus præcedentes numeros claudit[k]. In another instance however it would seem as if Isidore thought this element was *Ber,* in the sense of *Ver;* not *imber.* Ex numero imbrium atque veris vocabula acceperunt[l]: a gloss which was probably taken from Varro[m]: Ver quod tum virere incipiunt virgulta ac vertere se tempus anni: nisi quod Iones dicunt βῆρ.

There can be no doubt that the literal version of these

[j] Fasti Catholici, i. 412. Diss. vi. ch. ii. sect. ii.

[k] Isidore, Origines, v. 33. (41).

[l] Isidore, De Natura Rerum, iv. 247.

[m] De Lingua Lat. v. 53, 54.

names from Latin into English would be One-ber, Two-ber, Three-ber, and the like; down to Seven-ber, Eight-ber, Nine-ber, Ten-ber. What then must have been meant by Ber in these instances? And what could possibly be meant by it, in ten instances one after another, yet in each as part of the name of a month, and in its proper numerical order, except something derived from that relation, and intended to express it? One part of this name being so clearly intended of the numerical order of the month, what could be denoted by the other, but *moon* or *month?*

This conclusion respecting the meaning of the common affix of *Ber* in ten cases of this kind, so obviously dictated by common sense, is confirmed and placed out of question by the following fact: There was a certain curia of Rome as old as the Foundation of the city itself; called the Curia Kalabra. It was situated in the Capitol, close by the *casa* or cottage of Romulus himself[n]: and Servius supposes Virgil to allude to it in the words,

Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo[m].

Curiam Calabram dicit quam Romulus texerat culmis—Calabra Curia dicebatur ubi tantum ratio sacrorum gerebatur[o] —Ideo autem *Calabra,* quod, cum incertæ essent Kalendæ aut Idus, a Romulo constitutum est ut ibi patres vel populus calarentur, id est vocarentur, a rege sacrificulo, ut scirent qua die Kalendæ essent vel etiam Idus[p].

This epithet of Kalabra (Curia) is feminine. But the masculine gender, analogous to this of Kalabra in the feminine, would be Kalaber. Why then was this curia called Kalabra? Simply because of the use made of it; according to Servius from the time of Romulus, according to Varro and others[p] from the time of Numa: that of proclaiming and notifying, that is *calling aloud,* from that particular locality, on the first day of the month the next new moon of the month; the proper seat of which in the calendar of Numa was the Nones

[n] Æneid, viii. 654. Cf. Vitruvius, ii. i. p. 47. *Biponti:* Item in Capitolio commonefacere potest et significare mores vetustatis Romuli casa in arce sacrorum stramentis tecta. Cf. Phot. Cod. 186. Narrationes of Conon, xlviii. Dionys. Hal. i. 79.

[o] Festus, iii. 107. 6 Curia.

[p] Servius ad Æn. viii. 654. Cf. Varro, De L. Lat. v. 58. 59. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 15. 273. Also supra, Diss. iii. ch. ii. sect. xiv. xv. Vol. i. 240sq.

of the month: the fifth of the month in some months, the seventh in the rest. It was so called therefore Παρὰ τὸ καλεῖν Βὲρ, A kalando Ber. Yet if that which was actually called or proclaimed from it was the new moon, what then could be the meaning of Ber, but *New?* and probably in this special sense of *new moon* or *new month.* In our opinion this fact must be decisive upon the question of the ancient meaning of this word Ber.

Now it is asserted by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson [q] that *Beri* was the old Egyptian for *New:* and though we have not found any such word and in such a sense in the Chevalier Bunsen's vocabulary of ancient Egyptian words, recovered from the monuments or from any other quarter, we consider Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's authority to be sufficient to vouch for the fact which he asserts. Now Beri would differ only *per accidens* from Ber; and Septemberi from September; Novemberi from November. Septemberi or Novemberi in Latin would assume the form of Septemberis or Novemberis; and there is reason to conclude that the oldest Latinised form of the names of these months did end in *Bris* not *Ber.* It is peculiar to all of them to increase in *bris* not *bri:* and though Septembris, Octobris, Decembris do not actually occur at present, yet Novembris occurs in one of the fragments of Cato [r]: Mense Octobri fecimus: Novembris reliquos erat. Novemberi in Latin would become Novemberis: and Novembris would be only *per syncopen* for Novemberis.

It is very observable that this Egyptian word Beri, according to Sir G. Wilkinson, denoted *New,* but not *New moon.* This distinction is not unimportant to the present question. The Nundinal Lunar calendar was such that it could not always begin with the same phasis or visible state of the moon. If it began at the full in one year, it must begin at the new moon in the next; and *vice versa,* perpetually. There could not consequently in such a calendar be a regular succession of new moons, one on the first of every month; but there would be even in that a regular succession of new months, each on the proper day. We may probably there-

[q] Manners and Customs, First series, i. ii. 154.

[r] Apud Priscianum, vi. Vide Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, apud Sallustium, Havercampii, ii. 297. lii.

fore infer that this affix of Ber, attached to the numerical term which indicated the place of the month in the order of the calendar, did first and properly denote nothing but *New*; nothing but such and such a recurrence, in its proper order, and place in the series, of that complex of days which composed the Nundinal month: and if that was the case, it would be a decisive confirmation of the truth of Sir G. Wilkinson's statement that *Beri* was actually the Egyptian for *New*.

We have thus, as we think, at last arrived at something like good grounds for concluding that the first idea of the Nundinal correction of ancient Italy must have been ultimately derived from Egypt; and probably through the Umbri of ancient Italy. Consequently that no name can be so proper for the first and original Type of that correction, as the Umbrian. It is very necessary however to remind the reader that this question of the ultimate origin of this first Type of its proper kind, or of the name by which it ought to be called, is altogether a distinct thing from the fact of the existence of such a Type itself, and in its proper order of time. This fact of the existence of the first Type of its kind in its proper order of time is consequentially deducible from that of the existence of secondary and later Types of the same kind, each in its proper order of time also; of which we have distinct and independent proofs. These later Types are so connected with and so dependent upon the earlier, that every succeeding one in the series presupposes and recognizes and authenticates the preceding; and all the later ones presuppose and authenticate the first of all.

We shall conclude this account of the first and oldest Nundinal correction of ancient Italy with some general remarks, which appear to be suggested by it.

First, The rise of a period in Italy, composed of the same elements in general as the Phœnix period of the Egyptians, and those elements combined together and adjusted to each other on a principle evidently borrowed from that which pervaded the details of the Phœnix period, can leave no reasonable grounds for doubt concerning the Egyptian origin of this period: nor, in that case, of an immigration from Egypt to Italy, synchronous with the date of the period. And this

being assumed as July 19 B. C. 1340, the most remarkable coincidence connected with it is this; that the date of this period in Italy, and of the Nundinal correction of the primitive calendar which came into being along with it, was only six years later than that of the Panathenaïc correction of the primitive calendar by Erichthonius also in Attica, July 20 or 21 B. C. 1346[s]. The ancient Attic tradition represented Erichthonius the author of this correction as the leader of a colony of Egyptian settlers from Saïs in Egypt to Athens. And this fact was attested by the name of Athens, or Ἀθῆναι, itself, the city of Athenè, that is of Neith[t], the tutelary goddess of Saïs in Egypt in particular; and by the supposed relation of Erichthonius himself to Athenè, as in some sense or other her son: the true meaning of which is that he was the first to introduce this conception of Athenè into Attica; he was the first author of the worship of Athenè as such.

Now these facts taken in conjunction appear to lead directly to the inference that a very considerable movement in the way of emigration, and in various directions, must have been going on in Egypt, from B. C. 1346 at least to B. C. 1340. It adds not a little to the extraordinary character of the coincidence and to the probability of the inference founded upon it, that the most probable date of the migration of Danaus also from Egypt to Argos would fix it about the same time. We know not indeed for certain what was actually going on in Egypt, B. C. 1346—B. C. 1340. But the first of these dates is only four years, and the second is only ten years, later than the epoch of the Sothiacal period in Egypt, B. C. 1350[u]; and that particular time, as we shewed in our former work[w], was coincident with the reign of Mœris: and in all probability with the commencement of a great and stupendous undertaking, the excavation of the immense lake, equal in size to the Delta of Egypt itself, attributed to this king Mœris; and ever after called by his name, the Lake of Mœris. Such an undertaking would necessarily require a great number of years for its completion; and incessant toil and labour while

[s] Fasti Catholici, i. 553. Diss. vii. ch. ii. sect. iii: ii. 105. Diss. ix. ch. iv. sect. xi.

[t] Ibid. iii. 34. Diss. xiv. ch. i. sect. xi: ii. 591. Diss. xiii. ch. vi. sect. xii.

[u] Ibid. iii. 54 sqq. Diss. xiv. ch. ii. sect. vi.—165. ch. v. sect. iii.

[w] Ibid. iii. 192. Diss. xiv. ch. vi. sect. v.

it was going on. The people of Egypt no doubt were the persons who laboured upon it, and with their own hands executed it at last; and probably by task-work, or in succession, in some order or other. It would not be surprising therefore if, in ten years' time after the beginning of these labours, numbers of them, worn out and exhausted by the severity of their task, might have determined to quit their country, and to go in search of relief elsewhere.

Again, this first Nundinal period comes so near to the epoch of the second Phœnix period, and was so evidently modelled upon that period, that we might almost suppose it must have been intended by its authors to be a modified form of the Phœnix period itself; a Phœnix period with a cycle of 120 years instead of 500. And yet that could not have been the case. The Phœnix period was a purely astronomical one; but the Nundinal period was altogether a civil one. The former was inseparably connected with the Sphere, and the Lunar Mansions; in the latter no reference is discoverable to either. Mean natural annual time or mean Julian was the principal element in the Phœnix period; mean annual solar in the sense of equable was so in the Nundinal.

The object proposed by the authors of this peculiar period appears to have been to combine the three measures of time which enter the civil calendar, the noctidiurnal, the menstrual, and the annual, in a certain way and in a certain relation one to another perpetually: noctidiurnal in the form of the mean or actual cycle of day and night; annual in that of the equable cycle of 365 days and nights; menstrual in the form of a natural, and in that of a civil or positive, standard of the same kind. And these three measures of time they must have intended to combine together and to adjust to each other perpetually in such a manner that, while simple noctidiurnal time entered alike into them all, mean annual, in the sense of equable, should be a constant mean between the two forms of menstrual time; as much less than the one, as greater than the other, in one of these periods or complexes of 120 years, perpetually.

And with respect to these two standards of menstrual time, it must now be admitted that one of them, the Nundinal, could have been only conventional and positive;

assumed for no other purpose but that of serving as a constant measure of the Nundinal cycle: and therefore more properly another form of the noctidiurnal cycle than of the menstrual. Such an assumption therefore, and such an application, of the menstrual standard as this, as we contended elsewhere[x], would be no test or criterion of the real opinions of its authors concerning the true menstrual standard, the mean natural lunar month. Their real opinion on that point is not to be collected from their Nundinal standard of the mean lunation, but from that which resulted, as we have seen, from the division of the noctidiurnal period of 43 824 days and nights by the equivalent period of 1484 lunations. The mean lunar standard resulting from that division was 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 38·167 115 9 seconds. The mean lunar standard of the Phœnix period, obtained in a similar manner, was 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 4·113 842 173 35 sec.[y]; a very different standard from the former: and, as we shewed in our former work[z], at the time when it was actually so obtained and so assumed, as nearly as possible the true mean standard of nature itself. And this is one among other arguments that, though the authors of the Nundinal period must have had a general idea of the nature and constitution of the Phœnix period, they could not have had an exact and complete knowledge of it; from which we may also infer that they could not have been any of the priests of Egypt at least. And yet it is clear that they were not uninformed and ignorant Egyptians. They knew more at this time of the true lunar momenta than Meton, a thousand years later; whose lunar standard was still more in excess than their's, 29 d. 12 h. 45 m. 57·4468 sec.: and not much less than Calippus, 100 years later than Meton; whose corrected standard was only 12 or 13 seconds of mean time less than their's, 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 25·5319 seconds: and little less than the united sagacity of Christian astronomers down to the time of the Gregorian correction; until which the Church itself was still content to acquiesce in this faulty standard of the Calippic correction[a].

[x] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. iii. vol. i. p. 140.
[y] Fasti Catholici, iii. 502. Diss. xv. ch. ix. sect. i.
[z] Ibid. sect. ii.
[a] Ibid. i. 67. Diss. ii. ch. ii. sect. iii. Introduction, 228. Part iii. ch. i. sect. xii.

It has been demonstrated, as we believe, in our former work[b], that the primitive lunar cycle of 25 equable years, commonly called the Apis cycle, had still been retained and perpetuated among the Egyptians themselves, without any change, from the beginning of things A. M. 1 B. C. 4004 down to A. M. 3032 B. C. 973 at least. The xxvth Type of that cycle entered our Table[c] Æra Cyclica 2651, on the same solar term as the ist, the 8th of Thoth: but on the lunar 29th. We have therefore

The epoch of the first Nundinal Type ..	Æra Cycl. 2667
Epoch of the xxvth Type of the primitive Apis cycle	2651
Epoch of the first Nundinal Type in the 1st cycle of the xxvth Type, year	16

i. e. the 16th solar = the 17th lunar year of that cycle.

In the 17th lunar year of the cycle the stated solar date was Phamenoth 22; equal at this time to the lunar 29th.

Scheme of the Primitive Apis Cycle, Type XXV. *Cycle* i. 17
Æra Cyc. 2666.

Month.				
i	Phamenoth	22	=	Luna 29
ii	Pharmuthi	22	=	—
iii	Pachon	21	=	—
iv	Paüni	21	=	—
v	Epiphi	20	=	—
vi	Mesore	20	=	Luna 29
	—	+ 16	=	+ 16
Æra cycl. 2667	Thoth	1	=	Luna 15

That is, the calendar *πανσέληνον* of the 6th lunar month of cycle i. 17 in this Type coincided with Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667, the epoch of the first Nundinal Type; and that this calendar *πανσέληνον* at this time was also the true full moon has been proved by actual calculation. The true full moon of July B. C. 1340 fell on July 19; and July 19 B. C. 1340 was also the date of Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667. The Apis cycle of primitive antiquity then, still preserved in Egypt Æra Cyclica 2667, was true to nature. It indicated at this

[b] Fasti Catholici, iv. 368. Diss. xviii. ch. ii: ii. 468. Diss. xiii. [c] Ibid. iv. 383. Diss. xviii. ch. ii. sect. ii.

very time the civil *πανσέληνον* in strict accordance to the natural *πανσέληνον* also. In the Nundinal correction, which came into being at the same time, this true natural *πανσέληνον*, the fifteenth of the month, was assumed as the 17th, or at least as the 16th; one day in excess of the truth. And that too may be among the other arguments that though the authors of this correction might have been Egyptians, and in comparison of the rest of their countrymen well informed Egyptians, they could not have been some of the priests of Egypt. They had not the same accurate knowledge about such things as these, as must have been possessed by the priests of Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

On the second Type of the Nundinal Calendar.

Equable Epoch Thoth 1 at midnight Æra Cyc. 2787.
Julian Epoch June 20 at midnight B. C. 1220.

Nundinal character the Feria Prima.
Hebdomadal character the Feria Prima.
Lunar character the Luna 25ª.

SECTION I.—*On the* Sabini *of ancient Italy; and on the proper denomination of the second Nundinal Type as the Sabine Type.*

We have seen every reason to conclude that a second Type of the Nundinal calendar peculiar to ancient Italy, in all respects such as would be required at the proper distance of time, measured in equable years, from the epoch of that of which we have just given an account, and exhibiting all the characters which must have been derived from the first Type of its kind to a second one, took its rise among the Sabini of ancient Italy; and therefore that its proper denomination, in contradistinction to that of any other, before or after it, is that of the Sabine Type of the Nundinal calendar. Preliminary therefore to any further explanation of this parti-

cular Type, we must begin with considering the accounts of the ancient Sabini, which have been left on record.

According to some of these accounts the nation of the Sabini of Italy derived its name, and on the same principle its origin or foundation, from Sabus.

> Ibant et læti pars Sancum voce canebant
> Auctorem gentis: pars laudes ore ferebant
> Sabe! tuas, qui de proprio cognomine primus
> Dixisti populos magna ditione Sabinos[d].

And according to others of these accounts this Sabus was a Persian or a Lacedæmonian. Servius, in allusion to Æneid viii. 638, Curibusque severis: Aut severis disciplina, aut rem hoc verbo reconditam, dixit; quia Sabini a Lacedæmoniis originem ducunt, ut Hyginus ait de Origine urbium Italicarum, a Sabo, qui de Perside Lacedæmonios transiens ad Italiam venit, et expulsis Siculis tenuit loca quæ Sabini habent..... Cato autem et Gellius a Sabo Lacedæmonio trahere eos originem referunt. porro Lacedæmonios durissimos fuisse omnis lectio docet. Sabinorum etiam mores populum Romanum secutum idem Cato dicit.

But though the authority even of Cato is thus quoted for this tradition of the derivation of the Sabini from the Lacedæmonian Sabus, there is reason to doubt whether Cato did actually entertain such an opinion concerning the name and the origin of the nation of the Sabini; and did not rather believe that their proper founder was Sancus, mentioned along with Sabus in the passage from Silius Italicus cited *supra*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that, according to Zenodotus of Trœzen, the Sabines were Umbrians, who had been settled originally Περὶ τὴν Ῥεατίνην; that they had been some time or other dispossessed of this settlement by the Pelasgi; and had obtained or assumed the name of Sabines only in the new abode in which they afterwards planted themselves: Καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἅμα τῷ τόπῳ τοὔνομα Σαβίνους ἐξ Ὀμβρικῶν προσαγορευθῆναι[e]. He adds: Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει τεθῆναί φησιν ἐπὶ Σαβίνου τοῦ Σάγκου δαίμονος ἐγχωρίου. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σάγκον ὑπό τινων Πίστιον καλεῖσθαι Δία. According to Cato too their first settle-

[d] Silius Italicus, Punica, viii. 421.

[e] Ant. Rom. ii. 49.

ment in Italy was at Testrina near Amiternum; and from thence they invaded the Aborigines, in the Reatine territory, and took from them their principal city* Cotynæ. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ῥεατίνης ἀποικίας ἀποστείλαντας ἄλλας τε πόλεις κτίσαι ἐν αἷς οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς προσαγορευομένας Κύρεις[e].

It would thus appear that Cato did in reality derive the Sabines from Sancus not from Sabus, if Sabus at least was a different person from Sancus. On which principle he could not have concurred in the opinion that their founder was either a Persian or a Lacedæmonian. With regard to this particular account of their origin, it must be admitted that Plutarch also[f] seems to have considered the Sabines of Curēs a colony from Lacedæmonia. Dionysius too notices the same tradition relating to their origin in the sequel of the above account; and from what he says concerning it it must be concluded that, if such a colony did ever pass from Lacedæmonia into Italy, it was in the time of Lycurgus, and in the midst of the reforms of Lycurgus: and that it consisted of those who could not bear the severity of the discipline which he was introducing among them; and rather than submit to it voluntarily went into exile. The time of Lycurgus and of the legislation of Lycurgus (circa B. C. 884) is much too late for the origin of so ancient a people as the Sabini, one of the oldest in Italy. Nor is it consistent to represent their peculiar polity, their public and private discipline and rule of life, in point of severity and strictness to have come nearest of all to the Spartan model of Lycurgus; and yet to have been introduced among them by Spartans also, who could not endure the rigid and inflexible discipline of their domestic legislature. We cannot hesitate therefore to reject this tradition of the derivation of the Sabine nation, and of the Sabine discipline and rule of life, from the ancient Sparta; though it is still possible that settlers from Lacedæmonia, either in the time of Lycurgus or soon after, might have found their way to Italy, and have taken up their abode among the Sabines. All that we contend for is that the Sabine nation must have been much older in Italy than

* Corrige Cotiliæ, cf. i. 14, 15: also Strabo, v. 3.

[e] Ant. Rom. ii. 49. [f] Romulus, xvi: Numa, i.

the Spartan in Greece, if the existence of the latter is dated only from the time of Lycurgus. Strabo has shewn his usual good sense in taking no notice of such questionable accounts of the origin of the nation as these; and by insisting on nothing but their antiquity, and their connection with the soil of Italy from the first: Ἔστι δὲ καὶ παλαιότατον γένος οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες . . . τὴν δ' ἀρχαιότητα τεκμήριον ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης· ἀρετῆς, ἀφ' ἧς ἀντέσχον μέχρι πρὸς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον. φησὶ δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς Φάβιος Ῥωμαίους αἰσθέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου τότε πρῶτον ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου παρέστησαν κύριοι [g].

It seems then that besides this Sabus, (who whether as a Persian or as a Lacedæmonian in reference to the supposed descent of the Sabine name and nation from him in particular can be regarded only as an imaginary character,) there was another traditionary founder of the Sabines, the Sabine Sancus; whose antiquity too was such that he passed with posterity not for a man, (an ancient king but still a man,) but for a divinity of native or aboriginal descent, Δαίμων τις ἐγχώριος. It cannot be necessary to prove so well known and confessed a point as the tendency of all antiquity to deify their own founders and legislators; if not at first, yet in the course of time. Sabini etiam regem suum primum Sancum sive ut aliqui Sanctum (corrige Sangum) retulerunt in deos [h]—Privatim vero singuli populi gentis aut urbis suæ conditores, seu viri fortitudine insignes erant seu feminæ castitate mirabiles, summa veneratione coluerunt: ut Ægyptii Isidem, Mauri Jubam (forsan Hiarban [i]), Macedones Cabyrum, Pœni Uranum, Latini Faunum, Sabini Sancum, Romani Quirinum [k]. To this Sancus or Sangus, as the true founder of the Sabine race, Virgil too most probably alludes under the name of "the Sabine Father."

> Quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
> Antiqua e cedro: Italusque, Paterque Sabinus
> Vitisator, curvam servans sub imagine falcem,
> Vestibulo adstabant [l].

And this allusion is important in another respect. The

[g] v. 3.
[h] Augustin, De Civitate, xviii. 19.
[i] Cf. Fasti Catholici, iv. 255. Diss. xvii. ch. iii. sect. vi: 667, 668. App. ch. v.
[k] Lactantius, i. 15.
[l] Æneid. vii. 177.

insignia or accompaniments of this representation of the Pater Sabinus are those of Saturn; that is, they are the vine and the pruning knife: from which it appears to be only a necessary inference that if this *Sabine Father* in Virgil's opinion was not really the same with Saturn he was at least one of his contemporaries; and one of those who had learnt from him the art of cultivating the ground, and the use of the instruments necessary for that purpose: which he had afterwards taught his own people the Sabines. And this latter must have been his real opinion concerning him; for that Saturn, in Virgil's apprehension, was personally distinct from any of those whom he associates with him in these descriptions, Janus, Picus, Faunus, there can be no doubt. In Virgil's opinion then the time of this Sabine Father must have been that of Saturn; and the time of Saturn, as we shewed on a former occasion [m], in Italy and according to the Italian tradition relating to his history and to its chronology, was critically circumscribed by B. C. 1260 and B. C. 1230: that is, as nearly as possible by the earliest date of the second Nundinal Type, regularly derivable from the first, of the epoch of B. C. 1340; viz. B. C. 1220. So that, if the author of this second Nundinal correction was the Sabine Sancus, he must have been a contemporary of Saturn; and yet something younger than Saturn too. Conversely, a contemporary of Saturn, from B. C. 1260 to B. C. 1230, and yet a little younger than he, might be the author of a correction of the calendar in Italy, only ten years later than the time of Saturn.

Accordingly it appears that tradition, *among* the Sabines or ultimately derived *from* the Sabines, did attribute to an ancient king of their own, of this name of Sancus, some time or other, a correction of their calendar; which, if it ever had an actual existence, must have been this second Nundinal correction of the Primitive calendar, B. C. 1220. Sed Januarium Romani Februarium Numa Pompilius addidit, atque duodecim mensibus annum distinxit. plerique autem asserunt Cignum (al. Cingum, lege Sangum) Sabinorum regem prius annum in menses divisisse et Kalendas et Interkalares dies instituisse [n]. It is implied in this statement that before

[m] Diss. iii. ch. v. sect. viii. vol. i. 374. [n] Isidore, De Natura Rerum, iv. 247 G.

the time of this ancient king of their's the Sabine year had not yet been distinguished into months; and even that would be true, if their proper civil year was the Nundinal, and if this king first divided it into the proper number of months. It appears to be implied by it also that, if the year had not yet twelve months before the time of Romulus and Numa Pompilius, in the time of this Sangus or Sancus it could have had only ten months. It is still more clearly implied by it that if he introduced a year of any kind among his people, the Sabines, it must have been a lunar year; a year which had Kalends, i. e. *νουμηνίαι*, and as it was supposed an intercalary system too. The Nundinal year was a particular form of the lunar year. In certain types of its own kind it had kalends properly so called: in all it had its civil numenia, the first day of its months, and those months lunar months, alike. And though from its own nature and constitution no one Type of the Nundinal correction, considered even as a lunar one of a peculiar kind, could either require or admit of any proper intercalary system; yet we have seen that from the peculiar relation of one in a succession of Types of this kind to another, and in order to the reduction of the style of a later of that kind to that of an earlier, it required the constant intercalation of 24 days.

It appears to us then that, from whatsoever quarter Isidore obtained his information upon this point, there was good foundation for what he asserts. There must have been a Sabine correction of the primitive calendar, the work of an ancient king of the Sabini, called Sangus or Sancus. Isidore had found *this* recorded not in *one* author, but in *several* authors; in fact in *most:* for that is the proper meaning of *plerique—plerique* autem asserunt; *most* authors assert, not merely *many* authors assert. The preponderance of testimony therefore, as far as he had inquired into it, was to *this* effect; That the first institution of a regular calendar, with a proper and characteristic system of administration, among the ancient Sabines was the work of the Sabine Sangus or Sancus. If so, and the time of this Sancus himself is otherwise determinable to an epoch which comes so near to the date of the second Type of the Nundinal correction, regularly derived from the first; there can be no reasonable

doubt that the calendar which he actually introduced among his countrymen or subjects must have been this Nundinal one of the second Type. It is to be observed that according to some of the testimonies produced supra even the Sabines themselves were Umbrians: and, though the truth of that statement may very reasonably be called in question, there cannot be much doubt that they were near neighbours at first of the Umbrians: especially, if they settled originally about Testrina and Reate, i. e. on the very confines of ancient Umbria. The foundation of this statement itself may have been simply the fact that the characteristic calendar of the Sabines was borrowed from that of the Umbrians; and was the first of its kind which any people of ancient Italy had yet adopted besides the Umbrians. As then we have called the first Type of the Nundinal correction the Umbrian; so we propose to call this second Type the Sabine.

SECTION II.—*On the general proofs or arguments of the second, or Sabine, Type of the Nundinal Calendar.*

We shall now pass to such general and particular proofs or arguments of the actual existence of this second or Sabine Type of the ancient Nundinal calendar as we have been able to discover; beginning with the general.

First then, it will be a general proof or argument of the actual existence of some proper and peculiar Type of the Nundinal calendar among the Sabini of ancient Italy in particular, if it can be shewn that the Nundinal cycle must have been in use among them; that they must have been familiar with that particular measure of the noctidiurnal cycle. And this, it appears to us, is implied first of all by what the ancients have left on record concerning a certain class of divinities peculiar to the Sabines, and concerning the name by which they were called among them: the Dii Novensiles of the Sabines.

That these were proper to the Sabines we learn from Varro: Novensiles, a Sabinis[o]. That they had some time or other an *origin* even among them, that they could not have existed even in *their* apprehension from all eternity,

[o] De Lingua Lat. iv. 22.

may be collected from Servius' comment on Æneid viii. 187:

Vana superstitio, veterumque ignara deorum.

Sane quidam veteres deos *Novensiles* dicunt, quibus merita virtutis dederint numinis dignitatem: that is, even these had been deified solely because of their deserts, like the Dii Indigetes of the Romans also. That they were nevertheless beings of great power and might appears from the prerogative or privilege ascribed by the Tuscans to them, in common with Jupiter only; that of launching his thunder: Tuscorum litteræ novem deos emittere fulmen existimant[p]: for that these nine gods were the Dii Novensiles of the Sabines will appear by and by. These Dii Novensiles are mentioned by name in the Carmen Devotionis prescribed for the Roman consul Decius, U. C. 414 B.C. 340, by the pontifex who attended him[q]. That they were connected with the number *nine* appears from Arnobius[r]: Novensiles Musæ sunt: Trebiani quinimmo Dii sunt: immo novenarius numerus—Novensiles Piso deos esse credit novem in Sabinis apud Trebiam constitutos. hos Granius Musas putat consensum accommodans Ælio: novenarium numerum tradit Varro, quod in movendis rebus potentissimus semper habeatur et maximus . . . . . deos novem Manilius, quibus solis Jupiter potestatem jaciendi sui permiserit fulminis[s].

Of these different explanations of the name and nature of these Dii the true one, in our opinion, is this of Varro; that they were types and impersonations of the number *nine* and of its component parts. Nor should it appear extraordinary that even such pure abstractions as the terms of a numerical cycle in the mythology of antiquity were invested with the names and attributes of persons. If we are permitted to continue our present history of the calendars of antiquity we shall have occasion to illustrate this fact both in the case of the octaëteric lunar cycle, (a numerical cycle of eight terms,) and in that of the epagomenæ of the primitive solar year, (one of five terms,) and in that of the epagomenæ of the Julian year, (a numerical cycle of six terms.) Now nine, in the popular conception and popular mode of speaking of the

[p] Pliny, H. N. ii. 53. [q] Livy, viii. 9. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xxviii. 3. 12o.
[r] iii. 126. [s] iii. 122.

orbis nundinalis, was the ordinary measure of that cycle; and so far these Dii Novensiles of the Sabines might have been a type of the Nundinal cycle: and that would be a demonstrative proof of the fact for which we are contending, the knowledge and use of this cycle among the ancient Sabines in particular.

But nine was not the real measure of the Nundinal cycle; only eight. The number of these Dii Novensiles must have been really and actually nine: otherwise it could not have been supposed that they were the same with the Muses, the number of which was nine. The true explanation of this peculiar conception of the Sabines, in the form of their Dii Novensiles, probably lies much deeper; and is to be found in something of which Varro himself was not aware. Their number was certainly nine; and they were the impersonated representations of a certain numerical cycle, the terms of which were nine. It has been already shewn that the proper Hebdomadal epoch of the first Type of the Nundinal calendar was the *feria septima* of the Hebdomadal cycle; and that of the second was the *feria prima:* and that each of these in its proper order of time coincided with the *feria prima* of the Nundinal cycle. The number of terms in the Nundinal cycle, from the *feria prima* of one to the *feria prima* of the next, both being included is nine. The number in the Hebdomadal from the *feria septima* of one, to the *feria prima* of the next but one, both included also, is likewise nine. These *nine* terms whether in the Nundinal cycle or in the Hebdomadal, thus traceable from the proper epoch of the first Nundinal Type in each to that of the second in each also, were the Dii Novensiles of the Sabines. These Dii Novensiles were the impersonations of the nine terms, whether in the Nundinal or in the Hebdomadal cycle, which thus appeared to measure the interval from the epoch of the first Nundinal Type to that of the second in both these cycles at once. And this was probably the reason of the distinction accorded to these Dii in particular, that of dividing with Jupiter, the chief of the gods, the right or power of emitting his thunder; for even the thunder of Jupiter must be emitted on some one of the *feriæ* both of the same Nundinal cycle and of the same Hebdomadal cycle at once: and

those *feriæ* in reality were nothing different from themselves. We may conclude then that this peculiar conception and impersonation of the Sabines came up with their Nundinal calendar; could not at least have been older than it: and must have been ultimately founded on the proper Nundinal and proper Hebdomadal character in conjunction of the second Nundinal Type; yet not without a distinct and express relation also to those of the first.

Again, it is a general argument of the use of the Nundinal cycle among the ancient Sabini, that it appears to have been used by other nations of ancient Italy who are said to have been descended from the Sabini. Of this number were the Peligni.

> Et tibi cum proavis miles Peligne! Sabinis
> Convenit[t].

And also the Picentes; of whom Pliny: Orti sunt a Sabinis voto vere sacro[u]: and, according to Strabo, both they and the Samnites: Τούτων δ' ἄποικοι Πικεντῖνοί τε καὶ Σαμνῖται[w]. Picena regio, in qua est Asculum, dicta quod Sabini cum Asculum proficiscerentur in vexillo eorum picus consederat[x]. Now that the Nundinal cycle was used in these quarters of Italy and among these communities we learn from Festus[y]: Vici appellari incipiunt ex agris qui ibi villas non habent, ut Marsi aut Peligni; sed ex vicis partim habent rempublicam et jus (ibi dicitur): partim nihil eorum, et tamen ibi Nundinæ aguntur negotii gerendi caussa. There is no reason to suppose that these Nundinæ were not intended of the regular Nundinal or market cycle, which the Romans understood to be meant by that term among themselves. These nations and parts of Italy then, distinct from Rome, had the same Nundinal cycle as the Romans, even when they had none of their municipal rights or privileges. If so, they must have inherited it from their ancestors; and if they were descendants of the Sabines, and colonies of the Sabines, the Sabines must have had it as well as they; and must have had it before them too.

[t] Ovid, Fasti, iii. 95. A. Gellius, xi. 1.
[u] H. N. iii. 18. 689.
[w] v. 3. Cf. Pliny, H. N. iii. 17. 683.
[x] Festus, xiv. 344. 14 Picena.
[y] Ibid. xix. 591. 12 Vici.

SECTION III.—*Particular proofs or arguments of the second, or Sabine, Type of the Nundinal Calendar.*

We shall now pass to some more particular proofs and arguments of the actual existence of this second Nundinal Type, and among the ancient Sabines.

First, the metropolis of the Sabine community, even at the most remote point of time in their history to which testimony can carry us back, appears to have been the Sabine city called Cures. The name of Cures itself is derived by the ancients from the Sabine word for Mars, or for a spear, *Curis* or *Quiris*; Κύρεις γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς αὐχμὰς καλοῦσιν[z]: and according to Varro, quoted by Dionysius[z], it was founded by the son of Quirinus and a native virgin among the Aborigines, Modius Fabidius. Κύρις δὲ νῦν μὲν κώμιόν ἐστιν, says Strabo[a], ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐπίσημος, ἐξ ἧς ὥρμηντο οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης βασιλεύσαντες Τίτος Τάτιος καὶ Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος. Nor is it the least significant argument of its pristine dignity and importance that even the Romans chose to designate themselves, from the earliest date to the latest times, as the Roman people of the Quirites: Populus Romanus Quirites: as if Quiris or Cures had always been their metropolis, and the Romans themselves were only its citizens, domiciliated and living at Rome. Sangus or Sancus, the founder of the nation, or at least the reformer of its calendar, and probably its first legislator properly so called, according to Propertius, speaking of this Sancus, though under the name of Hercules also, was deified first at Cures.

> Nunc quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem
> Sic Sancum Tatii composuere Cures[b].

Now if that was the case, the proper Nundinal calendar of Cures must have been the proper civil calendar of Numa Pompilius, before he was the author of any calendar of his own at Rome. The lunar character of this proper Nundinal calendar of the Sabini as we have seen would be the luna 25[a]; and according to the principles and constitution of the Nun-

[z] Dionysius, ii. 48. Cf. Varro, De Lingua Lat. iv. 21, 22. Festus, ii. 72. 9 Celibari: iii. 109. 6 Curis: xv. 415. 15 Quirinus. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 477. Plutarch, Romulus, xxix. Quæstiones Romanæ, lxxxvii.

[a] v. 3. [b] iv. ix. 73.

dinal calendar it must alternate perpetually from the 25th luna at the beginning of one year to the 9th at the beginning of the next: and vice versa. That is, its proper distinctive lunar characters were the second dichotomy, the luna 25ª, and the first dichotomy, the luna 9ª, perpetually; and in that order too, first the luna 25ª, and then the luna 9ª, and not *vice versa*. Now these two, as we have seen[c], were the only two lunar phases distinctly recognized in the calendar of Numa, and throughout it; the former, the second dichotomy, the luna 25ª, as the character of his cycle, the character of his year, and the character of his months, perpetually; the latter, the second dichotomy, the luna 9ª, as the character of his Idus in each of his months perpetually. Is it unreasonable to suppose that this marked predilection in his own lunar calendar for two only of the lunar phases, and those two the two which were the proper distinguishing characteristics of the second Nundinal Type, was but the natural partiality of one who had long been familiar with that Type? or the natural effect of habit in one who had long been accustomed to it? But to what type of civil time could a citizen of Cures have been accustomed, except the proper Sabine Type? If then Numa's calendar before he was made king of Rome was the second Type of the Nundinal calendar; the calendar of Cures too must have been the second Type of the Nundinal calendar: and the proper Nundinal calendar of Cures, the metropolis of the Sabines, must have been the proper Nundinal Type of the whole Sabine community.

Again, it was shewn in the proper place of the former part of this work that the Nundinal cycle of the calendar of Numa was the same with that of the calendar of Romulus[d]; and that the same day, the Nones of January U. C. 42 of Varro cycle i. 1 of Numa, and the fifth of October in the viiith Nundinal month, cycle viii. 4 of the calendar of Romulus, Feb. 21 B. C. 712, was common to both and Nundinal alike in both[e]. It is not inconsistent with this fact, or with the supposition of an intentional reference of Numa's correction, in that respect, to the calendar of Romulus, that the same relation holds good at the same point of time between his

[c] Supra, Diss. iii. ch. ii. sect. xviii. vol. i. p. 262: ch. iii. sect. iii. p. 277.

[d] Diss. vii. ch. ii. sect. ii. supra, p. 27.

[e] Diss. iii. ch. iii. sect. iv. vol. i. p. 280.

correction and the more ancient Nundinal calendar of Cures; and might have been purposely regarded by him at the same point of time also.

Nundinal Calendar, Type ii.
Epoch June 20 *B. C.* 1220.

Year.		B.C.
Cycle cii 1	Nov. 9	716
— 2	Sep. 9	715
— 3	July 10	714
— 4	May 9	713

Nundinal Calendar, Type ii.
Cycle cii. 4. *B. C.* 713—712.

Month.		B.C.	Month.		B.C.
i	May 9	713	vi	Oct. 16	713
ii	June 10	—	vii	Nov. 17	—
iii	July 12	—	viii	Dec. 19	—
iv	Aug. 13	—	ix	Jan. 20	712
v	Sep. 14	—	x	Feb. 21	—

The first Nundinal cycle in the calendar of Numa consequently coincided with the first day of the tenth month in the fourth year of the ciind cycle of this Type; a Nundinal day, like the first of every other month; because of the constitution of the Nundinal calendar, and of the length of its months (a perfect measure of the Nundinal cycle), and of the incidence of the Nundinal day on the first day of the Nundinal year perpetually.

Thirdly, the Sabine Sancus, of whom we have already given some account, appears to have been known by other names; that of Dius Fidius, that of Hercules, and that of Semo with the adjunct of Sanctus, or rather Sangus or Sancus. Ælius Gallus Dius Fidius dicebat Diovis Filius: ut Græci Διόσκουρον Castorem: et putabant hunc esse Sanctum (Sancum) ab Sabina lingua, et Herculem ab Græca[f]. Propertius, as we have seen, supposed Hercules to have been deified at Cures under this name of Sancus. Propter viam fit sacrificium, quod est proficiscendi gratia, Herculi aut Sanco, qui scilicet idem est deus[g]. Medius Fidius, an idiomatic form of adjuration in Latin (used however as we are told only by the men), is commonly understood to have been an appeal of that kind to Hercules, in this same capacity of the Dius Fidius; though Festus[h] explains the term Fidius in this combination as if it were the same with Filius, and meant Hercules the son of Jupiter, not Hercules the Dius Fidius*. Semo is associated by Livy with Sancus[i], in his

* It is not perhaps difficult to account for the Sabine Sancus' having been identified in Italy in the course of time with Hercules; with the

[f] Varro, De Lingua Lat. iv. 20.
[g] Festus, xiv. 386. 3 Propter.
[h] Ibid. xi. 234. 15 Medius Fidius.
[i] viii. 19. 20.

account of the treatment of Vitrŭvius Vaccus, leader of the Privernates, when they rebelled U. C. 424 B. C. 330: Ædes ejus quæ essent in Palatio diruendas, bona Semoni Sanco censuerunt consecranda.

The proper name and style of this Sancus however, in his capacity of a deified person, appears to have been that of Dius Fidius; which Dionysius rendered in Greek[k] by Ζεὺς Πίστιος: though it may very well be questioned whether the name of Ζεὺς, or rather the casus rectus of Διὸς (which must have been Δὶς, such as still appears in the old Latin name of Pluto, Dispater, and also in Dijovis,) entered into this appellation at all; and whether the first term in these titles was any thing originally but the ancient form of Dius for Deus or Divus. Hercules was identified with him under a designation of similar import, Hercules Custos Dius Fidius: and as so styled he is not to be distinguished except in name from Sancus.

Now there were two days in the Roman calendar, one after the other; the Pridie Nonas Junias, and the Nonæ Juniæ: the former of which was sacred to Hercules, Dius Fidius, the latter to Semo Sancus, under that name. In the Venusine calendar[l] opposite to Pridie Non. Jun. we have Herc. Magn. Custo. Dio Fidio; and of the same day Ovid in his Fasti writes as follows:

> Altera pars Circi custode sub Hercule tuta est:
> Quod deus Euboïco carmine munus habet.
> Muneris est tempus qui Nonas Lucifer ante est:
> Si titulos quæris, Sulla probavit opus[m].

Which confirms the calendar in ascertaining that day, (Pridie Nonas Junias,) to have been sacred to Hercules Custos, in

Egyptian Hercules, if *he* was meant by the name, because of the derivation of the Sabine Type of the Nundinal correction from the Umbrian, and the connection of the Umbrian colony in Italy with the Hercules of the Egyptians: with the Grecian Hercules, the son of Alcmene, if *he* was the person intended by the name, because, if this Hercules ever had a real existence, he and Sancus the Sabine must have been contemporaries. The acme of Hercules, the son of Alcmene, according to the Greek chronology of his life, and that of Sancus, the author of the second Nundinal correction, must have been as nearly as possible the same, B. C. 1220.

[k] Supra, p. 389. Cf. also Dionys. x. 60. [l] Apud Foggini. [m] vi. 209.

this capacity of Dius Fidius. Of the Nones, in like manner, Ovid writes:

> Quærebam Nonas Sanco Fidione referrem,
> An tibi, Semo pater! cum mihi Sancus ait:
> Cuicunque ex illis dederis, ego munus habebo:
> Nomina trina fero: sic voluere Cures.
> Hunc igitur veteres donarunt æde Sabini,
> Inque Quirinali constituere jugo[n].

From which we must certainly infer that Semo * and Sancus and Fidius (with the ellipsis of Dius) were the same person, who owned all those names at once; and that, as recognized by those names and all together, if he had a stated day in the calendar, it was the Nones of June. It follows that, as recognized by one of these names only, that of Dius Fidius, and as identified in that capacity with Hercules Custos also, his stated day was Pridie Nonas, the day before the Nones.

Now if there was ever such a person as the Sabine Sancus or Sangus, the founder of the Sabine nation, and possibly of Cures, the first legislator of the Sabines properly so called, the reformer of their calendar at least, and the author of the system of civil time peculiar to them; no day appropriated to any peculiar service in the Roman calendar would have a better right to be considered an original appointment of Numa's than one which was dedicated to this Sangus, with whom Numa himself must have had so close a connection. Let us assume that this day by Numa's appointment accordingly was Pridie Nonas Junias; and let us next consider what there was to distinguish the first Pridie Nonas Junias in the correction of Numa.

* The first of these titles, Semo, applied to Sancus, is not a proper name, but an appellative. It means *Semi-homo*; and was intended to denote that he was half-man half-god; that is, properly what would be understood by one of the δαίμονες of antiquity, the human soul, deified after death. The flattery of after times called men in their lifetime, destined to become δαίμονες after their death, *Semidei*, ἡμίθεοι (for instance Julius Cæsar); and there was no reason why δαίμονες on the same principle, who had once been men, and had now become gods, should not be called *Semones*. Cf. Forcellini Lexicon, in voce; also Fulgentius, Expos. Serm. Ant.: Mythologicωn, 172: Semones.

[n] Ibid. 213. Cf. p. 103 supra, No. viii.

The Kalends of Januarius in the first year of the first cycle of Numa fell on February 17 B. C. 712: and therefore the Kalends of Junius in the same on June 17. Consequently Pridie Nonas Junias, June 4 Roman, fell on June 20. Now that was the very date of the original correction of Sangus; the date of the second Type of the Nundinal correction which was to be called the Sabine Type in particular, because it proceeded from him: June 20 B. C. 1220. Was this an accidental coincidence? or did Numa fix on that day on purpose, as the fittest to be devoted to the memory of Sangus in his own calendar; and as the proper link of connection between his own correction of the Primitive calendar, now first coming into being, and that of Sangus, made so long before?

At the epoch of the Roman correction of Numa the Cyclical and the Nabonassarian Type of equable annual time were the same. In both, the first Kalends of his Januarius, Feb. 17, was the first of Thoth, and the first Pridie Nonas of his Junius was the fourth of Tybi, Æra Cyclica 3295. At the epoch of the correction of Sangus, the difference of styles was still four terms; and the first of the cyclical Thoth Æra Cyc. 2787 corresponded to the second Epagomenè Æra Cyc. 2786 in the Nabonassarian style; though both fell on the same Julian date, June 20 B. C. 1220. It is easy to shew in what manner this Julian term, June 20, assumed to have been fixed and the same in terms ever after, would rise with successive periods of 120 years in the Nabonassarian notation of the equable year, until it came to be attached to Tybi 4.

			Nab	Midn.			Midn.
Per. i.	Æra Cyc.	2787	Epagomene	2	B. C.	1220	June 20
ii.	..	2907	Thoth	27	..	1100	..
iii.	..	3027	Phaophi	27	..	980	..
iv.	..	3147	Athyr	27	..	860	..
v.	..	3267	Chœac	27	..	740	..
..	..	+28		+7	..	+28	..
Per. v. 29	Ær. Cyc.	3295	Tybi	4	B. C.	712	June 20

As the principle of the Julian year was known to Numa, he must have understood also the relation of the equable period of 120 years to the Julian one of the same nominal length; and therefore he could have no difficulty in tracing

a given Julian term like June 20, either downwards from B. C. 1220 to B. C. 712, or upwards from B. C. 712 to B. C. 1220: especially in the Nabonassarian Type of the equable year; which was what he would have to make use of under the circumstances of the case.

Fourthly, the proper name of the deified Sabine Sancus or Sangus, the Dius Fidius, was considered, as we have seen, to be the same as Jupiter Fidius; Jupiter, the object of *Fides* or *Trust*. Macrobius tells us that the Tuscan name for the Idus of the month was Itis; and that the meaning of Itis so used was Jovis Fiducia. Iduum porro nomen a Tuscis, apud quos is dies *Itis* vocatur, sumtum est. *Itim* autem illi interpretabantur *Jovis fiduciam*. nam cum Jovem accipiamus lucis auctorem, unde et Lucetium Salii in carmine canunt, et Cretenses Δία τὴν ἡμέραν vocant, ipsi quoque Romani Diespitrem appellant ut Diei patrem; jure hic dies Jovis Fiducia vocatur cujus lux non finitur cum solis occasu, sed splendorem diei et noctis continuat, illustrante luna[o].

This reasoning indeed is founded upon the assumption that, whether Idus in the Roman, or Itis in the Tuscan, mode of speaking, this day which they explained of the Jovis Fiducia was the middle of the lunar month, the civil or calendar πανσέληνον; on which when true to nature the moon of course shines all night, and there is no sensible interval of darkness between sunset on one day and sunrise on the next. But we know that the Roman Ides, and by necessary consequence the Tuscan Itis, did not denote the middle of the month, but the middle of the moon; the first dichotomy: the moon not at the full but 8 or 9 days old. The Tuscans it seems called this day Jovis Fiducia, as well as Itis in the sense of Idus; that is, the Trust of Jupiter. The Sabine Sancus too was called Jupiter Fidius, Jupiter the object of Trust also; and that must do much to connect the Jovis Fiducia of the Tuscans with this Sabine Sancus.

Now as the Lunar character of this Sabine Type was the luna 25[a]; it is manifest that from the first day of every month in that to the ninth the moon would go on waning: there would be no light on any night until after midnight, and less and less on successive nights even after midnight

[o] Saturnalia, i. xv. 274.

itself. On the ninth day of the month, in that Type, the moon would change or be new again; and beginning at evening or sunset on the ninth, from the first visible phasis of the moon, a short time after the change, down to the 17th of the month, there would be more and more light each night until midnight: and on the 17th it would begin to be light even after midnight itself. Now the 17th of the Nundinal month was the Ides of the Nundinal month; the day denoted by the Tuscan Itis: as we hope to shew more fully hereafter. We see then on what principle this peculiar explanation of the Jovis Fiducia, under such circumstances, might be applicable to the 17th of the month; because it was the first day in the course of the same lunation on which the moon was capable of shining for more than half the night: and consequently on which the ascendancy of light over darkness might be said to be complete. And therefore it was the first which could be *trusted* for light *by night* as well as *by day*.

But why should it have been called even for such a reason as that the Trust of *Jupiter?* Probably, because this coincidence could hold good in none of the Nundinal Types of ancient Italy but this Sabine one of Sancus', the Jupiter Fidius of after times himself. In no other Type but that did the Ides, in the sense of the 17th of the month, and the first lunar dichotomy coincide. It does not appear that the Tuscans intended this name, and in this sense of the Jovis Fiducia, of any day even in their own calendar but the first lunar dichotomy; and in its sense of the Idus also, or 17th of the month, as well as of the first dichotomy, it could hold good of no calendar but the Sabine one of Sancus. It appears then to us only a reasonable inference that this name of the Jovis Fiducia was first derived from the Sabine correction of Sancus. In that only could the 17th of the month be trusted for moonlight through half the night at least. And it would be evident, from the application of such a name, and for such a reason, to this one day, that it must have been reckoned from sunset; in entire conformity to the primitive rule of the noctidiurnal cycle.

Fifthly, we hope to make it appear by and by that the eighth secular period of the Etrurians was still current in the time of Varro, circa B. C. 76; the ninth in that of Juvenal,

A. D. 129; and that the tenth had not yet come to an end in the time of Censorinus, A. D. 238. We hope also to explain the doctrine connected with the decursus of these sæcula, and with the continued existence of a particular community concurrently with it; and the number of such sæcula which the doctrine prescribed in the particular case of the Gens Etrusca, viz. Ten. We hope also to shew that the length of each of these periods was 110 years, and those years equable years; consequently that the entire duration of ten such periods must have been exactly equivalent to 1100 equable years. We have shewn in a great measure already, and we hope to shew even still more clearly hereafter, that the epoch of the entire decursus of all these periods was that of the Nundinal correction peculiar to the Etrurians, Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 3147, March 25 B. C. 860, each reckoned, according to the Julian rule, from midnight. It follows that, if Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 3147 was the epoch of the first of these periods; Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica (3147 + 1100) 4247 would be the date of the last; the day after the close of the last.

The nature of the equable reckoning of noctidiurnal and annual time being every where well understood, and that of the Julian too having already come to be very generally comprehended, before even the first Nundinal correction of ancient Italy and much more those of later date were yet in being[p]; it could not fail to be known almost every where, before the date of this proper Etrurian type B. C. 860, that equable noctidiurnal and annual time, having once coincided with a given Julian term, could not coincide with it again, until it had described an entire cycle of the equable year, in the contrary order of its proper course and notation perpetually: and that the period of this restitution, under all the same circumstances as at first exactly, could not be less than 1461 equable years, 1460 Julian. But if no regard was paid to *every* condition of the restitution, (such as the *same* year of the Julian cycle of *Leap*-year,) it might be effected in 1460 equable years, as much as in 1461; for the same equable term will necessarily fall on the same Julian for four years in succession, and in each of the years of the cycle of Leap-year respectively. There would consequently in the nature of

[p] See our Fasti Catholici, i. 551. Diss. vii. ch. ii. sect. iii.

things be an equable period of 1460 years, as well as a Julian one of 1460 also, in which annual and noctidiurnal equable time would return to the same Julian epoch as at first; its epoch of origination in Julian time as such. Let us therefore proceed to inquire how far this period of 1460 equable years may possibly serve to throw light on the Etruscan doctrine of the succession of sæcula.

These sæcula came to an end Epagomenè 5 Nab. 987 = Æra Cyclica 4246. Reckon back 1460 equable years from Epagomenè 5 of Nab. Æra Cyc. 4246, and you come to Epagomenè 5 of Nab. Æra Cyc. 2786: that is, to Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 2787. Now this was the actual epoch of the second Type of the Nundinal calendar, the Sabine correction of Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 2787. The Julian date of Epagomenè 5 at midnight Nab. 987 Æra Cyc. 4246 was June 23 at midnight A. D. 240: the Julian date of Epagomenè 5 at midnight Æra Cyc. 2786 in the Nabonassarian style was June 23 at midnight B. C. 1220 also. It follows that the entire decursus of Etruscan sæcula, with all the fatal consequences attached to it, though supposed to have begun Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 3147, was supposed to have come to an end Epagomenè 5 Nab. 987 Æra Cyc. 4246; yet just 1460 equable years from the actual epoch of the second Nundinal correction, Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 2787.

Now this is a kind and degree of coincidence which in a case of this kind it would be impossible to resolve into the mere effect of chance. The simple statement of the fact is competent to authorize the inference that, in contriving the scheme of their secular periods, the Etrurians must have purposely taken two things into consideration; one, the proper measure of the restitution of a given term in the equable year to a given term in the Julian, 1460 equable years; the other, the proper Julian epoch of the Nundinal calendar Æra cyclica 2787, as the point of departure from which this period of restitution was to set out, and to which it was to return. And these being supposed to have been adjusted to each other in the first instance accordingly; it must have been assumed that one entire revolution of the equable year round this fixed Julian term, (which was in fact the same thing as an entire revolution about itself,) was a fatal period

in the duration of any given state of things, or of any one race of men: which being consummated, both must come to an end, in order that something else might begin and go on in the same way; something destined to last for another period of the same kind, and then to expire as before. Nor ought it to appear surprising that such power and influence was supposed to be attached to a great period of 1460 years like this, when even the lesser one of 110 years also was considered so fatal and so efficacious in the way of change and revolution in the preexisting state of things. And it must be evident that, having assumed this one greater period of 1460 years as that which was destined to embrace and comprehend all these minor ones, and to sum up in itself and to consummate the united effect of all, the Etruscans adjusted the details of their minor period of 110 years accordingly; so that ten of them, reckoned successively from Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 3147 should terminate at the same point of time Æra Cyc. 4247 *ineunte* or Nab. 987 *exeunte*.

It is no difficulty that the close of this period of 1460 years is referred to Epagomenè 5 Nab. 987, and the beginning to Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 2787: the former June 23 A. D. 240, the latter June 20 B. C. 1220. This was a difference inseparable from the distinction in the two kinds of the equable reckoning of noctidiurnal and annual time, B. C. 1220 and A. D. 240 respectively; at the former of which the proper standard of reference was the Cyclical Type, at the latter the Nabonassarian. At each of these times the same Nabonassarian term corresponded to the same Julian; Epagomenè 2 to June 20 and Epagomenè 5 to June 23, B. C. 1220, and Epagomenè 2 to June 20 Epagomenè 5 to June 23, A. D. 240 also.

We think then that such facts and such coincidences as these justify us in concluding that the second Nundinal Type was recognized and attested by the Etruscan correction of the same kind, and by the Etruscan doctrine of secular periods which came into being along with it; and that the proper epoch of this second Type in particular, in the subsequent corrections of the same kind among the Italian communities, must have been treated as the proper epoch of all such corrections in general: for it is now evident that the decursus of the minor period of 110 years was not more

distinctly adapted to B. C. 860, the epoch of the proper Nundinal correction of the Etrurians, than that of the greater period of 1460 years to B. C. 1220, the proper epoch of the second Nundinal Type; and yet that the former must have been intended from the first to be included in the latter, and to come to an end at last along with it. We have not however pointed out every thing connected with these coincidences; and there is still something to be said concerning them which will place them in a yet more striking point of view.

The secular games of the Romans which were celebrated, or supposed to have been celebrated, first in obedience to the injunctions of the Sibylline books, were regulated by the period of 110 years; and this coincidence is sufficient to prove that the period of these games also was that of the Etruscan sæculum: and that consequently the stated celebration of these games, according to their proper and original design and reference, must have been closely connected with the decursus of those sæcula. Into the actual history of these secular games of the Romans, so prescribed and regulated, we propose to inquire hereafter; when we trust to be able to shew from testimony that the rule was to celebrate them at a fixed time in the natural year, the season of midsummer, and for a stated term of days, a *trinoctium* and a *triduum,* and in *that* order, three *nights* and three *days,* not reversely, three *days* and three *nights:* that is, strictly in conformity to the primitive rule of the noctidiurnal cycle; beginning immediately after sunset on one day, and ending at evening or sunset on the third day inclusive afterwards.

The appointed time of these games then in the natural year, the season of midsummer, and the proper date of the second Nundinal correction, June 20, in the natural year also, must have been coincident. June 20 B. C. 1220 differed only slightly from the mean date of the summer solstice at that time July 3, or from the true July 5; and it approached still nearer to a coincidence with either B. C. 860. It is manifest therefore that as referred to the natural year, and to the season of midsummer in that, there could have been no difference between the stated time of such games as these, celebrated according to rule Θέρους μεσοῦντος, and the proper

date of the second Nundinal correction, June 20. And with regard to the other particular of the same rule, their being celebrated three nights and three days; if they began at sunset June 20 they lasted on that principle until sunset June 23. Their stated term then in days would be from June 20 at 18 h. to June 23 at 18 h.; which being referred to B. C. 1220 would have measured the interval in terms from the first of the Cyclical Thoth 1, or the Nabonassarian Epagomenè 2, *exeunte*, to the fourth of the Cyclical Thoth, the Nabonassarian Epagomenè 5 *exeunte* also, Æra Cyclica 2787.

The recession of the equable reckoning of noctidiurnal and annual time in terms of the Julian perpetually, in the Nabonassarian type of that kind, was uniform; one day in four years, 30 days in 120 years. In the Cyclical type, (the only true standard and measure of Equable time from the first,) down to a certain period of time, it was not uniformly at the same rate as in the Nabonassarian. It was liable at stated times to be one day only in 8 years, and 29 days only in 120 years[q]. It follows that in 360 equable years, from Æra Cyclica 2787 B. C. 1220 to Æra Cyc. 3147 B. C. 860, the recession in Nabonassarian equable time would amount to 90 days exactly, but in Cyclical it would be three days less; 87 days only not 90. Consequently if the Cyclical Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 2787 was coinciding with this given Julian term June 20 B. C. 1220; the Cyclical Athyr 28 Æra Cyclica 3147 would be coinciding with June 20 B. C. 860: and the Cyclical Chœac 1 with June 23.

Now nothing could be better known or more certainly remembered, wheresoever the Nundinal period of 120 equable years was in use, and a succession of Nundinal Types derived from it had come into existence one after another, than that, howsoever far back the head of the succession might go, its proper epoch was the first of the Cyclical Thoth; and that at every intermediate period of the succession it was still the first of the Cyclical Thoth. This law held good of the first such Type, B. C. 1340; and of the second, B. C. 1220: and of every succeeding one down to the fifth, B. C. 860. It was in fact inseparable from the nature and constitution of the Nundinal period itself. It could not therefore be unknown

[q] See our Fasti Catholici, i. 617. Diss. viii. ch. ii. sect. i and sqq.

B. C. 860 Æra Cyc. 3147, at the epoch of the fifth Type, that the Equable date, which must have coincided with June 20 B. C. 1220, was the first of Thoth Æra Cyc. 2787; and therefore, at the rate of a recession of 90 days in 360 equable years, that B. C. 860 Æra Cyclica 3147 it ought to have been Chœac 1. Still less could it be unknown at that time that the actual equable term, Æra Cyclica 3147, which was coinciding with June 20 B. C. 860, was the Cyclical Athyr 28 not the Cyclical Chœac 1.

The state of the case then Æra Cyc. 3147 B. C. 860, with respect to the actual relations of equable time to Julian at that time, compared with the same things Æra Cyclica 2787 B. C. 1220, would be *this:* The cyclical date of origination *de facto* was Athyr 28; virtually and in proportion to the length of the recession of equable annual time in Julian, it was Chœac 1. The former still corresponded to June 20; the latter was now corresponding to June 23. It follows that meanwhile either the Julian epoch of origination must have dropt three terms in the equable reckoning, from the first of one equable month to the 28th of the one before it; or the Equable epoch, the first of the equable month, must have risen three terms in the order of the Julian, from June 20 to 23: and either of these suppositions would be a proper and consistent explanation of the actual matter of fact; for it has been shewn in our former work[r] that, in all cases of this kind, where Equable (in the sense of Cyclical) and Julian time are compared together perpetually, if the given Julian date is supposed to be stationary, that is, nominally the same in terms, it must descend from one equable term to another in the contrary order of the equable reckoning: if the Equable in the sense of the Cyclical term is supposed to continue the same, it must rise from one term in the order of the Julian reckoning to another perpetually. Consequently in the present instance either the Julian June 20 must drop from the 1st of the equable month to the 28th; or the 1st of the equable month must rise from the Julian June 20 to the Julian June 23. In either case there must have been a difference in the relations of the same things to each other, Æra Cyc. 3147 B. C. 860, compared

[r] Fasti Catholici, i. 635. Diss. viii. ch. ii. sect. viii: 649. ch. iii. sect. i.

with what they were Æra Cyc. 2787 B. C. 1220; and a difference amounting to three days: i. e. the difference in the equable style, (in the sense of the Cyclical,) between Athyr 28 and Chœac 1; and in the Julian between June 20 and June 23.

It is manifest therefore, under such circumstances, that each of these equable terms, the 29th, the 30th, and the 1st of the equable month, and each of these Julian terms, the 21st, the 22nd, and the 23rd of the Julian month, must have corresponded in its turn to the epoch of origination, the equable and the Julian respectively, between Æra Cyclica 2787 and Æra Cyclica 3147, B. C. 1220 and B. C. 860. Consequently that Æra Cyc. 3147 B. C. 860, just at the epoch of the fifth Nundinal Type, any one of them, in either style, was as well qualified to represent it as another. If so, it could not but appear even at this time that though there had been only one equable epoch at first, (the first of the Cyclical equable month,) there were now three; the 29th, the 30th, and the 1st: and though there had been only one corresponding Julian term at first also, the 20th of the month, there were now three, the 21st, the 22nd, and the 23rd.

Upon these distinctions, thus holding good *de facto* at the historical point of time of the institution of the decursus of their proper sæcula, Æra Cyclica 3147 B. C. 860, it appears to us that the Etrurians founded the *positive* rule of the secular celebrity, intended to signalise the end of each, which we are enabled to recover from that of the Ludi sæculares of the Romans, instituted in imitation of the Etrurians; viz. That of their being celebrated at midsummer, and for three days, beginning at sunset and ending at sunset according to the primitive rule of the noctidiurnal cycle: which three days were the three from June 20 at sunset to June 23 at sunset. When they excogitated their doctrine of the succession of sæcula, they fixed the beginning of its decursus to B. C. 860, and the termination or close of it to A. D. 240; but they contemplated and intended it from the first only as part of a greater and more comprehensive period of 1460 years: the epoch or beginning of which could be nothing but B. C. 1220, if its end or conclusion was destined to be A. D. 240.

It is manifest therefore that, though the actual decursus of their own sæcula was attached to the date of their own Nundinal correction, Æra Cyclica 3147 B. C. 860, its virtual date must have been considered that of the second correction, Æra Cyclica 2787 B. C. 1220. And proposing as they did at the same time to appoint that the termination of one of these periods and the beginning of another should be solemnized by certain ceremonies, which must have a proper time and a stated date; they could have to choose only between the proper date of their own Nundinal correction, Æra Cyclica 3147 B. C. 860, and the proper date of the second, Æra Cyclica 2787 B. C. 1220: between which they could not hesitate to fix on the latter. It must have been incongruous and inconsistent to refer the entire decursus of these sæcula from first to last to no epoch but this, yet its parts and details to a different one. They appointed therefore that the close and consummation of each of these periods in its turn should be celebrated at or about this common epoch of all; and had they been conceiving and executing these things B. C. 1220, instead of B. C. 860, they would doubtless have appointed that this stated celebration of the close of one such period and of the beginning of another should be fixed to one day, June 20 at sunset to June 21 at sunset, perpetually. But as they were conceiving and executing them in point of fact B. C. 860, when, for the reason already explained, three Julian terms June 21, June 22, and June 23 had an equal right to be considered and treated as the epoch of origination; the rule which they actually established was conformed accordingly: that the close of each of these periods in its turn should be solemnized for *three* days, not for *one;* and those too reckoned according to the primitive rule from sunset to sunset, from June 20 at sunset to June 23 at sunset. And the effect of these appointments at last would be that, if every thing went on agreeably to them from the beginning of the first period of 110 years to the end of the tenth, the stated celebration of the last and most solemn, (that which was destined to conclude the whole and to consummate the existence of the entire Tuscan race also,) on these three same Julian terms as at first, June 21, June 22, and June 23, would be found

to be falling on the last three terms of the noctidiurnal and annual notation of time perpetually in the great equable period of 1460 years; the 3rd, the 4th, and the 5th Epagomenæ Nab. 987 Æra Cyclica 4246. That is, the decursus of sæcula, as virtually referrible to the beginning of such a period, Æra Cyclica 2787 B. C. 1220, would be found to have returned to the relations of origination on the very last day of the period, Nab. 987 Æra Cyclica 4246; and to be ready to begin again, under the same circumstances as before, on the first day of another, Nab. 988 Æra Cyclica 4247.

Now the consecration of these three terms, June 20 to 23, by this stated connection with the secular period of the Etruscans, was calculated to entail upon them a peculiar character and estimation; especially in the opinion of those whose proper Type of the Nundinal correction might have been this second or Sabine one itself, of the epoch of June 20 B. C. 1220. It would not be extraordinary therefore, if it should appear that in the course of time and among such communities these three days had actually acquired this character; and were the stated date of certain ceremonies, or of a religious observance of some kind. It is in our power, if we are not mistaken, to adduce historical proof of this fact.

The Samnites of ancient Italy, as we have seen[s], are represented as originally descended from the Sabines. The proper Nundinal calendar of the Sabines therefore would be that of the Samnites also. Livy in the course of his history has recorded by the way in what manner Capua, before an Etruscan city, and called Vulturnum, was surprised by the Samnites in the consular year of C. Sempronius Atratinus Q. Fabius Vibulanus[t], U. C. 331 = 332 B. C. 423 = 422. From that time forward the civil calendar of the Samnites would be that of Capua also; and if the former was the Sabine Nundinal Type so would the latter be.

In the fourth year of the second Punic war, the consular year of Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucossus iii and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, U. C. 539 B. C. 215, Livy has taken occasion also to mention a stated sacrifice or ceremony of these Samnites of Capua, (the Campanians of Capua, descendants of those Samnites who first seized on the place,) just at the end

[s] Supra, page 397. [t] iv. 37. Cf. vii. 38: x. 38: xxviii. 28.

of which they were surprized by the consul Gracchus. This consular year entered on the Ides of March[u] cycle x. 18 of the Decemviral calendar, April 7 B. C. 215. Soon after the ingress Gracchus appointed that his army should meet at Sinuessa on a certain day; Fabius issued an order that the corn of that year's growth should be secured and bestowed in the cities by the Kalends of Junius next in course[w], June 23 Julian B. C. 215: and directly after Fabius was at his post in his own province at or about Cales[x], and Gracchus was at Sinuessa[y]; where he had yet done little more than perform the ceremony of the Lustratio exercitus, (the first thing usually done by a new commander with a new army and with the opening of a new campaign,) and afterwards move across the river Vulturnus to Liternum[y], when he received the application from the people of Cumæ which led to his surprize of the Capuans[y].

This sacrifice of the Campanians, according to rule, lasted three days[y]. By rule too it began each day at night, (after sunset,) and lasted until midnight; or rather was bound to be over before midnight. The stated place of the ceremony in this instance was Hamæ, three Roman miles from Cumæ[y]. Not only the common people of Capua, but the nobles, the senate, and the chief magistrate, whom Livy styles the Medixtuticus[z], were bound to attend it[y]; and though Medixtuticus, or as Festus terms it Mediastuticus[a], was properly an Oscan title of office, that is no objection; if, as we are told of the people of Cumæ[b], the Campanians also before this time had passed into or been amalgamated with the Oscans, and now spoke their language ● Campānos Osca mutavit vicinia: and if so the Capuans also.

The sacrifice was celebrated three days on this occasion: Triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas. nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante mediam noctem compleretur[c]. The time chosen by Gracchus for the surprize was the last of these days, the end of the ceremony; and he came on the Campanians at midnight, just as all was over, and they were on their way home again. Now the stated time of a ceremony which the course

[u] xxiii. 30.
[w] Ibid. 32. 31.
[x] Ibid. 35. 36.
[y] Ibid. 35.
[z] Cf. xxvi. 6.
[a] xvii. 543. 3 Sufes. 6 Mœsius. Livy, x. 20.
[b] Vell. Pat. i. 4. Cf. Festus, xi. 216.
[c] xxiii. 35.

of this consular year determines to a time so near to the Kalends of the Roman June, and to the 23rd of the Julian June, and a ceremony which lasted three days and only three days, beginning at sunset too on the proper day, must have come very near to our assumed date of the secular commemoration of the Etruscan Period, June 20 at sunset to June 23 at sunset; so much so that, if there was an annual commemoration of the same kind among any of the Italian communities, this stated sacrifice of the Capuans, B. C. 215, might have been an instance of it. We want nothing to confirm this conclusion but an independent argument of some kind or other, which may fix the actual time of the last of these three days to June 23; and even that may possibly be supplied by the circumstances of Livy's account of what then took place.

The Roman consul was previously at Liternum. Hamæ was three Roman miles from Cumæ: and Cumæ, according to D'Anville's map of ancient Italy, was about seven Roman miles distant from Liternum. Hamæ was probably situated between Cumæ and Capua, three miles nearer to Capua than Cumæ: and probably less than six miles distant from Liternum. A march from Liternum to Hamæ therefore could not be more than one third of the *justum iter militare* of the Roman service, 14 or 15 Roman miles[d]; i. e. about 5 miles: and consequently would not require more than three hours' time. The Roman consul, it appears, so timed his movements as to set out from Liternum *vigilia ferme prima*; that is some time between sunset and the end of the third hour of the night: and to arrive at Hamæ just as the ceremony was over, and the Capuans were returning home. Huic Gracchus insidiandum tempori ratus, custodibus ad portas positis ne quis enuntiare posset cœpta, et ab decima diei hora coactis militibus corpora curare somnoque operam dare ut primis tenebris convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima tolli jussit signa; silentique profectus agmine quum ad Hamas media nocte pervenisset castra Campana ut in pervigilio neglecta simul omnibus portis invadit: alios somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermes redeuntes, obtruncat[e].

If the time was really one approaching to midsummer, at

[d] Cf. our Fasti Catholici, i. 252 Note. Diss. v. ch. ii. sect. 1. [e] xxiii. 35.

or about June 23, B. C. 215, the sun would set about 7.30 P. M.[f]; and the close of twilight, (i. e. what Livy intended by *primæ tenebræ,*) would probably coincide with 9.30 P. M. very near the end of the first and the beginning of the second military watch: and Gracchus would have two hours and an half for the march from Liternum to Hamæ before midnight. A march undertaken at nightfall and expected to last until midnight is an argument of a moonlight night; but only between sunset or nightfall and midnight. Consequently of a moon approaching to the first dichotomy, and six or seven days old.

Now this year B.C. 215 in our General Lunar Calendar corresponded to Period xiii. cycle viii. 9; and at that point of its decursus the Period was still true to the moon. The principal new moon of the year, the moon of Nisan, fell on April 19 at midnight, and the third new moon, the moon of Sivan, on June 17 at midnight; and that moon would be six days old June 23 at midnight: in which case, though it must have been still shining when Gracchus set out on his march, circa 9.30 P. M., it must have been set when he arrived at Hamæ at midnight. We have therefore, in all probability, in these coincidences the true explanation of his movements: that he took advantage of moonlight for his march, and came on the Campanians just as the moon was setting. And this must do much to determine the actual time of his arrival to June 23, this year, a little before midnight.

This year, in the second Type of the Nundinal calendar, corresponded to cycle ccii. 2. The first year of that cycle entered March 29 at midnight, B. C. 216; the second on January 27 at midnight, B. C. 215.

Nundinal Calendar, Type ii. *Cycle* ccii. 2. *B. C.* 215.

Month.			
i January	27	midnight	B. C. 215.
ii February	28	—	—
iii April	1	—	—
iv May	3	—	—
v June	4	—	—
17th of the vth month June 20.			

The 17th of the Nundinal month was the middle day of that month; and in this particular Type it was the calendar

[f] Cf. Diss. ii. ch. ii. sect. viii. Vol. i. p. 131.

date of the lunar dichotomy: the date of the day to which the Tuscans gave the name of Jovis Fiducia. And this may render it probable that the actual date of this stated sacrifice of the Capuans was from the 17th of the vth month, in this instance, to the 19th, both inclusive; from June 20 to June 22: that it began on the 17th, reckoned by the primitive rule, June 19 at sunset, and ended with the 19th reckoned by the same rule, between June 21 at sunset and midnight June 22. And these dates would agree equally well with the recorded circumstances of their surprise by Gracchus at last; and would be still more in unison with the actual date of the second Nundinal Type itself, B.C. 1220, reckoned by the primitive rule: from June 19 at sunset to June 20 at sunset.

Sixthly, and lastly, another historical illustration of this second Nundinal Type, if we are not mistaken, is supplied by the circumstances of the beginning of the Bellum Sociale or Bellum Marsicum; which broke out B. C. 91, and lasted two or three years at least, before it could be said to have been at an end in any sense.

To judge from the names of those Italic communities, distinct from the Romans, which were confederated on this occasion[g], the Marsi, Peligni, and Picentes* must have taken the lead among them. Corfinium the capital of the Peligni was their head quarters. Here they elected consuls, and other magistrates, in imitation of those at Rome; and here their deliberations were held and their plans concerted[h]. Some of these nations were descended from the Sabines; probably all of them: and the calendar of such as were so descended, (the Peligni and Picentes in particular,) was Nundinal; and of the Sabine Type.

The actual commencement of the war was the consular year of L. Julius Cæsar P. Rutilius Lupus[i]; which began on the Kalends of January U. C. 664 November 29 B. C. 91:

* The Picentes were first reduced by the Romans, U. C. 486 B. C. 268: Florus, i. 19. § 1. Livy, Ep. xv. Cf. the Fasti Triumphales, in U. C. 485.

[g] Livy, Epitome lxxii. Appian, B. C. i. 39.

[h] Strabo, v. 4. Vell. Pat. ii. 16. Diodor. Fr. xxxvii.

[i] Livy, lxxii. lxxiii. Appian, B. C. i. 38–40. Vell. Pat. ii. 15. Obsequens, cxv. cxiv.

though Orosius[k] and Eutropius[l] date it the year before, U.C. 663, the consular year of L. Marcius Philippus Sex. Julius Cæsar. And though it did not actually break out until the next year, yet that the minds of the confederates had been made up to go to war, even in this year, may be collected from the fact recorded by Florus[m]: Primum fuit belli in Albano monte consilium ... ut festo die Latinarum Julius Cæsar et Marcius Philippus consules inter sacra et aras immolarentur: the execution of which design, as he proceeds to relate[n], was prevented only by its being betrayed, or in some manner or other becoming known to the Romans, just in time.

But with regard to the actual breaking out of the insurrection, it is agreed that it took place, the next year, at Asculum among the Picentes; and under very peculiar circumstances: viz. when the people of that city were celebrating some games, in the midst of which they rose on the Romans, and massacred all who happened to be present; including a Roman proconsul, as Livy and Appian[o] describe his rank, a prætor, as Velleius Paterculus designates him[p], Servius, or Servilius, along with his legate Fonteius, the father of the same Fonteius in whose behalf one of Cicero's extant orations was afterwards delivered[q]. Postquam id nefas, says Florus[r], (the design of the year before, at the Feriæ Latinæ,) proditione discussum est; Asculo omnis furor erupit, in ipsa quidem ludorum frequentia trucidatis qui tum aderant ab urbe legatis.

In the Nundinal calendar of Type ii, this consular year, U. C. 664 ex Kal. Jan. Nov. 29 B. C. 91, answered to Cycle ccxxvii. 2.

Nundinal Calendar, Type ii.

Cycle ccxxvii. 1. Tybi 20 Nab. 657 Feb. 1 B. C. 91
— — 2. Athyr 19 — 658 Dec. 2 —

And this date Dec. 2 that year coincided with Pridie Nonas

[k] v. 18.
[l] v. 2. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xxv. 21. 669: xxxiii. 6. 24. 17. 82.
[m] iii. 18. § 8. Cf. Appian, B.C. i. 38.
[n] Ibid. § 9. Cf. Auctor, De Viris Ill. M. Livius Drusus: who attributes the prevention of this plot to Drusus.
[o] Livy, lxxii: Appian, B. C. 1. 38.
[p] ii. 15. No doubt a prætor, but with the title of proconsul. Cf. Augustin, De Civit. iii. 26.
[q] xi. Pro M. Fonteio, 14, 31.
[r] iii. 17. § 9. Cf. Obsequens, cxiv. Appian, B. C. 1. 38.

Januarias U. C. 664, Jan. 4 Roman. The character of the year was 4; that is, Pridie Nonas Januarias was Nundinal: as it must be, to coincide with the first day of the Nundinal year of Type ii for the time being. The Nundinal cycle therefore of our Roman calendar, and that of this much more ancient Nundinal calendar, were still as completely the same as they had been in the time of Numa Pompilius himself[s]. We are entirely of opinion that this day, December 2 B. C. 91, the new year's day in this Nundinal type whereso-ever it was in use, was the actual day of the rising. It would be no objection to that coincidence that the day was Nundinal. On the contrary it would be only the more likely on that very account to be selected for such an insurrection as this*. Meanwhile no day in the year would be a more probable date of stated games, or of a celebrity of some kind, than the new year's day.

With regard to the outbreak which appears to have been meditated the year before, U. C. 663, at the time of the Feriæ Latinæ; these Feriæ had no stated date in the Roman calendar, except that as a general rule they were commonly celebrated one or two months after the ingress of the official year[t]. It is however a singular coincidence that this year U. C. 663 B. C. 91 was the date of the ingress of the viiith Etruscan sæculum, from the epoch of Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 3147 March 25 B. C. 860; which entered on Pharmuthi 2 Nab. 657 April 14 B. C. 91. The 14th of the Julian April B. C. 91 corresponded to vi Idus Maias, May 10 Roman, U. C. 663. The length of that year was 355 days; and the character of Januarius being 7 that of Maius was 2, and May 10 Roman was Nundinal: as it must be to coincide with Pharmuthi 2 Nab. 657 April 14 B. C. 91, the proper date of the first day of this viiith Etruscan sæculum.

This date of May 10 Roman, 126 days later than the con-

* It appears indeed that the breaking out of the insurrection into the acts of violence, above alluded to, the death of Servilius, the massacre of the Romans, and the like, on this day, was in some measure accidental; at least unpremeditated: and due to the intemperate conduct of Servilius, the prætor or proconsul himself. See the authorities quoted supra, especially Appian, i. 38. and Diodorus, Fragm. lib. xxxvii. ad princip.

s Supra, page 400.

t Cf. Supra, p. 118.

sular and annual ingress, U. C. 663, must have been too late under ordinary circumstances to have been the date of the Feriæ Latinæ that year; though such a coincidence might have been possible if those Feriæ had been retarded. The first day of the Nundinal year of Type ii, Cycle ccxxvii. 1, Feb. 1 B. C. 91, or the day before it, January 31, February 25 or 26 Roman U. C. 663, 53 or 54 days from the beginning of the year, would have been altogether a suitable date for the Feriæ Latinæ of that year. The doctrine of the Etruscan sæcula had been every where received by this time; and there is reason to believe that the succession of such sæcula had been already accommodated to other Types of the Nundinal calendar, besides its own for which it was first contrived. They were all of a nature *a priori* to admit of this accommodation, and to proceed and to be reckoned perpetually in the period of 110 equable years. Let this very natural assumption only be made of the second Nundinal Type in particular; and we shall account for the design which appears to have been projected this very year. No time could have seemed to be fitter for such an attempt as the confederated Italians were meditating, involving the prospect of a complete change and revolution in the existing order and state of things, than the close of one of these fatal periods and the beginning of another; which were commonly believed to be so instrumental in the production of those very effects. It is therefore far from improbable that by a singular, though not an impossible, coincidence the Feriæ Latinæ had been fixed this year to the 25th of February Roman, the very last day of the seventh secular period; and that this was the moving cause which first induced the confederates to think of breaking out into open rebellion on that day: and of signalising the beginning of their attempt by putting to death the consuls and the other Roman magistrates, whose duty it was to attend at the celebration of the Feriæ Latinæ in person, in the midst of that ceremony itself.

CHAPTER III.

On the Third Type of the Nundinal Calendar.

Equable Epoch Thoth 1 at midnight Æra Cyc. 2907.
Julian Epoch May 22 at midnight B. C. 1100.

Nundinal Character the Feria Prima.
Hebdomadal Character the Feria Secunda.
Lunar Character the Luna Prima.

SECTION I.—*On the proper denomination of the third Nundinal Type; and on the* Prisci Latini *or* Socii Nominis Latini.

The third Type of the Nundinal calendar, required by the regular succession of such Types from the primary epoch of Thoth 1 at midnight Æra Cyclica 2667, July 19 at midnight B. C. 1340, would bear date Thoth 1 at midnight Æra Cyclica 2907, May 22 at midnight B. C. 1100; and its proper characters, Nundinal Hebdomadal and Lunar, would be such as are here represented: the Nundinal and the Hebdomadal altogether in agreement with the matter of fact at the time; the Lunar only slightly at variance with it. For as the Metonic Type of our General Lunar Calendar, Period x. ix. 17, shews, the first of Nisan B. C. 1100 fell upon April 24 at midnight, and the first of Jar on May 23 at midnight; only one day later than the Julian epoch of this third Nundinal Type, May 22 at midnight.

We have seen every reason to conclude that a correction of the Primitive calendar, altogether the same with this third Nundinal Type, actually came into existence at this point of time; and among the people of that part of ancient Italy which is known in history by the name of Latium: for which reason we have given it the name of the Latin Type. Prisci Latini, observes the grammarian Festus[u], proprie appellati sunt ii qui prius quam Roma conderetur fuerunt: i. e. these Prisci Latini and the Romans themselves were virtually one

[u] xiv. 373. 5 Prisci.

and the same, only that the former in point of time were older than the latter. The Prisci Latini were the ancestors of the Romans. No one requires to be told that the Romans were a colony from Alba Longa; and that Alba Longa was one of the most genuine settlements of the Prisci Latini. We shall enter into no inquiries into the origin of the name of Latium, or into that of the Latini as the people of Latium; and whether it is truly or not to be explained by the Italian fable of the concealment of Saturn in this part of Italy, after being expelled by Jupiter from Crete*. The representatives of these Prisci Latini in after-times are those who are known in the contemporary Roman history by the name of the Socii Nominis Latini. Nor does there seem to be any reason why we should not include under that denomination not only the inhabitants of the ancient Latium,

* We observe only with reference to this question that, if we reject this explanation of the name of Latium and through that of the name of Latini, handed down from antiquity, we have absolutely nothing to substitute in its stead. The old and unanimous tradition of the Romans that before the arrival of Saturn in Latium that country was occupied solely by the Aborigines, i. e. by men in a state of nature, without laws and without society, the genealogy and succession of the oldest kings of the Latini recognized even by Roman tradition, Picus, Faunus, Latinus, the relation of Picus in particular to Saturnus, and lastly the very close and very singular connection of the Italian fable of Saturnus with the Cretan one of Kronos, lead only to one conclusion; viz. that the beginning of the Nomen Latinum in Italy cannot go further back into antiquity than the rise of the fable of Kronos and Zeus in Crete, i. e. than B. C. 1261: and what is more, that the first colony of settlers in Latium, the ancestors of the Prisci Latini, in all probability came from Crete. For what can supply a more natural and probable explanation of the connection between the Italian fable of Saturnus and Latium and the Hellenic one of Kronos and Crete, than that fact? The Saturnus of Italian mythology indeed could not have been an historical person; but Picus, Faunus, Latinus, the first and oldest of the Latin kings, must have been so. In our opinion Picus, the first and oldest of these, was the actual leader of the Latian colony to Italy; and actually came from Crete: and very probably too about the time of the rise of the dynasty of Minos in Crete, which may be assumed at or about B. C. 1261. It is probable that this fact was known to Virgil; viz. that the ancestors of the Romans came from Crete: and that that was the true reason why he took Æneas and the Trojans in the first instance to Crete, and made them settle there before they migrated thence to Hesperia in Italy.

properly so called, but the Volsci, the Æqui, the Hernici also, their nearest neighbours; the first who were reduced under the dominion of Rome, along with these Prisci Latini, and the first who were admitted to the privileges of the Roman citizenship along with these also.

SECTION II.—*General arguments of the third Nundinal Type, or Latin Type.*

In the first place, it is a general argument and confirmation of the truth of the date which we assign to this Type in its proper order of time, May 22 B. C. 1100, that we can discover no traces of the Nundinal reckoning of time among these communities in particular before that date. The calendar of the Prisci Latini could not yet have become Nundinal when the fact happened which was commemorated by the Vinalia Priora of the Roman calendar; and which we have seen reason to determine to some time between B. C. 1177 and B. C. 1143[w]. Nor could the calendar of these communities in the immediate vicinity of Rome yet have been any thing different from the Primitive, when the colony from Arcadia under Evander came among them, and settled on the site of Rome itself; and when that event occurred which gave occasion to the institution of the ceremony of the Argea Simulacra: the equable date of which we have probably recovered from its Julian date in the calendar of Numa[x], and found to go as far back as Æra Cyclica 2816 B. C. 1190.

Again, it has been seen from the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[y] that a cycle of five years was in actual use at Alba Longa, before the foundation of Rome; which regulated the term of service of the Vestal virgins at Alba, older than those at Rome, and the prototypes of them. This cycle of five years is a virtual proof of the existence of a cycle of six years along with it also; the former the same measure of noctidiurnal and annual time in the Equable calendar as the latter in the Nundinal, and *vice versa*. These two cycles in fact imply each other; if not from any necessary connection between them *a priori* yet *de facto*, and by virtue of a positive

[w] Diss. iii. ch. iii. sect. vi. vol. i. p. 295. [x] Ibid. ch. iv. sect. iii. Vol. i. 325.
[y] Ant. Rom. i. 76. 77. Cf. Diss. iii. ch. iv. sect. iv. Vol. i. 335. p. 329–331.

association and a positive appointment, founded on the relation of the Nundinal to the Equable year [y]. Dionysius has given us also the means of recovering this cycle in a particular instance, that of the cycle which coincided with the term of service of Ilia the mother of Romulus [z]; and we have verified this both by the date of the conception of Romulus, May 5 B.C. 770, and by the date of his birth, February 5 B.C. 769: and as so verified it is found to have been the lxviith, regularly deduced from this third Nundinal Type of May 22 B.C. 1100; and its date to have been December 27 B. C. 771.

Again, Martius mensis, says Festus [a], initium anni fuit et in Latio et post Romam conditam. The same thing is implied in the gloss of Verrius Flaccus attached to the Kalends of March in the Prænestine calendar [b]. The proper meaning of each of these testimonies is that, whether under this particular name of Martius or not, the month of Martius, or a month corresponding to it, was older in Latium than at Rome; that is, existed in Latium before the foundation of Rome, yet in the same place and in the same order relatively to the rest of its proper calendar as the month of Martius in the Roman. That is, it was the *first* month in the older Latin calendar as much as in the later one of Romulus; and the *first* too of a series of *ten* months in the former as much as in the latter. If so, the more ancient Latin calendar must have been Nundinal as much as the later one of Romulus. Its months must have run on from a month corresponding to Martius to a month corresponding to December; like those in the Nundinal calendar of Romulus.

Again, the proper Lunar character of this third Nundinal Type was the Luna prima; and that was peculiar to it. It could not have distinguished either of the Types older than this, nor either of the Types later than this. It follows that in this Type of the Nundinal calendar only could it be said that the months properly bore date from the Νουμηνία, or new moon; alternating indeed from that to the full, every other year, but first and properly and in the rectified or normal state of the calendar bearing date only from the new

[y] See Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. ix. Vol. i. 162. [z] Ant. Rom. i. 76. 77. Cf. Diss. iii. ch. iv. sect. iv. Vol. i. 335. [a] xi. 228. 11 Martius. [b] Apud Foggini.

moon. Macrobius asserted[c] that the months in the calendar of Romulus were purposely so contrived and so adjusted as to bear date perpetually from the new moons; a statement which is proved to be false of the calendar of Romulus by the fact that the first day of that calendar was Feb. 4 B. C. 750, and that the first mean new moon in that calendar was Feb. 23[d], 19 days after the epoch. But the older Nundinal calendar of Latium did really bear date from the Luna prima, or from what must have been supposed at the time and ever after to be the Luna prima. It is very conceivable that this older Latin calendar of the same kind in general might have been somehow confounded with the calendar of Romulus. Macrobius' assertion at least would have been as true of the former in general as it is false of the latter in particular.

Again, it follows that the first days, or kalends, of the months in this Type as properly the seat of the new moons must have been sacred to the moon; and therefore to any principle of divinity which was considered the same with the moon. There can be no question that among the ancient inhabitants of Italy the moon was some time or other deified under the name and in the person of Juno[e]; not indeed perhaps from the first but in the course of time: nor first among the ancient Latins, but more probably among the Etrurians[e]. Nor can there be any doubt that among many of the communities of Italy from the earliest to the latest times the Kalends of the months were in a peculiar manner sacred to Juno[f]. What could that imply but that the calendar itself in such instances was lunar? and that its proper lunar date or Lunar character was the Luna prima? Among many of them too, after the months had come to receive proper names either wholly or in part, there was one taken from Juno; which name, and in the form of Junonius, or of something analogous to it, is most distinctly known from testimony to have belonged to the calendars of those who would most properly come under the denomination of the Prisci Latini.

> Inspice quos habeat nemoralis Aricia fastos,
> Et populus Laurens Lanuviumque meum.

[c] i. xv. 272. See Vol. i. p. 64.

[d] See supra, Diss. iii. ch. ii. sect. xvii. Vol. i. p. 260.

[e] Diss. iii. ch. v. sect. v. Vol. i. 365: sect. vi. p. 366.

[f] Diss. iii. ch. ii. sect. xvi. Vol. i. 252.

Est illic mensis Junonius. inspice Tibur,
Et Prænestinæ mœnia sacra deæ.
Junonale leges tempus [g]—

Aricia, Laurentum, Lanuvium, Tibur, Præneste were the most ancient of the Latin cities; yet they had all a *mensis Junonius*. The worship of Juno, under the title of Juno Sospita, was especially characteristic of Lanuvium [h]. Junium mensem dictum putant a Junone: iidem ipsum dicebant Junonium et Junonalem [i]—Aut ut Cincius arbitratur quod Junonius apud Latinos ante vocitatus deinde apud Aricinos Prænestinosque hac appellatione in Fastos relatus sit [k]. What could have been the foundation of the Roman tradition that the months were sacred to Juno, though the year was sacred to Jupiter [l], but *these two* facts; viz. that the old Nundinal calendar of the Latins was lunar, and sacred to the moon or Juno; and the old equable calendar was solar, and sacred to the sun, that is to Jupiter?

The most important testimony however, to connect Juno (that is, the moon) with the Kalends of the months, yet with the Nundinal calendar and among the Prisci Latini in particular, is the following, relating to the rule of the people of Laurentum. Ut autem Idus omnes Jovi ita omnes Kalendas Junoni tributas et Varronis et Pontificalis adfirmat auctoritas: quod etiam Laurentes patriis religionibus servant; qui et cognomen Deæ ex cæremoniis addiderunt, Kalendarem Junonem vocantes. sed et omnibus Kalendis a mense Martii ad Decembrem huic deæ Kalendarum die supplicant [m]. The people of Laurentum, the people of Picus—

Laurentis regia Pici [n]—

must have belonged to the community of the Prisci Latini, if any in Italy did so.

This testimony is very decisive that their calendar some time or other must have been lunar; and that its proper lunar epoch must have been the new moon or first of the natural lunar month. And it is equally so that this lunar

[g] Ovid, Fasti, vi. 59-64.
[h] Livy, viii. 14 U. C. 417 B. C. 337.
[i] Festus, ix. 196. 1 Junium.
[k] Macrobius, i. 12. 260.
[l] Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, lxxvii: Διὰ τί τὸν μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ Διὸς νομίζουσι, τοὺς δὲ μῆνας τῆς Ἥρας.
[m] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 15. 275.
[n] Æneid, vii. 171.

calendar must have been *Nundinal;* a calendar which had *ten* months, reckoned on and proceeding relatively to each other just like those in the calendar of Romulus from Martius to December. It was their custom it seems, even in Macrobius' time, 420 years later than the Julian correction itself, to celebrate a sacrifice to Juno Kalendaris on the first day of every month from March to December; but only, it appears on the first of those. What could be the explanation of so peculiar a rule, except that their calendar itself once consisted of ten months only; and those ten so related to each other that, if the first was represented by Martius in the Julian calendar, the tenth must be represented by December? Their calendar in Macrobius' time was no doubt Julian; and yet he says that they still celebrated these monthly sacrifices to the ancient object of their worship, Juno Kalendaris, on the Kalends of these ten months; and of these only. But why not on the Kalends of January and on the Kalends of February also? Nothing will assign a rational and consistent explanation of so peculiar a distinction, but the fact of their old rule; when their calendar was still Nundinal and consisted of ten months only, and those ten such that, when compared with the Julian of after times, the first of them could be considered to be represented by Martius only, and the last by December only. There were doubtless many communities in Italy in Macrobius' time, which were still more or less devoted to the rites and usages of pagan antiquity. His extant work of the Saturnalia is full of the proofs of that fact, from first to last. It is very conceivable therefore that a characteristic rule of the ancient superstition, ultimately derivable from their ancient and peculiar Nundinal calendar, might still continue to be observed among the descendants of the Prisci Latini, even in Macrobius' time; but it is not credible that the ancient Nundinal calendar itself should still be maintaining its ground, in opposition to the Julian, any where in Italy in *his* time; which was the reign of Theodosius the Great, or later. We infer then from this testimony that the old calendar of Laurentum was Nundinal; that it had ten months only, which were either the same with the ten in the Roman calendar from Martius to December, or might most easily and readily be identified

with them: and yet that it was also a lunar calendar; and that the proper seat of the new moons in it was the first day of each of its months, the same day which in the Roman calendar went by the name of the Kalends of the month. In all these respects it must have agreed with the Nundinal calendar of Type iii; the proper Nundinal Type of the Prisci Latini in general.

SECTION III.—*Particular arguments of the third Nundinal Type, or Latin Type.*

1. Διὰ τί τοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς οὐκ ἄγονται γυναῖκας;.....ἢ ὅτι τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ τὸν μέγιστον ποιοῦνται τῶν καθαρμῶν, νῦν μὲν εἴδωλα ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν πάλαι δ' ἀνθρώπους; .....ἢ ὅτι πολλοὶ Λατίνων ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ τοῖς κατοιχομένοις ἐναγίζουσι[o];

The month of May was not the parentalial month on a large scale at least among the Romans in particular; but the month of February. There was no ceremony properly piacular attached to this month in the Roman calendar, but that of the Lemuria[p], and that of the Scirpea Simulacra[q]; though Plutarch[r] appears to have thought that the Larentalia, (a particular ceremony in memory of Acca Laurentia,) were commonly celebrated in this month. But as his testimony on that point is contrary to other and better[r], we may reasonably suppose that he confounded the stated service to the Lares surnamed Præstites on the first of the Roman Maius[s] with this service in honour of Larentia; particularly as standing in the calendar opposite to the Kalends of May, in the form of Lar[t]. If however a prejudice against marrying in this month did really exist among the Romans of old; nothing would be so well calculated to account for the origin of such a prejudice as the piacular character of the month itself: for what could appear to be less suitable to each other than the proper time for celebrating marriages and the proper time for lamenting and mourning over the dead? This prejudice is recognized by Ovid also; and in the midst of his

[o] Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, lxxxvi.
[p] Diss. iii. ch. iv. sect. i. Vol. i. 303.
[q] Ibid. sect. ii. p. 311.
[r] Diss. ii. ch. i. sect. x. Vol. i. 100.
[s] Ovid, Fasti, v. 129.
[t] Venusine Calendar, apud Foggini.

account of the Lemuria too, a ceremony undoubtedly of a piacular and funereal character, yet undoubtedly of stated occurrence in this month.

> Fana tamen veteres illis clausere diebus,
> Ut nunc ferali tempore operta vides.
> Nec viduæ tædis eadem nec virginis apta
> Tempora: quæ nupsit non diuturna fuit.
> Hac quoque de caussa si te proverbia tangunt
> Mense malas Majo nubere vulgus ait [u].

Observe the reason assigned for the prejudice in question; viz. that those who married in May would be shortlived. What could mark more distinctly a Tempus funestum, a season essentially funereal, and more appropriated to the dying than to the living, in the common opinion at least? Ovid too recognizes this month as once the parentalial month also; and on a general scale.

> Jam tamen exstincto cineri sua dona ferebant,
> Compositique nepos busta piabat avi.
> Mensis erat Majus majorum nomine dictus,
> Qui partem prisci nunc quoque moris habet [w].

That is, though its proper piacular character, and its use and application in that capacity, were attested in his time solely by the Lemuria and by the Scirpea Simulacra; these were after all only memorials of its former character, and of the use and application made of it before-time in a much more general manner.

Now, if February among the Romans of after-times was actually the parentalial month on a large scale, and the only one actually distinguished in their calendar by appropriate ceremonies of a general and comprehensive description; it is not conceivable that Maius in particular should have passed among them for the proper month of that kind too, except from the force of association: from a tradition and prejudice of that kind derived from antiquity, and founded on the fact that Maius was once the parentalial month among their ancestors, if not among themselves. The statement of Plutarch therefore, produced above, that May was still the month in which many of the Latins, (the descendants of the Prisci Latini, those who represented them in Plutarch's time,) were

[u] Ovid, Fasti, v. 485. [w] Ibid. 425.

accustomed to perform their peculiar services to the memory of the dead, comes in very critically here, to supply the proof of that fact.

May therefore must have been the proper parentalial month in the ritual of the Prisci Latini, if it had not ceased to be so in that of many of their descendants even in Plutarch's time. What then was the reason why this month in particular should have been devoted to that purpose? Was it because the deluge of Scripture and the consequent destruction of human life on the greatest scale had once happened in this month? for the actual date of that catastrophe was really May 5 B. C. 2348. It is not impossible; but we do not consider it probable that the parentalial character or application of this month in the ancient Latium was ultimately founded upon that coincidence. If so clear a recollection of the circumstances of the deluge, as would thereby be implied, had been perpetuated in Italy down to the time of Numa, we should have seen some proofs of it in his own calendar, and in his own institutions. It is observable that Plutarch speaks of this month as devoted among the Latins of his time to piacular services Τοῖς κατοιχομένοις—to those, "who are dying" and by dying, "are going below;" not Τοῖς κατῳχημένοις—to those "who were dead and gone below." And even this distinction is not unimportant to the present question. It is implied by it that this month was devoted to such and such services in behalf of those who were *continually* dying and disappearing in the *ordinary* course of things; not of those who had died and disappeared once for all, and on an extraordinary occasion like that of the universal destruction of life by the Flood. The best explanation of the devotion of this one month to this one purpose is that, as February was similarly applied among the Romans by the appointment of Numa because it was the last month in *his* year; so this month was applied to the same kind of purposes, among those who were older than the Romans and older than Numa, because it was the last in *their* year too *.

* And here the reader will call to mind what we had occasion to say, Diss. ii. ch. i. sect. x. Vol. i. 97, in explanation of the peculiar rule of Decimus Brutus, whereby December not Februarius seemed to be recognized

Now this also is explained as soon as it is known that the last month in the Nundinal calendar of antiquity was one of 16 days; and that in the third Type of that calendar, in which the first month bore date May 22 at midnight, the last bore date May 6 at midnight. The proper limits then of the parentalial month in such a Type would be May 6 and May 21, both inclusive. Nor should it be objected here that no one month in the Nundinal calendar could be confined perpetually to the same season of the natural year; or within the same Julian terms. It is sufficient that the parentalial month, in such a Type as this, treated and considered as the last month in its proper calendar, was so circumscribed *at first;* that its proper, its primary, its rectified and normal position was the month of May, and between these limits in the month of May, May 6 and May 22. It could never be unknown nor forgotten among the Prisci Latini and their posterity that the proper epoch of their proper Nundinal correction was such and such a season of the natural year; and at such and such a distance, relatively to the vernal equinox or to the summer solstice, as nothing was so well calculated to represent even in the Julian correction itself as the first half of the month of May. It has been seen too[x] from some of our testimonies that the earth itself was called Maia, in the sense of the Greek Maîa, the common nurse, the alma parens of every thing living; and that might be an additional reason for fixing on the month, which appeared to bear the same name and in the same sense, as the fittest for annual ceremonies of any kind in memory of those who were every year returning to the earth and going under the earth; that is back again to the bosom of the same mother and nurse, from which they had come into being.

ii. Novendiales feriæ dicuntur institutæ a Tullo Hostilio rege, ex monitu, procurandis prodigiis nono die in Feriis Latinis: sive quod in monte Albano lapidibus pluisset, sive quod vox esset exaudita ut Albani suo ritu facerent quæ omiserant sacra[y]. Novendiales feriæ, observes Paullus in

as the proper parentalial month of the Roman calendar; viz. because December not February originally was the last month in the Roman year.

[x] Diss. ii. ch. i. sect. viii. Vol. i. 88.

[y] Festus, xii. 284. 10 Novendiales.

the same place[z], a numero dierum sunt dictæ. In the preceding passage Festus alludes to the first institution of the Novemdiale or Novendiale sacrum; a ceremony expressly intended to expiate that particular kind of preternatural occurrence which was meant by a shower of stones: Quod lapidibus pluisset. The first instance of this prodigy recorded in Roman history took place in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, soon after the war with the Sabines the last public event of his reign: Nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse..... Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novemdiale sacrum publice susceptum est.....mansit certe sollemne ut quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur feriæ per novem dies agerentur[a]. And Livy is full of instances of the repetition of this particular sacrum, on occasions of the same kind of later occurrence; and so is Obsequens. But this was the very first instance of it which had yet happened; and what was done on this occasion determined the rule of proceeding under the same circumstances ever after.

Now that the rule, as established at first, must have had some respect to the Nundinal cycle, may be inferred from the nature of the rule itself. For why was this sacrum appointed to last *nine* days; and why was it called *Novemdiale*, except because of some connection with the Nundinal cycle? And if that connection could not possibly have been of stated and regular occurrence on every subsequent occasion; how shall we account for the origin of the connection at all, except by supposing that the first Novemdiale sacrum did actually coincide with the Nundinal cycle?

The circumstance mentioned by Festus that this first instance of the prodigy in question occurred on the *ninth* day of the *Feriæ Latinæ* is not similarly attested by Livy; but, if it may notwithstanding be received on the authority of Festus, it is of critical importance. It is not known from any quarter that the Feriæ Latinæ were ever celebrated for *nine* days. But it appears to have been the rule in the Nundinal calendars of antiquity that on the first nundinal day after the beginning of the year, (consequently on the *ninth* day of the new year,) there should be a stated resort of the people from the country to the king; in order to receive

[z] Festus, xii. 284. 17. [a] Livy, i. 31.

from him intimations and instructions respecting the feriæ which would have to be celebrated in the course of the month. And it is a very good argument that this must have been a rule of private and public life among the Albans and Latins, the ancestors of the Romans, in particular, that it appears to have been so among the Romans themselves, under the kings; so that even after the Regifuge it was still kept up, and still commemorated by a certain part of the duties of the Rex sacrorum, or Rex sacrificulus, (appointed to represent the king, in those respects, even after the Regifuge,) on the Nones of every month. Regiæ feriæ dictæ videntur quæ fiunt fori conventus et nundinarum caussa in civitate aliquem per sacerdotem qui sit regia majestate[b]—De *Noneis:* Eodem die enim in urbem ab agreis ad regem conveniebat populus. harum rerum vestigia apparent in sacreis Nonalibus in arce: quod tunc feriás primas menstruas quæ futuræ sint eo mense rex prædicit populo[c]—Rex cum ferias menstruas Noneis Februarieis edicit hunc diem Februatum appellat[d]—Ideo autem minor Pontifex numerum dierum qui ad Nonas superessent kalando prodebat quod post novam lunam oportebat Nonarum die populum qui in agris essent confluere in urbem, accepturos caussas feriarum a rege sacrorum, scituros quid esset eo mense faciendum . . . sicut apud Tuscos nonæ plures habebantur, quod hi nono quoque die regem suum salutabant, et de propriis negotiis consulebant[e].

The war of Tullus with the Fidenates after the destruction of Alba is mentioned by Dionysius[f] only; that with the Sabines after it also is mentioned by both him[g] and Livy[h]: the third war, that with the Prisci Latini, (which Dionysius dates fifteen years after the destruction of Alba, and supposes to have lasted five years,) is related by Dionysius only[i]. It had for its object to procure from the rest of the Latins the recognition of Rome, instead of Alba, as the head of the Socii Nominis Latini; i. e. of the thirty colonies planted in Latium by Alba[k]: and it ended at last in the concession of that point on the part of these colonies. If such then was the preexisting rule of state among these

[b] Festus, xv. 432. 12 Regiæ.
[c] Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 59.
[d] Ibid. v. 54. Cf. Festus, xv. 408. 3 Quando Rex.
[e] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 15. 273.
[f] iii. 31. [g] iii. 32, 33.
[h] i. 30. [i] iii. 34: 31.
[k] iii. 34: 33.

Latin communities wheresoever the Nundinal calendar was in use; a resort of the Socii Nominis Latini to Rome and to Tullus, on the *ninth* day of every new year, if not of every month, in order to take part in any common solemnity, or to be apprized of whatsoever they were to learn only from the king and by word of mouth, would begin to be the rule of proceeding as matter of course.

It is clearly to be collected from Livy that this incident of the shower of stones, and this admonition of the Albans Ut patrio ritu sacra facerent quæ oblivioni dederant, and this first *novemdiale sacrum,* must have happened very near the end of the reign of Tullus. He mentions nothing after it but a pestilence, which precluded any military operations the next year; and after that, or even before it was over, a long illness of Tullus himself[l]: in both which he is confirmed by Dionysius[m]. Now the date of his death, according to Dionysius, was Ol. xxxv. 2 B. C. 639–638[n]: and if we may assume that it actually happened in April, B. C. 638, (of which by and by); then we might assume that the prodigies, above alluded to, and whatsoever preceded or followed upon them, happened at the end or towards the end of B. C. 641; two years and four or five months before the death of Tullus.

Let us therefore draw out the scheme of the Nundinal calendar, Type iii, for this interval of time, B. C. 641 to B. C. 638.

Nundinal Calendar, Type iii.

		Midnight.			Midnight.	
Cycle lxxiii.	1	Paüni	4	Nab. 107	Octob. 30	B. C. 641.
.. ..	2	Pharmuthi	3	.. 108	Aug. 30	.. 640.
.. ..	3	Mecheir	2	.. 109	June 30	.. 639.
.. ..	4	Chœac	1	.. 110	April 30	.. 638.

The first day of this cycle October 30 B. C. 641 would be Nundinal of course; and so would the ninth, November 7: and, according to the rule lately alluded to, *that* would be also the day of the stated resort of the Socii Nominis Latini to Tullus, analogous to what would be understood to be

[l] i. 31. [m] iii. 35: 36. [n] iii. 36. Cf. Diss. viii. ch. ii. sect. vi. Supra, 176.

meant by the Feriæ Latinæ of after-times *. And if the prodigy in question happened at *this* time, and on *this* particular day, it would follow from it that there was an historical foundation for the statement of Festus, that the first portent of this kind happened *nono die, Feriis Latinis.* Moreover if any thing did really happen at this time, either on the Mons Albanus or elsewhere, which could have been mistaken for a shower of stones, it must have been a shower of hail; and an hail-storm November 7 B. C. 641 would be nothing extraordinary even for the climate of Rome: especially only three days before the change of the moon, the date of which, as our calendar shews, Type i, Period xii. ii. 1 B. C. 641, was Nov. 10 at midnight. If this too was the stated time and occasion for making known the sacra or feriæ which were bound to be celebrated in the course of the month; no opportunity could have been more favourable for pretending to hear on the same day the admonition *in Monte Albano*, addressed to the Albans at Rome; that they should resume the performance of their *sacra patria.* Besides which it is by all means to be observed that this year, B. C. 641, was the end of the *second* and the beginning of the *third* secular period of the Etruscans; which entered December 17 at midnight B. C. 641. That too was a remarkable coincidence. The Haruspices and Augurs would never let one of those periods come upon them by surprise; or with-

* It is mentioned by Livy, viii. 11. U. C. 414=415 B. C. 340=349, that after the war with the Latins, and the battle in which the first Decius devoted himself, to reward the fidelity of the Laurentes, who had not joined in the common defection, Cum Laurentibus renovari fœdus jussum. And he adds, Renovaturque ex eo quotannis post diem decimum Latinarum; implying that it was usual to renew it with them every year even in his time, ten days after the Feriæ Latinæ. Now this term is remarkable. It does much to prove that, according to the rule of the old Nundinal calendar of the Latins, the ninth day of the first month was the stated date of a ceremony or resort something like that of the Feriæ Latinæ—which lasted until the 17th—and that the 17th of the month, (Post diem decimum of the ninth,) was the first on which any business strictly so called could be done. All the preceding from the 9th to the 17th were *religious*, as being occupied by the Feriæ Latinæ. Cf. xxxvii. 3. U. C. 564, which also illustrates the connection of the Laurentes with the Feriæ Latinæ of the Romans.

out being announced and ushered in by something extraordinary.

With regard to the death of Tullus Hostilius himself; it seems to be agreed that there was something mysterious about it; not in the fact itself, but in the circumstances: and whether the fire which consumed his house, himself, and his wife and family, was accidental or designed; a natural occurrence or a preternatural one. Livy attributes it to lightning[o]; and Dionysius inclines to the same construction[p]. But according to both he was engaged at the time on some secret rites, or on some which had long been neglected; and according to Dionysius in particular even the day of his death was remarkable for a convulsion of the elements, Κατά τε ὄμβρον καὶ ζάλην καὶ σκότον—much like that which had attended the death of Romulus: in the midst of which too, (if a conspiracy of that kind may be supposed to have been previously formed,) his house might have been set on fire and he himself disposed of with the same secresy and the same impunity as Romulus had been before him.

If the last year of his reign was B. C. 638; the fourth year of the lxxiiird cycle entered on April 30 at midnight B. C. 638; and the last month of the preceding year must have borne date April 14 at midnight. This month, as we have seen, would be the proper parentalial month in the third Nundinal Type and according to the Latin rule. There was an eclipse of the sun, April 16 at 10 A. M. for the meridian of Paris, B. C. 638; though it does not appear to have been a considerable one. It is not impossible however, nor even improbable, that the first Nundinal cycle, April 14 to April 22, in this month might have been the time actually chosen by Tullus for those mysterious rites, in the midst of

[o] i. 31. The ancient Etrurians, the Haruspices and Fulguratores in particular, it has been supposed were possessed of the means of drawing down lightning from the clouds: and that this is what is meant by those sacra of Jupiter Elicius to which allusion occurs in the history of Numa, and of Tullus Hostilius. Numa was in the secret, and knew how to manage this dangerous element; Tullus only imperfectly so. He succeeded therefore in his attempts to bring down lightning merely so far as to set his house on fire over his own head. Cf. Pliny, H. N. ii. 54, who seems to appeal to the historian Piso for the fact. Yet that Tullus' death was the effect of a conspiracy must have been recorded somewhere or other; since Dionysius was aware of such a tradition relating to it. In fact he says it was the *common* account of his death: that in which the *majority* of historians, οἱ πλείους, concurred: though he inclines to the other himself.

[p] iii. 35. Cf. Plutarch, Numa, xxii.

which, from some cause or other, he lost his life. The direct object of these sacra is said to have been Jupiter Elicius; and that might connect them with the manes, and the services for the dead. Livy attributes them to his superstitious fears; and to the sympathy of his mind with his bodily weakness at the time.

iii, and lastly, the actual existence and still continuing use of this third Nundinal Type among the Socii nominis Latini is discoverable, if we are not mistaken, at a comparatively late period in Roman history. The discovery indeed turns on a critical coincidence; but we believe it to be a real one: and we shall conclude our account of this third Nundinal Type for the present with the illustration and explanation of it.

There is a passage in Livy, in reference to a certain transaction of the consular year of L. Cornelius Merula and Q. Minucius Thermus[q]; which entered on the Ides of March U. C. 561, Nov. 4 B. C. 194. The consular year at this time was nearly over[q], and the comitia of the next year were at hand[r]; being determinable by the context to some time in all probability in the Roman January U. C. 562 B. C. 193.

Before the arrival of the consul Cornelius for the purpose of holding these comitia, Livy observes[s]; De ea re nihil temere decerni placuit: ad frequentiores consultatio dilata est. instabat enim cura alia, quod civitas fenore laborabat; et quod cum multis fenebribus legibus constricta avaritia esset via fraudis inita erat ut in socios qui non tenerentur iis legibus nomina transcriberent; ita libero fenore obruebant debitores.

The laws here alluded to were probably that which was passed U. C. 398 B C. 356[t]; and the next, U. C. 408 B. C. 346[u]; and thirdly, U. C. 413 B. C. 341[w]. By the first the rate of interest had been reduced to the *uncia* (12 per cent.); by the second to the *semuncia* (6 per cent.); by the third all lending on usury or interest whatsoever had been prohibited[x]: and in this state the law appears to have continued

[q] xxxiv. 54, 55: xxxv. 10.
[r] Ibid. 6. 8. 10.
[s] xxxv. 7.
[t] Livy, vii. 16: cf. vii. 19. U. C. 401 B.C. 353: vii. 21. U.C. 403 B. C. 351.
[u] Livy, vii. 27, 28.
[w] Ibid. 42. 38.
[x] Cf. Tacitus, Ann. vi. 16. Livy, lxxiv. Appian, B. C. 1. 54, 55. B. C. 89. Cf. our Exposition of the Parables, iv. 454. note.

down to U. C. 561 B. C. 194—193. The means of evading it contrived by the usurers it seems had been to lend their money in the name of some of the Socii who were not Roman citizens; and consequently were not bound by the Roman laws.

Cujus coercendi, continues Livy, cum ratio quæreretur, diem finiri placuit Feralia quæ proxime fuissent; ut qui post eam diem socii civibus Romanis credidissent pecunias profiterentur, et ex ea die pecuniæ creditæ quibus debitor vellet legibus jus diceretur: which was the same thing as declaring that all engagements and contracts of this kind since the Feralia last past, unless voluntarily confirmed by the parties who had entered into them, (i. e. the subjects of such obligations, the borrowers or debtors, not the lenders or creditors,) should be *de facto* null and void. And it appears from the sequel that, when it came to be ascertained to what an extent this fraudulent evasion of the law had been carried, such contracts were actually disallowed altogether. Inde postquam professionibus detecta est magnitudo æris alieni per hanc fraudem contracti M. Sempronius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate Patrum plebem rogavit plebesque scivit ut cum sociis ac nomine Latino pecuniæ creditæ jus idem quod cum civibus Romanis esset[y].

The Feralia thus designated were those of U. C. 561 B. C. 194. Those of U. C. 562 B. C. 193 could not yet have been come, much less past. The date of this ceremony in the Roman calendar, from first to last was the interval from the Ides of February to ix Kalendas Martias, February 13 to February 21 Roman[z]; but in the common and popular and calendar sense of the term the Feralia meant the last three days of the interval only, xi—ix Kalendas Martias, February 19—21: and the first day properly so called being necessarily that which is here intended, the *προθεσμία* fixed by the senate at first was February 19 Roman U. C. 561, October 12 Julian B. C. 194; the Kalends of February that year having fallen on September 24.

The first decision on this subject consequently was that money lent in the manner above explained, before October

[y] Cf. xxxv. 41. 40. U. C. 562. B. C. 193—192. [z] Diss. iv. ch. i. sect. xiii. Vol. i. 427. note.

12 B. C. 194 last past, might be recoverable by law; and since October 12 B. C. 194 last past, should not be so. But why was October 12 fixed upon to draw this line of distinction? In the first place, the annus fenebris was regulated by the year of ten months[a]. In the next place, it may be taken for granted that all transactions between lenders of money and borrowers were more or less regulated by the Lustral cycle; and that the usual time for cancelling old obligations of this kind and of contracting new ones was the end of one cycle and the beginning of another. It is clear too from Livy's account of this business that loud and general complaints against the evasion of the usury laws must have reached the ears of the senate before they took it seriously into consideration; that is, the grievance had been felt and denounced from as far back as the consular year of P. Scipio Africanus ii and Tib. Sempronius Longus, U. C. 560 at least, though it was redressed or abated only in that of their successors, L. Cornelius Merula and Q. Minucius Thermus, U. C. 561.

Now herein we may observe a singular coincidence. The former of these years U. C. 560 was a Lustral year, the first year of Cycle lxxiii[b], which entered January 29 B. C. 194. The latter was the second year of that cycle, which bore date Nov. 29 B. C. 194 also. The limit prescribed by the senate to the evasion of the usury laws was October 12 last past before this date of Nov. 29 B. C. 194. All debts contracted before that day were to stand good. All which had been contracted since that day were declared to be *ipso facto* cancelled. This was to allow every thing of that kind which had been done in the *first* year of the current Lustral cycle, before it had yet been detected or denounced as fraudulent and contrary to the laws; but to refuse to allow any thing of the same kind, to declare every thing null and void, which had since been done in the *second*.

Now if we look at this Julian term of October 12 B.C. 194 in our Roman calendar for the time being, we find that it fell on a Nundinal day as much as November 29 the same year, the first day of the second year of the Lustral cycle in question. The distance between them in fact in the Julian

[a] Diss. ii. ch. i. sect. iv. Vol. i. 72.

[b] Supra, page 330.

calendar being 48 days, or six Nundinal cycles, if one of them was Nundinal the other must have been so too. Let us therefore now turn to the Nundinal calendar, Type iii, brought down to this point of time.

Nundinal Calendar, Type iii.

Year.		Midnight.	
Cycle clxxxii.	1	April 13	B. C. 196
.. ..	2	February 11	.. 195
.. ..	3	December 12	.. 195
.. ..	4	October 12	.. 194.

In this Type we perceive that October 12 B.C. 194 was the head of the fourth year of Cycle clxxxii; just 48 days earlier than November 29, the head in like manner of the second Nundinal year in the lxxiiird Lustral cycle. It must be evident therefore that such a cycle as this of Type iii of the Nundinal calendar was just as suitable at this point of time, even for the regulation of *bona fide* and lawful contracts of any kind, as the Lustral cycle of the Romans of the same date; and, if it was actually at this period the proper Nundinal cycle of the Socii Nominis Latini, then, for the sake of evading the law, and for the sake of engagements like these under other names than their own, it was exactly what the purpose of the usurers required. We may conclude therefore that such fraudulent engagements had been regulated by this Nundinal cycle of Type iii, as much as by the proper Lustral cycle of the Romans themselves; and that such engagements having just been renewed in the *third* year of the former and in the *first* of the latter, when they were denounced to the Roman senate, though those were not all at once disallowed, (those which had been formed between Dec. 12 B.C. 195 or Jan. 29 B.C. 194 and October 12 B.C. 194), yet all similar engagements which had been contracted in the fourth year of the same cycle, (the year in which the fraud was denounced and detected,) that is, since October 12 B.C. 194, were declared to be *ipso facto* null and void. But in this case we must also conclude that this proper cycle of Type iii was the proper Nundinal cycle of the Socii Nominis Latini: and therefore that this Type itself was the proper Nundinal Type of the Prisci Latini.

CHAPTER IV.

On the fourth Type of the Nundinal Calendar.

Equable Epoch Thoth 1 at midnight Æra Cyc. 3027.
Julian Epoch April 23 at midnight B. C. 980.

Nundinal character the Feria Prima.
Hebdomadal character the Feria Tertia.
Lunar character the Luna 9ª.

SECTION I.—*On the necessity of the fourth Nundinal Type; and on the proper name of this fourth Type.*

The necessity of a fourth Nundinal Type in its proper order of time between the third which we have just been considering, and the fifth the actual existence of which has been demonstrated already, is unquestionable, in order to carry on the succession, subject to the same laws, from the former of these to the latter. The discriminating characters of the fifth Type depend on those of the fourth: as those of the fourth do on those of the third. If the third was real in its proper order of time and the fifth was real in its proper order too; the intermediate Type must have been real also.

Nor are we destitute of proofs by which its reality may be established independently of any but its proper testimony; some indeed only of a probable nature, others, if we are not mistaken, direct and to the point. Both of these we shall proceed to lay before our readers; premising only that, as we have seen reason to conclude that this fourth Type came into being among the ancient Etrurians of Italy, its proper designation must be that of the Etrurian Type of the Nundinal calendar. But there was also a *second* Nundinal correction, which came into being among the Etrurians, at the epoch of Type v. We must therefore call this, of the epoch of Type iv, the *first* Etrurian Type of the Nundinal calendar; and that of the epoch of Type v the *second* Etrurian Type of the Nundinal calendar.

SECTION II.—*Arguments of the probable or the actual existence of the fourth Nundinal Type in general, the first Etrurian Type in particular.*

In the first place, even the geographical characters of the preceding Nundinal Types, the course and direction which the Nundinal correction of the Primitive calendar, once begun in Italy, appears to have afterwards taken in that country, is not unimportant on the present question. It has been rendered highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that the first such correction ultimately came from Egypt; and was introduced into ancient Umbria. The ancient Umbria was bounded on the east by the Apennine ridge; on the west by the ancient Etruria or Tuscia; and on the south by the country of the ancient Sabines. It had no neighbours strictly so called but those two, the ancient Etrurians and the ancient Sabines: and it may very well be considered doubtful, whether at so remote a point of time as the epoch of the first Nundinal Type B. C. 1340, these ancient Etrurians, and under that name, were yet in being or yet in possession of their proper country: though both they and the ancient Sabines might be so in B. C. 1220. The Nundinal correction however once introduced into and established in Umbria, if it did not continue confined to Umbria, must pass to its neighbours either on the west or on the south: and it appears to have passed *de facto* first to those on the south; i. e. to the ancient Sabines.

The geographical direction therefore which the tide of innovation in this respect appears to have taken in the first instance was southward; from the country of the ancient Umbrians to the country of the ancient Sabines: and having passed on southward from the Umbrians to the Sabines it seems to have continued its progress southwards also from the Sabines to their nearest neighbours in that direction, the Prisci Latini, the Æqui, Hernici, Volsci. And these three Types having thus been introduced into Italy in succession, the Umbrian, the Sabine, and the Latin, and two of them, the second and the third, having been carried and diffused by the colonies of the Sabines and the Latins in various directions; it is exceedingly probable that just at the epoch of the fourth Type, B. C. 980, the civil calendar of all ancient Italy

south of Umbria had already assumed the form of the Nundinal. Where then could a new and distinct Type of the same kind rise up and make its appearance in the same country, just at this point of time, except *west* of Umbria, and among the Etrurians? The matter of fact confirms the conclusion to which we should thus be led *a priori*, even by following the geographical course of the correction. The fourth Type of the same kind of correction does make its appearance at this point of time *in* Etruria, and *at* Vulsinii in Etruria; which might be the principal city in Etruria at this time: though 120 years later Tarquinii appears to have been so; and still later, and in the time of Porsena, Clusium.

ii. It is far from improbable that the personification of Nature, peculiar to ancient Italy, under the name and with the attributes of the rustic and pastoral Pales[c], had already taken place by B. C. 980; and that an annual festival, of an appropriate kind, in honour of such a conception, attached to the traditionary date of the Natale mundi April 24[c], had already been introduced into Italy. If that was the case, it would render the epoch of the fourth Nundinal correction the more remarkable. The equable date of this correction in every Type was the first day of the equable Thoth; and this day Æra Cyclica 3027 was falling on April 23 at midnight B. C. 980: within one day of the Natale mundi, and of the ancient Palilia, from which even that of the Roman calendar was derived, April 24. We are entirely of opinion that wheresoever a still genuine and authentic tradition, respecting the beginning of things and the origin of mundane time, was still preserved, no coincidence of this kind was lost upon the men of the time; and that, if it was foreseen and expected in ancient Italy, no correction of the Primitive calendar on a new principle, like that of the Nundinal, could have been contemplated with more interest at any juncture of time than *this*: when the Primitive year itself was returning to the very same state of relation to the Natale mundi and to the beginning of time of every kind connected with the existence of mankind, from which it had set out at first. To attach the head of the Primitive year at *this* time to the Natale mundi would seem to be only doing that on the first

[c] Diss. iii. ch. v. sect. x—xiv. Vol. i. p. 380.

opportunity afterwards which should have been done at first.

iii. And this leads us to observe that wheresoever an authentic tradition respecting the beginning of annual natural and of annual civil time, and in particular respecting the proper date of the Natale mundi itself, had been still preserved; this recurrence of time of each kind to the relations of origination, just at the epoch of the fourth Nundinal Type, would be eminently qualified both to account for the first conception of the idea of a very singular custom, peculiar so far as we know to ancient Italy, and to explain its true drift and meaning: the custom of *driving a nail* at stated times, with great form and ceremony, into the walls of some building different from common; where it would be ever after both undisturbed and conspicuous. The fact of this custom is well attested of the ancient Italians; but is no where asserted of any of the nations of antiquity besides. It could make no difference to the nature or the meaning of such an observance, whether the nail was driven every year, or at stated times, and after a certain number of years. The grammarian Festus speaks of a *clavus annalis:* Clavus annalis appellabatur qui figebatur in parietibus sacrarum ædium per annos singulos, ut per eos numerus colligeretur annorum [d]. But a *clavus annalis* does not necessarily imply an *annual* nail. A nail driven at the end of a certain number of years perpetually would be a *clavus annalis*, a *nail of years*, as much as one driven every year; and to judge from the cases of the ceremony, or the act of the *clavifigium* recorded in Roman history, it could never have been intended to be done every year: for these are only *three* in number, and they stand at very considerable distances of time asunder.

The comment of Festus however on this act of driving the nail shews that it had ultimately a chronological use and reference. These nails were *notes* of *time*; and in particular of *annual* time: Ut per eos numerus colligeretur annorum. And this appears also from Livy's account of the first performance of an act of this kind at Rome [e]. But the most remarkable circumstance in the history of this ancient practice appears to be that when traced up to its origin, it is

[d] iii. 82. 7 Clavus. [e] vii. 3.

found to have taken its rise in Etruria; and in Etruria to have been most characteristic of Vulsinii. The testimony of Livy is so important upon this point and so express to it also that we shall beg leave to quote it in terms, from that part of his history in which he gives an account of the first Clavifigium at Rome; making his own observations upon it[e]. The ostensible reason for the first performance of this ceremony even at Rome was a pestilential state of things, previously existing; and certain other occurrences of an extraordinary kind akin to portents, which this act was intended and expected to expiate.

Itaque Cn. Genucio L. Æmilio Mamercino secundum consulibus, quum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi adficerent; repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam. ea religione adductus senatus dictatorem clavi figendi caussa dici jussit. dictus L. Manlius Imperiosus L. Pinarium magistrum equitum dixit. lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui prætor maximus sit Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat. fixa fuit dextro lateri Ædis Jovis optimi maximi ex qua parte Minervæ templum est. eum clavum quia raræ per ea tempora litteræ erant notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt: eoque Minervæ templo dicatam legem quia numerus Minervæ inventum sit. Volsiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiæ Etruscæ deæ comparere diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius adfirmat. M. Horatius consul ex lege templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos: a consulibus postea ad dictatores quia majus imperium erat sollemne clavi figendi translatum est. intermisso deinde more digna etiam per se visa res propter quam dictator crearetur.

The occasion referred to here is that of U. C. 391 Varr. = 392, B. C. 363=362. The readers of Livy must be aware that this is the first instance of the fixation of a nail which is mentioned in the regular course of his history; though there are two more of later date: one U. C. 423 B. C. 331[f], the other U. C. 441 B. C. 313[g]. And yet it is plainly to be collected from this very account that the first performance of such an act must really have occurred along with the dedi-

[e] Ibid. loc. cit. [f] viii. 18. [g] ix. 28.

cation of the Capitol; and that the act itself was performed at that time by the magistrate who dedicated the Capitol itself: and as no such magistrate, superior to the consuls, as the dictator of after-times had yet been thought of or yet appointed, the magistrate who acted on that occasion was of course one of the consuls. Now no express mention is made in any of our authorities[h] of the actual driving of a nail also at the time of this dedication: but they all agree that the agent upon the occasion was the consul M. Horatius Pulvillus. It is agreed too that the Capitol was dedicated on the Ides of September[h]; and it is plainly implied by the above testimony of Livy that the Ides of September were already recognized as the stated date of this ceremony of driving a nail even before that instance of it, of which he was giving an account, had yet been thought of, or yet been performed. The law passed on the occasion, and set up in the Capitol, and still visible there in his own time, prescribed the Ides of September on *this* occasion also; but evidently not for the *first* time: evidently because the Ides of September were the proper date of the ceremony whensoever it might be performed. This law was reviving a ceremony for this occasion which had been originally attached to the Ides of September; and therefore could be duly performed on no day but that. It was not prescribing a particular ceremony and fixing its date on this occasion, for the *first* time. We must conclude therefore that it was known and understood among the Romans even at this time that this ceremony had been once at least performed before, at the dedication of the Capitol; and by the same magistrate who dedicated the Capitol, and on the same day on which he had dedicated it: and we must also infer both from this virtual recognition of a stated day for the ceremony by the law now passed, and from the tenor of Livy's remarks upon the intermission of the practice in subsequent times, that it had been performed even on that first occasion with the *intention* and in the *expectation* that it should be and would be repeated at stated times afterwards.

The dates assigned to the dedication of the Capitol, as we

[h] Supra, Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. vi. No. iii. p. 101.

saw[1], differed by one year; B. C. 507 and B. C. 506. The latter was Dionysius' date; and he appears to have been so well informed on such points as these that in our opinion his authority only would be competent to decide between these years in favour of B. C. 506. Let us here then take into account the chronological use and reference of this act of driving the nail itself, according to the testimony produced supra. We shall find it to be critically confirmed by the interval in the Roman calendar between the first act of the kind, if really performed B. C. 506, and *this*, which is related historically by Livy apparently as the first of its kind also, B. C. 362. This interval was exactly 144 years; that is six cycles of 24 years: six cycles of the regular calendar, from a given day B. C. 506 to the same day B. C. 362.

We cannot help drawing from this coincidence the inference which is so naturally suggested by it; viz. that the object proposed by the ceremony when it was first performed, (i. e. at the dedication of the Capitol,) was the keeping of a *reckoning of time:* that this reckoning at Rome was intended to be cyclical or periodic; and that the measure of the cycle or period between one such act and another was intended to be that of the regular calendar: that it was first done B. C. 506, only two years after the expulsion of the kings, at the dedication of the Capitol, and on the Ides of September; that it was meant to be repeated on the same day every 24 years afterwards: and therefore that, between B. C. 506 and B. C. 362, it should have been performed six times; though in reality it had not been so, it had been forgotten, or allowed to fall into desuetude: which, if we consider both the length of the cycle itself, 24 years, and how much had happened meanwhile, to divert the attention of the Romans from any thing which could be done only once in 24 years, ought not to appear extraordinary.

Now that a ceremony of this kind in its first intention might have been connected with the reckoning of time, and as so intended might seem to be an obvious and effectual means of fixing and distinguishing a succession of periods one after another according to any law, requires no proof. With

[1] Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. vi. No. iii. p. 101,

such a reference and such a design as that the ceremony would speak for itself. It would be the most significant act imaginable. That it should have been first conceived and first intended only as a means of allaying a pestilence exceeds the bounds of credibility. It is more than could be considered possible even of the ancient Romans; prone as they were to ideas and imaginations of that kind. Circumstances might occur in the course of time, to establish a connection in the apprehension of the Romans even between a ceremony purely and solely chronological in its first intention, and such an ulterior use and effect of it as this; foreign as that might be to the nature of the ceremony itself: but it is not credible that things so widely discriminated in themselves as the act of driving a nail and the stopping of a pestilence could have been associated by them at first, as cause and effect or as antecedent and consequent in any sense. It was certainly done for that purpose, on the two next occasions, B. C. 331, and B. C. 313; but it was so done on each of those occasions, and for that purpose, because it had been first done, and for such a purpose also, B. C. 362: and it was so done, even on this first occasion and for this purpose, B. C. 362, according to Livy, because it had been some time or other done for the very same purpose before.

The idea of driving a nail on this occasion in the hope of allaying thereby the existing pestilential state of things, he tells us, was suggested to the Romans by certain old people; who remembered that the same thing had been done some time or other before for the same purpose: and had been followed by the desired effect. On what former occasion then was that? or at what period of antecedent Roman history? Was it some time in the life time of these old people themselves, or had they only heard speak of it? It is certain that nothing of the kind is actually on record, before B. C. 362. It is certain that if a law was ever passed, expressly to regulate this ceremony, and to prescribe the forms necessary to be observed in its performance, it was preliminary to this occasion of B. C. 362. We must therefore infer that, if these old people referred to an historical occasion of the same kind before their own time, it must have been that

of the dedication of the Capitol: in which case they could not have alluded to it from their personal recollection; they could only have *heard* of it at the utmost. The Capitol had been dedicated 144 years before B. C. 362; and the oldest man living at Rome at this time could scarcely have been less than 60 or 70 years younger than that event. And though there is no mention distinctly in the contemporary history of any pestilential state of things as existing at Rome when the Capitol was dedicated; yet we may possibly see reason hereafter from the history of the secular games among the Romans, and from the reasons assigned for their first celebration, to conclude that there was such a state of things, B. C. 508 or B. C. 507, which might not be over in B. C. 506 itself; nor before the Ides of September and the dedication of the Capitol that year. The story is well known of the report which is said to have been brought to the consul Pulvillus, in the midst of the ceremony of the dedication itself; that his own son was just dead. What was so likely to give a colour of probability to such a report and at such a time, as the existence of a pestilence at the same time? Tradition or common fame at least, at the distance of 144 years after or even of 60 or 70, would have no difficulty in founding upon this coincidence the report that the Capitol had been dedicated and a nail had been driven in the midst of some sickness and mortality at the time; which had been allayed thereby.

It is a further argument of the final end of this act of driving a nail, as intended for so solemn and important a purpose as that of sealing and registering, and as it were fixing and nailing, the course and succession of time, that it was to be performed by the highest authority in the state; by the chief of those very magistrates whose names and succession signed and sealed the Fasti perpetually: and that such nails were driven not into the walls of an ordinary building, but into those of such buildings as temples or Ædes Sacræ; and not even into the walls of any of these indiscriminately, but into those of the temples of the greatest of the gods, or of such as were most closely connected with the course and succession of time itself: like Jupiter or

Minerva at Rome, or Nortia at Vulsinii in Etruria. And this brings us at once to the question of the possible derivation of this ceremony at Rome from Vulsinii in Etruria.

We have already observed that the coincidence of the Nundinal epoch, B. C. 980, almost with the Natale Mundi, April 24 or 25, itself, was competent to suggest the idea of a perpetual reckoning of time ever after from that epoch; as the most agreeable to the order and course of things from the first of any which could be adopted. We have seen too that a cycle of five years of the Primitive standard and one of six years of the Nundinal standard were naturally associated; and calculated to go on in conjunction perpetually. A cycle of five years, or a cycle of six virtually the same with it, was one of the most convenient imaginable for the constant numeration of time at stated intervals; neither too near to each other nor too remote from each other. The Lustral cycle of the Romans is a sufficient proof of that. Nor could it be unknown at this time any where in ancient Italy that this Nundinal cycle of *six* years and this Equable cycle of *five* years agreed within one day. To drive a nail at the end of every one of these cycles would be a mark not of years only but of days perpetually. It would keep the account not only of the succession of years of either kind *per se*, but of the recession of one in terms of the other; in which relation each of these nails would represent one day, for every *six* years of the Nundinal, and every *five* of the Equable, standard: as in the other they would stand for years; *six* of the former *five* of the latter perpetually.

It is therefore far from improbable that, among other things which distinguished the epoch of the fourth Nundinal Type, one was the introduction of this peculiar and characteristic mode of registering the course of time; and at Vulsinii in Etruria at least, if no where else in that country: for which reason the proper name of this Type so signalised will be the Vulsinian. Let us then see what light this coincidence may possibly serve to throw on the circumstances of the dedication of the Capitol at Rome, B. C. 506.

If this fourth Nundinal Type came into being April 23 at midnight B. C. 980, the xcvith cycle of such a Type, as our

Table shews, would be in course B. C. 506. The head of the Nundinal year, Cycle xcvi. 1 of this Type, would fall Sept. 24 at midnight B. C. 506. The Ides of September, in the contemporary Roman calendar, Cycle ix. 15 of the calendar of Numa, fell on October 10 at midnight the same year; i. e. on the 17th of the first Nundinal month, Cycle xcvi. 1 of Type iv: a Nundinal day by the law of the Nundinal calendar; and Nundinal in the calendar of Numa, as the Ides of his September the same year, also. Under ordinary circumstances and at this period of their history, as we argued more at large elsewhere[k], the Romans would probably not have selected a Nundinal day for a ceremony like that of the dedication of the Capitol; but if the 17th of the Nundinal month, (the first month of the first year of the cycle,) was the stated date of the ceremony of driving the nail at Vulsinii, and the Romans were now borrowing that ceremony and its proper date from the calendar of Vulsinii, merely to transfer them to their own, they would have no alternative in this instance but that of pitching on a Nundinal day: for the 17th of the first month in the Nundinal calendar was necessarily Nundinal every year. The stated date of such a ceremony at Vulsinii and in its proper Nundinal Type might have been the *first* day of the Nundinal month. But the first stated resort of the people to the kings, according to the Etrurian rule[l], would be on the ninth of the month; and if it was usual among the Etrurians also to declare the Feriæ or ceremonies of the month on the 9th of the month, the earliest date of such a ceremony as this would probably be the 17th. That the Romans at least purposely fixed on the Ides of September for their first ceremony of driving the nail is certain; nor is it less so that if such a Type of the Nundinal calendar, as this of the epoch of B. C. 980, was still in existence at that time, September 13 Roman, Cycle ix. 15 of Numa, must have coincided with the 17th of the first month of Cycle xcvi. 1 of that Type: and both with October 10 B. C. 506. It is certain too that this first date September 13 in their calendar determined the day of the same thing ever after.

[k] Nundinal Cycle, Diss. vii. ch. iii. sect. vi. p. 101, note. [l] Supra, page 433.

On the next occasion, B. C. 362, Cycle iv. 15 of the Decemviral calendar, September 13 Roman fell on October 11 Julian. Had the calendar of Numa been continued in existence until then, it would again have fallen on October 10*.

With regard to the temple of Nortia, in which these nails were wont to be driven at Vulsinii; we might infer from the knowledge of that fact alone that this goddess Nortia must have been the principal divinity at Vulsinii; and that her worship was most characteristic of that city. And this indeed appears to have been the case. Even in Juvenal's time, where he is alluding to the fate of Sejanus, (who appears to have been a Tuscan, and possibly of Vulsinii itself,) her pristine dignity is recognized in the words,

Si Nurtia Tusco
Favisset [m]—

The name is Nurtia in this instance; and in Livy, supra [n], it was Nortia: and according to Tertullian it was also written Hostia: Volsiniensium Nortia, Ocriculanorum Valentia, Sutrinorum Hostia [o]: and in fact it occurs both Nurtia, Nurscia, and Mursia [p]. It is much to be regretted that so little has been left on record, or at least has come down to

* It deserves to be noticed here, that viii. 18, in reference to the first of the two occasions of the repetition of the ceremony referred to supra (p. 446), Livy says it was resorted to at that time not only as a means of allaying the mortality previously existing, but also as a means of restoring harmony and concord. Itaque memoria ex annalibus repetita in secessionibus quondam plebis clavum ab dictatore fixum alienatasque discordia mentes hominum eo piaculo compotes sui fecisse, dictatorem clavi figendi caussa creari placuit. Nothing of this kind is actually on record in the account of any *secessio plebis* before this time, U. C. 423 B. C. 331. The date of the first nail having been B. C. 506, if it was intended to be repeated every 24 years, that of the second should have been B. C. 482 U. C. 272. We have the account of this year in Livy, ii. 42; and in Dionys. viii. 87—89. And it is evidently such that the ceremony in question might again have been performed in it, even for the reason assigned viii. 18. This year answered to Cycle x. 15 of the calendar of Numa; and the Ides of September in that year again fell on Oct. 10, as they did B. C. 506.

[m] x. 74. and Schol. in loc.

[n] Page 446.

[o] Opp. v. 70. Apologeticus adv. Gentes, 24: cf. 179. Ad Nationes, ii. 8.

[p] Forcellini Lexicon, in voce. Of Murtia, see Tertullian, iv. 117, 118. De Spectaculis, 8. She was the goddess of love.

posterity, concerning this goddess. In the opinion of some of the ancients[m] she appears to have been identified with Fortuna; which in our opinion was a mistaken view of her nature and character. It may probably be collected from Livy's account of the first ceremony of driving the nail, and of the law which was passed on the occasion, that the proper idea of this Etrurian goddess in the apprehension of the Romans of the time came nearest to that of their own Minerva, associated with Jupiter in the Capitol: and if the proper Hellenic idea of the Minerva of Greek Mythology had been already received among them, it would be essential to such a conception that Nortia should have been regarded as the representative in some sense or other both of the masculine and of the feminine principle at once, and in the same person. And perhaps, were the truth concerning her known, it would be perceived that she was altogether analogous among the Etrurians to Pales among the Latins. In that case, her very name possibly set her forth and described her accordingly, as the common mother and nurse; as the parental and fostering principle of all being whether vegetable or sensible: ultimately indeed the impersonation of the abstract conception of Nature, but in the most endearing relation to its various productions*. Such a conception and

* These three names, associated by Tertullian in the passages cited supra, Nortia, Hostia or Hortia, and Valentia, as the names of cognate conceptions, must have denoted much the same thing. And to these we may perhaps add that of Murtia, of which he tells us himself, and we know from other quarters, (Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, xx. Servius, ad Æn. viii. 636. Varro, De Ling. Lat. iv. 43,) that it was the name of the goddess of love. She must have corresponded therefore to the Grecian Aphrodite; the first conception of which was only that of the universal mother, or principle of life and productiveness in the abstract. Valentia is a name which explains itself. It is the abstract conception of health and strength; animal vigour and capacity; inseparable from life or being *per se*. Nortia very probably denoted something of the same kind; the universal Τιθήνη or Nurse, in the sense of Parent and Alma Mater as well as of Nurse. Hostia and Hortia appear to have been the same name; the most genuine form of which being supposed to be that of Hortia, in that form it might be only accidentally different from Fortia. The Latin grammarians tell us that F and H were letters often interchanged one with

[q] Juvenal, x. 74. and Schol. in loc.

such a name for it would have been quite in character with a correction of the calendar attached to the Natale Mundi; if both came into existence at once.

iv. The Lupercalia of the Romans are generally by the Greek writers on Roman antiquity represented as the same with their own Λύκαια. Such was the opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[r]. And as the Λύκαια was a ceremony, rite, or observance of the ancient Greeks which took its rise first in Arcadia, he accounts for the derivation of the Roman Lupercalia from the Hellenic Λύκαια, by supposing that the latter was brought into Italy by Evander; and that the Latins or Aborigines learnt the observance of the same, or an analogous, rite from him. The coming of Evander into Italy was no doubt an older event than the fourth Nundinal correction of the Primitive calendar; and if the institution of the Λύκαια in Arcadia took place, according to the Parian chronicle, some time in the reign of Pandion the son of Cecrops in Attica, between B. C. 1326 and B. C. 1295, the institution of the Lycæa in Arcadia must have been an older event than the coming of Evander into Italy. Into the probable date of this institution we may possibly have occasion to inquire on a future opportunity. We observe at present in reference to that subject only that, in the Lunar calendar of the Arcadians of the epoch of B. C. 542, it is in our power to prove that the Lycæa were attached to a certain day in the *fourth* month; which in the rectified and normal position of their calendar coincided as nearly as possible with the traditionary date of the Natale Mundi, April 24: so as to authorize a very probable inference that even before the date of this Lunar correction, (the third Type of the Lunar correction among the Greeks in general, January 7 B. C. 542,) their recognized and stated date in the preexisting equable calendar must have coincided with the same season of the natural year; and possibly even with the same day.

The Roman Lupercalia may or may not have been con-

the other, as in Fordicidia and Hordicidia; and Hortia being assumed as the same with Fortia, this name of Fortia would be analogous to that of Valentia, and so far, like that, would explain itself.

[r] i. 32. 80: cf. Justin. xliii. 1. § 7.

nected in their origin with the Hellenic Lycæa. The later writers however, whether Greek or Roman, do not appear to have had any better foundation for the opinion which made both the same, than the assumed derivation of the name of the Λύκαια in Greek from λύκος, and that of the Lupercalia in Latin from *lupus*. The epithet of λύκαιος in Greek would be even more properly derived from λύκη than λύκος in that language. If derived from λύκος it ought to appear in the form of λύκειος not of λύκαιος; λύκεια and not λύκαια. The existence of λύκη some time or other in the Greek is attested by the Greek ἀμφιλύκη still in use; by the Latin Lux; by the name of the year in Greek λυκάβας; and the like *. It is certain too that various epithets are of common occurrence in Greek, applied to Apollo in the sense of the sun; which, though commonly explained by the Grammarians as if they were derived from λύκος or Λυκία, are more truly to be derived from this word λύκη, in the sense of *Lux*; and from the relation of Apollo, as the sun, to the light and to the year.

It is usual too to represent the Hellenic Λύκαια as a ceremony of its proper kind in honour of the Hellenic Pan, or Πᾶν; and to this representation we know of nothing which could be objected either from testimony or from the reason of the thing. We apprehend however that the proper object of the ceremony in this sense, the Hellenic Πᾶν, was always intended in that case, and in conformity to his name, (which is ultimately derivable from πᾶς in the Greek,) of the universal principle, Τὸ Πᾶν; as the father of nature, both vegetable and animal, both insensible and sensible, on the widest possible scale: as the source of life and being in every form and shape; as the sum and substance of matter and form in every actual combination of both; all of which emanated from him, and all were comprehended in him. In this sense the name of Τὸ Πᾶν could be given to nothing in nature with so much propriety as to the sun; and in this sense and in this relation is even the Pan of Hellenic mythology set forth and delineated by such of the ancients as have most particularly and most exactly described that person and that

* It occurs in Macrobius, Saturn. i. 17. 292. Prisci Græcorum primam lucem quæ præcedit solis exortus λύκην appellaverunt.

conception[s]. In this sense too and in this relation to every thing animate and inanimate, and especially to animal life in general, it was natural for the Greeks to typify their Pan by the goat; or to identify their Pan with the subject supposed to be intended by the Egyptians under the animal figure of the goat of Mendes, that is, the Egyptian Chemmis: just on the same principle upon which the Egyptians themselves associated the Phallus with their own Osiris, and the Greeks with their Dionysos, and many other nations of antiquity with analogous conceptions and objects of worship, supposed to represent the masculine principle in the propagation and diffusion of life, on the widest scale and in the most perfect form.

The most characteristic of the ceremonies of the Roman Lupercalia too was one which connected it with the goat, in this typical and mystical sense and relation also[t]. It was usual for the Luperci, as they were called, the priests of Pan for the occasion, in performing this ceremony, to run naked through a certain quarter of the city of Rome, having their faces besmeared with the blood of an he-goat previously offered in sacrifice; and with thongs made of its skin in their hands: with which they struck the women who came in their way, or purposely presented themselves in order to be so treated; the effect of this act, as it was supposed, in such instances, being to impart to them the power or virtue of fecundity. On what could such an idea and such a mode of expressing it as that have been founded originally, except the well understood fact or belief that this was a ceremony in honour of the generative powers and principles of nature? and of animal nature in particular? the most appropriate type or symbol of which among animals themselves was the he-goat. And in reference to this most characteristic of the ceremonies of the Lupercalia, another explanation of the name has also been proposed, which would connect it still more directly with the goat; as if it had been so called *a luendo per caprum*.

[s] Cf. Servius, ad Virgil Eclog. ii. 31. and Philargyrius also in loc. Mythologicωn 312. Albrici Philosophi De Deorum Imaginibus Libellus, ix. De Pane.

[t] Ovid, Fasti, ii. 425—448. Cf. Servius, ad Æn. viii. 343: 663. Festus, iii. 102. 3 Crepos: vi. 145. 2 Februarius.

Now this ceremony of the Lupercalia must have been older in ancient Italy, and among the Prisci Latini themselves, than the foundation of Rome. It is agreed that Romulus and Remus were engaged on the actual performance of this ceremony when those things happened which ultimately led to their recognition by Numitor[u]. It was admitted by Numa into his own calendar; and from his calendar it passed to the Decemviral, and so down to the latest times: always under the same name, and attached to the same month, and to the same nominal day of the month; which in the correction of Numa was the xv Kalendas Januarias, in the Decemviral and ever after was the xv Kalendas Martias: but in either case was properly the 15th of the Roman February. And though as originally attached to that date it came to be mixed up subsequently with the term of days prescribed for the Feralia, that appears to have been merely *per accidens:* because the Feralia were afterwards introduced into the calendar by the Decemvirs, yet for particular reasons were attached to the middle of February[w].

With regard then to the actual origin of this ceremony under the name and in the form of the Lupercalia; we are entirely of opinion that it is ultimately to be traced up to the epoch of the fourth Nundinal Type, B. C. 980, and to the coincidence which distinguished it: that of its falling so near to the Natale Mundi, April 24. It appears to us an extremely probable conjecture that the Italian Lupercalia were instituted at this very time, as a ceremony in honour of the powers of production in general; and that its date was purposely fixed to April 24, and consequently to the second day of the first month in this Type; in that instance and ever after not a Nundinal day, but the first day after one.

The livth cycle of this Type would bear date December 27 at midnight B. C. 716.

[u] Dionysius, i. 80. Livy, i. 5. Plutarch, Romulus, xxi. Cf. Numa, xix. Valerius Max. ii. ii. 9 De Mag. Officiis. Festus, xv. 414. 11 Quintiliani. Servius, ad Æn. viii. 343.

[w] Diss. iv. ch. i. sect. xiii. Vol. i. p. 428.

Nundinal Calendar, Type iv. *Cycle* liv.

Year	i	December	27	Nundinal B. C.	716
..	ii	October	27	.. ..	715
..	iii	August	27	.. ..	714
..	iv	June	26	.. ..	713
..	v	April	26	.. ..	712
..	vi	February	24	.. ..	711
Cycle lv year	i	December	25	Nundinal B. C.	711

It thus appears that the last year of cycle liv of this Type and the first of cycle lv both fell in B. C. 711; the former Feb. 24, the latter December 25: on which principle the stated date of the Lupercalia, the 2d of the first month, cycle liv. 6 must have been February 25 B. C. 711, and cycle lv. 1 must have been December 26 B.C. 711; and from this last January 24 B. C. 710 would stand at the distance of only one mensis cavus of Numa, 29 days. The 24th of January B. C. 711 was the 15th of February Roman cycle i. 1 of Numa; and that being the case, the Lupercalia might have been purposely attached by him to this date, as the middle term between Feb. 24 and Dec. 25.

The earliest date of Numa's Februarius (that of the last year in his cycle) was December 29; the latest was January 28 (that in the nineteenth year of his cycle). Consequently the earliest date of his Lupercalia was January 12, and the latest was February 11. Now it is not a little remarkable that cycle xlvii. 1 of the fourth Nundinal Type coincided with B. C. 750, the year of the foundation of Rome. It entered our Tables January 11 B. C. 750; and the stated date of the Lupercalia, celebrated according to it, would be January 12 the same year. And in this case those must have been the Lupercalia which Romulus and Remus were celebrating when they were recognized by Numitor; and only 102 days before the Foundation, April 24 the same year. This coincidence might determine Numa to fix upon this day as the proper date of the Roman Lupercalia; i. e. as its earliest term, upon January 12, and therefore as its latest, upon February 11, just one equable month later. The consequence of which would be that its *mean* date, the normal or rectified date in his own calendar, must be that of the first year, January 24.

CHAPTER V.

On the Parapegma or Calendar of Claudius Thuscus, *or* Claudius *the* Tuscan.

SECTION I.—*On the peculiarities of this compilation; and on the editions of the Calendar.*

The further prosecution of the history of this fourth Nundinal Type, and of our inquiries into the evidence by which the fact of its existence is attested, requires us to suspend even this subject apparently for a time; and to enter on a distinct and independent question: that of the history, the date, and the explanation of the Parapegma or Calendar attributed to Claudius ὁ Θοῦσκος, which is still extant in the remains of John of Philadelphia in Asia Minor of antiquity, commonly called Joannes Lydus.

And this question is not only in its ultimate consequences, as we hope it will by and by appear, closely connected with our proper subject, but a very important and a very interesting one in itself and on its own account. For of all the literary monuments and memorials of the past which the Providence of God, for the sake of its own wise ends and purposes, has caused to come down to posterity, retaining more or less of their original integrity, none perhaps is more valuable than this. None goes so far into antiquity beyond its proper date. None does more to attest and substantiate the most extraordinary events, which have yet happened within the compass of time and of human history in conjunction. None is more useful for our particular purpose; and in subserviency to our particular inquiries, with reference to so curious and recondite and consequently difficult and intricate a class of questions as those which have been discussed in the former part of this work, and have still to be discussed in this second part, and in any future part which may be destined to follow this.

This Calendar of Claudius the Tuscan has never been unknown to the learned; though not under the name of its proper author, nor in its original form: not in the Greek at

least of Joannes Lydus; but in a Latin version, which was first published at Basle (A. D. 1533) at the end of Firmicus' work De Astrologia, and of the Liber Quadripartitus of Ptolemy. But it has never yet been understood. It has never at least, so far as we are aware, been explained by any one: nor indeed without the knowledge of many other things, which hitherto have not been even suspected by the learned, much less known to them, could it possibly have been understood. Its real value and its intrinsic importance have consequently not yet been duly appreciated; and it is far from improbable (or rather it is morally certain) that its very peculiarities, the things which are most extraordinary in it and do actually make it most valuable, are the very things which have hitherto prejudiced the learned against it, and caused it to pass in their estimation for the most worthless and contemptible of the remains of antiquity; and for the least deserving of serious consideration of any of the monuments of its proper class with which they were acquainted. There are statements in this compilation which at first sight seem to be perfectly unintelligible, or absolutely impossible. For our own part, we thank God first of all that He has already enabled us to penetrate in some degree into those mysteries and secrets of the past, hitherto concealed, which being known, there is nothing mysterious, or even apparently impossible and absurd, in this very calendar, which cannot be explained, and reconciled to common sense and propriety; and secondly, as we before observed, that He has vouchsafed to preserve us this monument entire, as a proper subject on which to exert that antecedent knowledge: lastly, that by means of both it has pleased Him, even through so weak and feeble an instrumentality as that of the author of this work, to reflect new and unexpected light on the truth of His own word, and to stop the mouth of the doubter, the sceptic, and the blasphemer who have ventured, or yet shall venture, in the confidence of their own ignorance mistaken for knowledge, to call it in question. Trusting therefore to those lights, and to His blessing and cooperation, we shall endeavour to render that justice to this calendar at last, to which it was always so well entitled, but which it has never yet received. We shall endeavour to

shew that its most enigmatical statements have a meaning, which makes them clear and simple as soon as it is understood; and that its most extravagant and absurd ones, as they at first sight appear, are in reality rational, consistent, and sober truths.

For the Notitia properly so called, the literary and critical history of this calendar along with that of the rest of the works of Lydus, we refer our readers to the Prologus or Commentarius of the learned editor of the remains of Lydus, which make one of the series or corpus of Byzantine historians; and were published at Bonn in A. D. 1837: in particular to page xxviii and lvii. The Latin version, above alluded to, generally passed heretofore for a translation of Ptolemy's work De Apparentiis Fixarum; ascribed to Nicolaus Leonicus[x] (Nicolaus Leonicus Thomæus[y]): though a comparison of that supposed version with the original Greek of Ptolemy was competent to satisfy any one that the former, which differed in so many points and so materially from the latter, never could have been a translation of it. All doubt however on that question was removed by the publication of the Greek of this Latin calendar, among the rest of the works of Lydus; though even that Greek is not the original of the calendar itself except in reference to this Latin version. It is Lydus' version into Greek of Claudius' own production; whether that was originally written in Latin or in the Etruscan.

It is this which we propose to adopt throughout as the text of our remarks: and this was first given to the world by Hasius from three codices of which the reader will find the account premised to it[z]. The Latin version of Leonicus was always accessible in the Uranologium of Petavius[a]; and in his Doctrina Temporum[b]: and it appears from the Prolegomena of Hasius that in this Latin form his Greek calendar was to be found in a variety of codices; of five of which he himself gives an account[c].

[x] Uranologium, 94. Cf. Lydus, Opera, Hasii Comm. et Præf. xxviii. lvii.

[y] Lydus, Opera, Commentarius of Hasius, p. xxviii.

[z] Præf. lvii. lviii. Lydus De Ostentis.

[a] Lutetiæ Par. A. D. 1630. p. 92—101. In this edition the calendar is imperfect after x Kal. Jan. or the 23rd of December the last month.

[b] Antverpiæ. A. D. 1703. p. 54—59.

[c] P. xxviii. xxix.

SECTION II.—*On the personal history of the author of the Calendar; and on the sources from which he compiled it.*

With regard to the personal history of Claudius Thuscus himself; we regret that little appears to be discoverable, so far as we know. A Clodius Tuscus is quoted by Servius[d]; and a Clodius Thuscus, as Burman observes in his notes on Servius, is mentioned by Seneca Rhetor. A poet, a contemporary of his own, of the name of Tuscus is mentioned by Ovid[e]. Suetonius alludes to a certain Tuscus, the foster brother of Nero, and some time or other in his reign Fiscal Procurator of Egypt[f]; but he was probably not a literary character: and besides it appears from Dio[g] that he was called Cæcina Tuscus not Clodius Tuscus. A Clodius Tuscus occurs by name in A. Gellius[h]; and Pliny refers to a Fabricius Tuscus, among the other authorities for his third, his fourth, and his sixth Books respectively.

In all these cases Tuscus appears to have been a surname: but it seems to us to be very questionable whether Claudius, the author of this calendar, did bear the surname of Tuscus. Tuscus or Thuscus is alike classical for a native of Tuscia, that is Etruria; for though the ancient grammarians draw a distinction between Tuscia and Thuscia, as applicable to the country in general, they draw none between Tuscus and Thuscus as equally applicable to a native of the country in particular. Tuscus or Thuscus in the sense of a proper name merely would not take the article before it in Greek: but Claudius the author of this calendar is styled by Lydus at first Κλαύδιος ὁ Θοῦσκος; and when he mentions him again by name he calls him simply Κλαύδιος. We infer then from this distinction that his proper name was Claudius, and that he was a native of the ancient Etruria, or Tuscia; but that he did not bear the surname of Tuscus. His proper designation therefore is not Claudius Thuscus, but Claudius the Tuscan.

[d] Ad Æn. xii. 657. [e] De Ponto, iv. xvi. 20. [f] Nero, xxxv. 15.
[g] lxiii. 18. A. D. 67. [h] v. 20.

The title of the calendar itself according to Lydus[i] is as follows.

> Ἐφήμερος τοῦ παντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἤγουν σημείωσις ἐπιτολῶν τε καὶ δυσμῶν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φαινομένων.
> Ἐκ τῶν Κλαυδίου τοῦ Θούσκου καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν.

From which we may collect that the calendar which follows in Greek[k] was a literal version (ἑρμηνεία πρὸς λέξιν) of an original, the work of this Claudius, in some other language; about which, though not here any further explained, we think there can be only two opinions: either that it was the Latin language or that it was the Etruscan. We incline to the opinion that it was the Latin; because John Lydus himself appears to have understood the language of this calendar, and to have been competent to translate it for himself: but, as we learn from other parts of his remains, he did not understand the Etruscan, or only very imperfectly. We may infer then that Claudius compiled his calendar from its proper sources and proper data, in Latin; and that Lydus translated it from this Latin into his own Greek. And as to those data, that they were ultimately derived from the Etrurians appears from the scholion which Lydus himself has subjoined to his own translation[l]; Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Θούσκοις ἱερῶν πρὸς λέξιν: that is, it was compiled word for word from the materials found in the temples of the Etrurians, and no doubt in the old Etruscan language. Lydus adds that the same things in general were to be met with also in Eudoxus, Democritus, Varro, Hipparchus, Metrodorus, Cæsar; and that might very well be the case: for all these were authors of Parapegmata, between which and this Calendar of Claudius there must have been not only a general agreement, but even in repeated instances a particular and circumstantial one. He gives no reason however either here or any where else to suppose that Claudius' calendar was compiled from such sources as these, and not, as he tells us, from what he had found in Etruria alone: Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Θούσκοις ἱερῶν πρὸς λέξιν· καὶ

[i] De Ostentis, 357. [k] Ibid. 357. cap. 59—381. cap. 70. [l] Ibid. 381. cap. 71.

οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Εὔδοξός τε ὁ πολὺς, Δημόκριτος πρῶτος αὐτῶν, Βάρρων τε ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, Ἵππαρχος, Μητρόδωρος, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Καῖσαρ, περὶ τῆς ἐφημέρου τῶν φαινομένων ἐπιτολῆς τε καὶ δυσμῶν.

SECTION III.—*On the date of the Calendar; and on the mode of determining it.*

Since then there is no testimony extant either to the personal history of the author of this calendar, or to the date of his compilation, we must endeavour to ascertain this latter point in particular if possible by other means than those of direct and positive testimony to it. Among these one is the comparison of the calendar of Claudius with the calendar of Columella; contained in the second chapter of the xith book of his work De Re Rustica. It did not escape the observation of the learned editor that between this calendar of Claudius and that of Columella there was a very close and striking resemblance; so much so that one of them might be thought to have been taken directly from the other. Claudii Tusci kalendarium vertens, says he [m], complura sum ex latinitate L. Junii Columellæ mutuatus, quem existimo vel ex ipso Tusco vel ex eodem fonte quo ille hausisse libro undecimo præsertim.

Among the other methods therefore of discovering the probable date of this compilation of Claudius, which are accessible to us in the absence of any other even at the present day, one is to compare it with that of Columella; the date of which is otherwise determinable, as we hope ourselves to shew on a future occasion. We are not indeed of the opinion of Hasius that either of these was borrowed from the other; for the truth turns out to be that they were both of the same age, and each was probably under the hands of its proper author at the same time as the other. But we are entirely of opinion that each was compiled from the same or similar sources; and each for the same or similar latitudes and meridians: in which case, if each was compiled with equal judgment and equal skill, they could not fail to appear to be the same; at least in general: or to differ only in certain accidental circumstances. We shall begin then with putting

[m] Præfatio, cap. 8. p. lviii.

this to the test of actual comparison, by collating the one with the other.

SECTION IV.—*Comparison of the Calendar of* Columella *and the Calendar of* Claudius *the* Tuscan.

CALENDAR OF COLUMELLA.	CALENDAR OF CLAUDIUS.
i. JANUARIUS.	
Tertio Nonas. Cancer occidit. tempestas varia.	3. Τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ καρκίνου δύεται, καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ ἀέρος ποικίλη.
Pridie Nonas. Media hiems. Auster multus. interdum pluvia.	4. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ νότος πολὺς, εἶτα καὶ βορραῖ συνεχεῖς. καὶ ὁ δελφὶς ἀνίσχει ἅμα τῷ κυνὶ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον.
Non. Fides (sive Lyra) exoritur mane. tempestas varia.	5. Ἡ λύρα ἀνίσχει καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀετὸς δύεται ὁ δὲ δελφὶν ὅλος ἐπιτέλλει· καὶ εἰκότως ἀνεμομαχία.
Sexto Idus. Auster, interdum Favonius.	8. Οἶκος Ἄρεως· νότος ἅμα καὶ ζέφυρος· ὁ δὲ αἰγόκερως ἄρχεται (**) βροχή τε ἅμα καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ νότος πυκνός.
Quinto Idus. Auster. interdum imber.	9. Νότος καὶ ὄμβρος.
xvii Kal. Febr. Sol in Aquarium transit. Leo mane incipit occidere. Africus, interdum Auster cum pluvia.	16. Ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ὑδροχόῳ. εὖρος δὲ μετὰ βροχῆς.
xv Kal. Feb. Aquarius incipit oriri. ventus Africus. tempestatem significat.	18. Ἕωθεν μὲν δύεται ὁ λέων· βορέου ἅμα καὶ νότου καὶ ἀπαρκτίου διαφορὰ καὶ βροχῆς κ',τ.λ.
xi Kal. Febr. Fidicula vespere occidit. dies pluvius.	22. Ἡ λύρα δύεται σὺν τῷ καρκίνῳ· καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὗει.
vi Kal. Febr. Leonis quæ est in pectore clara stella occidit. nonnunquam significatur (leg. significat). hiems bipartita.	27. Ἄστρον λαμπρὸν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἄρχεται δύεσθαι, ἡ δὲ λύρα ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ. καὶ βορρᾶς πνεῖ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὗει.
v Kal. Febr. Auster aut Africus hiemat. pluvius dies.	28. Ἀνεμομαχία μετὰ χιόνος.
iii Kal. Febr. Delphinus incipit occidere. item Fidicula occidit.	29. Ὁ δελφὶν δύεσθαι μελετᾷ. 30. Ἡ λύρα περὶ τὴν πρώτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἄρχεται δύεσθαι ἐκ μέρους· καὶ συννεφία ἔσται καὶ σφοδρὸς βορρᾶς μετὰ βροχῆς.
Pridie Kal. Febr. Eorum quæ supra sunt siderum occasus tempestatem facit. interdum tantummodo significat.	31. Ὑετὸς χιόνι μεμιγμένος.

ii. FEBRUARIUS.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
Kal. Fides incipit occidere. ventus Eurinus, et interdum Auster cum grandine est.	1. Νότος καὶ εὖρος· καὶ ἡ λύρα ἄρχεται δύεσθαι.
iii Non. Fidis tota et Leo medius occidit. Corus aut Septentrio. nonnunquam Favonius.	3. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ λέοντος σὺν τῇ λύρᾳ δύεται· ἀπαρκτίας δὲ ἅμα καὶ βορέας.
Nonis. Mediæ partes Aquarii oriuntur. Ventosa tempestas.	5. Τοῦ ὑδροχόου τὰ μέσα ἀνίσχει. παραχώδης δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκ τοῦ ζεφύρου.
vii Idus. Callisto sidus occidit. Favonii spirare incipiunt.	7. Ἀρχὴ ἔαρος, καθ' ὃ (leg. καὶ ὁ) ζέφυρος.
vi Idus. Ventosa tempestas.	8. Ζέφυρος σὺν τῷ βορρᾷ.
iii Idus. Eurus.	11. Ἀπηλιώτης πνεῖ, καὶ ἀνίσχει ὁ ἀρκτοῦρος.
Idibus. Sagittarius vespere occidit. vehementer hiemat.	13. Ὁ τοξότης ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ δύεται, καὶ σφοδρὸς χειμών.
xvi Kal. Martii. Vespere Crater oritur. venti mutatio.	14. Ὁ κρατὴρ ἀνίσχει ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ ἐναλλαγέντων τῶν ἀνέμων ὁ νότος ἐπικρατεῖ.
xv Kal. Sol in Pisces transitum faciet. nonnunquam ventosa tempestas.	15. Ὁ ἥλιος ἰχθύσιν. καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ χειμών.
xiii. xii Kal. Favonius vel Auster cum grandine et nimbis.	16. Ἀπαρκτίας πνεύσει μετὰ τοῦ νότου. 17. Δύεται ἡ παρθένος· ῥεύσει (πνεύσει) δὲ νότος μετὰ ζεφύρου καὶ βορρᾶς.
x Kal. Leo desinit occidere. venti Septentrionales, qui vocantur ornithiæ, per dies xxx esse solent. tum et hirundo advenit.	20. Βορρᾶς μετὰ βροχῆς, καὶ ὁ λέων δύεται. ἄρχονται δὲ οἱ βορραῖ οἱ λεγόμενοι χελιδόνιοι, οἳ πεφύκασιν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας πνεῖν, καὶ φαίνεται χελιδών.
ix Kal. Arcturus prima nocte oritur. frigidus dies, Aquilone vel Coro. interdum pluvia.	21. Ὁ ἀρκτοῦρος τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτὸς ἄρχεται δύεσθαι, καὶ πνεῖ ζέφυρος, ἡ δὲ νὺξ συννεφής.
viii Kal. Sagitta crepusculo incipit oriri. variæ tempestates: Halcyonei dies vocantur. in Atlantico quidem mari summa tranquillitas notata est.	22. Τὰ λεγόμενα Ἀλκυόνεια.
vii Kal. Ventosa tempestas. hirundo conspicitur.	23. Ὁ ὑδροχόος ἄρχεται ἀνίσχειν· ἡ δὲ πρωϊνὴ χειμάζει.

iii. MARTIUS.

Kal. Africus. interdum Auster cum grandine.	1. Νότος καὶ λίψ.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
vi Nonas Martias. Vindemiator apparet. septentrionales venti.	2. Λίψ, καὶ ὁ τρυγητὴς ἄρχεται φαίνεσθαι. βορέας δὲ ψυχρὸς πνεῖ ἕως τῆς ἑωθινῆς δύσεως τοῦ ἀρκτούρου.
iv Non. Favonius, interdum Auster. hiemat.	3. Δυσαερία καὶ βροχή· καὶ ὁ ἀρκτοῦρος ἀνίσχει ἡλίου ἐγειρομένου, καὶ βορρᾶς πνεῖ.
Non. Equus mane oritur. flatus Aquilonis.	7. Δύεται ὁ ἵππος ἀπὸ πρωΐ, καὶ βορρᾶς φυσᾷ.
iii Idus. Piscis Aquilonius desinit oriri. Septentrionales venti.	12. Παύεται μὲν ἰχθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου ἀνίσχειν, ἀπαρκτίας δὲ ἡ νότος φυσᾷ.
Pridie Id. Argo navis exoritur. Favonius aut Auster. interdum Aquilo.	13. Ἡ μὲν Ἀργὼ ἀνίσχει ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ, ζέφυρος δὲ καὶ νότος πνεύσει.
xvi Kal. April. Sol in Arietem transitum facit. Favonius vel Corus.	17. Ἥλιος κριῷ γίνεται· ὁ δὲ ζέφυρος κατὰ πλάτος.
xii Kal. Equus occidit mane. Septentrionales venti.	21. Ὁ μὲν ἵππος ἕωθεν δύεται, βορέας δὲ ἢ ἀπαρκτίας πνεῖ.
x Kal. Aries incipit exoriri. pluvius dies. interdum ningit.	22. Ὁ κριὸς εἰς πλάτος ἀνίσχει, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἢ βρέχει ἢ νέφει. 23. Ὡσαύτως.
ix Kal. } Æquinoctium vernum. tem- viii .. } pestatem significat.	24. Ἰσημερία ἐαρινὴ, καὶ βροχὴ ἢ βροντώδης τροπή.

iv. APRILIS.

Kal. Nepa occidit mane. tempestatem significat.	1. Ὁ μὲν σκορπίος δύεται... καὶ συννεφία γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ βορρᾶ.
Nonis. Favonius aut Auster cum grandine. nonnunquam hoc idem pridie.	5. Αἱ ὑάδες ἀνίσχουσι, καὶ βροχαὶ ἐκ τοῦ νότου ἐπιτείνουσιν.
vii Idus } Auster et Africi tempestatem vi .. } significant. v .. }	7. Νότος φυσᾷ. 8. Ὁ ζέφυρος... 9. Ζάλη ἐκ τοῦ νότου.
Pridie Idus. Suculæ celantur. hiemat.	12. Αἱ ὑάδες κρύπτονται.
Idibus. Libra occidit. hiemat.	13. Βορρᾶς ῥεύσει (πνεύσει).
xviii Kal. Maias. Ventosa tempestas, et imbres. nec hoc constanter.	14. Ἄνεμοι καὶ ὄμβροι.
xv Kal. Sol in Taurum transitum facit. pluviam significat.	17. Ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ταύρῳ, ἡ δὲ ὑὰς δύεται.
xiv Kal. Suculæ se vesperi celant. pluviam significat.	18. Λίψ καταπνεύσει. 19. Καθόλου δύονται αἱ ὑάδες ὁ δὲ λὶψ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ ἐπέρχεται.
xi Kal. Ver bipartitur. pluvia et nonnunquam grando.	21. Ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ταύρου δύεται, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὗει.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
x Kal. Maias. Vergiliæ cum sole oriuntur. Africus vel Auster. dies humidus.	22. Αἱ πλειάδες ἀνίσχουσι, καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.
ix Kal. Prima nocte Fidicula apparet. tempestatem significat.	23. Ἡ λύρα τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτὸς φαίνεται, καὶ ἔσται τροπή.
iv Kal. Auster fere cum pluvia.	28. Ὗει ἐκ τοῦ νότου.
iii Kal. Mane Capra exoritur. Austrinus dies. interdum pluviæ.	29. Κρύπτεται ὁ κύων ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ τροπὴ ἐκ τοῦ νότου· ἅμα δὲ καὶ βορρᾶς ταράττει.
Prid. Kal. Canis se vespere celat. tempestatem significat.	30. Οἱ ἔριφοι ἀνίσχουσι, καὶ ἐξ ἑωθινῆς ὁ νότος πνεῖ.

v. MAIUS.

vi Nonas Maias. Sucula cum sole exoritur. Septentrionales venti.	2. Ἡ ὑὰς μετὰ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνίσχει.
v Non. Centaurus totus apparet. tempestatem significat.	3. Ὁ κένταυρος ὅλος φαίνεται, καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.
Prid. Non. Nepa media occidit. tempestatem significat.	6. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ σκορπίου δύεται.
Nonis. Vergiliæ exoriuntur mane. Favonius.	7. Αἱ πλειάδες ἀνίσχουσιν ἕωθεν, ζέφυρος δὲ πνεῖ.
vii Idus. Æstatis initium. Favonius aut Corus. interdum etiam pluvia.	8. Προοίμιον θέρους καὶ ζέφυρος ἐπικρατεῖ. 9. Ὡσαύτως.
vi Idus. Vergiliæ totæ apparent. Favonius aut Corus. interdum et pluvia.	11. Αἱ πλειάδες ἀναφαίνονται.
iii Idus. Fidis mane oritur. significat tempestatem.	14. Ὁ σκορπίος δύεται, ἡ δὲ λύρα ὄρθρου ἀνίσχει.
Idibus. Fidis mane exoritur. Auster aut Euronotus. interdum dies humidus.	15. Ὁ κάρκινος ἀνίσχει καὶ νότος πνεῖ.
xiv Kal. Jun. Sol in Geminos introitum facit.	18. Ὁ ἥλιος διδύμοις.
xii Kal. Suculæ oriuntur. Septentrionales venti: nonnunquam Auster cum pluvia.	20. Αἱ ὑάδες ἀνίσχουσι καὶ βορρᾶς πνεῖ.
xi Kal. } Arcturus mane occidit. tempestatem significat.	21. Δύεται ὁ ἀρκτοῦρος καὶ ταράττεται ὁ ἀὴρ.
viii Kal. } Capra mane exoritur. Septentrionales venti.	25. Ὁ ἔριφος ἀνίσχει ἕωθεν καὶ βορρᾶς πνεῖ. 26. Δύεται ὁ ταῦρος, καὶ νότος μετὰ βορέου πνεῖ. 27. Ὡσαύτως.

vi. JUNIUS.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
Kal. } Aquila exoritur. tempestas iv Nonas. } ventosa, et interdum pluvia.	2. Ὁ ἀετὸς ἀνίσχει, ταραχή τε τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.
vii Idus. Arcturus occidit. Favonius aut Corus.	8. Ὁ ἀρκτοῦρος ὄρθρου δύεται καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.
iv Idus. Delphinus vespere exoritur. Favonius. interdum rorat.	9. Ὁ δελφὶν ἄρχεται ἀνίσχειν ὁ δὲ ἀρκτοῦρος δύεται. 10. Ὡσαύτως. βορρᾶς δὲ πνεῖ καὶ ἠρέμα ὖει.
Idibus. Calor incipit.	13. Ζέφυρος ἢ ἀργέστης πνεύσει· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ βροντήσει. 15. Οἱ ὦμοι τοῦ Ὡρίωνος ἀνίσχουσι, καὶ προοίμια καυμάτων.
xiii Kal. Jul. Sol introitum in Cancro facit. tempestatem significat.	19. Ὁ ἥλιος καρκίνῳ, καὶ ὁ Ὡρίων ἀνίσχει ἕωθεν.
xi Kal. Anguifer qui a Græcis dicitur Ophiuchus mane occidit. tempestatem significat.	21. Ὁ ὀφιοῦχος ὄρθρου δύεται.
viii Kal. } vii .. } Solstitium. Favonius et calor. vi .. }	24. Ἐπίτασις καυμάτων. 25. Ἡ θερινὴ τροπὴ, αἰφνίδιός τε ταραχὴ τοῦ ἀέρος. 26. Λὶψ ἅμα καὶ ζέφυρος.
iii Kal. Ventosa tempestas.	29. Ἀνεμομαχία.

vii. JULIUS.

Kal. Jul. Favonius vel Auster et calor.	2. Ζέφυρος ἢ νότος.
iv Non. Corona occidit mane.	4. Ὁ Ὡρίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ ὁ στέφανος δύεται, καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.
Prid. Non. Cancer medius occidit. calor.	5. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ καρκίνου ἀνίσχει.
vii Idus. Cepheus vespere exoritur. tempestatem significat.	8. Ὁ Κηφεὺς ἀνίσχει καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ ἀέρος νοτία.
vi Idus. Prodromi flare incipiunt.	10. Οἱ πρόδρομοι τῶν ἐτησίων πνέουσιν.
Idibus. Procyon exoritur mane. tempestatem significat.	15. Ὁ προκύων ἀνίσχει.
xiii Kal. Aug. Sol in Leonem transitum facit. Favonius.	20. Ὁ ἥλιος λέοντι, ἀργέστης τε φυσᾷ καὶ οἱ πρόδρομοι τῶν ἐτησίων.
ix Kal. Aug. Leonis in pectore clara stella exoritur. interdum tempestatem significat.	24. Ὁ λέων σὺν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχει μετὰ τοῦ κυνὸς, ὁ δὲ κάρκινος λήγει.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
viii Kal. Aug. Aquarius incipit occidere clare. Favonius vel Auster.	25. Ὁ ὑδροχόος ἄρχεται δύεσθαι, ὁ δὲ κύων περὶ ἀμφιλύκην ἀνίσχει, καὶ νότος φυσᾷ.
vii Kal. Canicula apparet. caligo æstuqsa.	26. Ἀχλὺς καυσώδης, ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς δύεται, ὁ δὲ λέων ἀνίσχει καὶ νότος φυσᾷ. 27. Καῦμα ἐκ τοῦ κυνός· ἡ δὲ σταφυλὴ ἄρχεται περκάζειν.
iv Kal. Leonis in pectore claræ stellæ exoriuntur. interdum tempestatem significat.	29. Ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἄστρον ἀνατέλλει καὶ χλιαρὸς ὥσπερ ὁ βορρᾶς ἐκ τοῦ καύματος.
iii Kal. Aquila occidit. significat tempestatem.	30. Ἄρχονται ὀπῶραι φαίνεσθαι, ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς ἔωθεν δύεται, καὶ ταραχώδης ὁ ἀήρ.

viii. AUGUSTUS.

Prid. Nonas Aug. Leo medius exoritur. tempestatem significat.	4. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ λέοντος ἀνίσχει ... ὁ νότος δὲ ἀχλυώδης (κρατεῖ καὶ) πνεῖ.
vii Idus. Aquarius occidit medius. nebulosus æstus.	7. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ ὑδροχόου δύεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νότου καῦμα ἀχλυῶδες.
Prid. Idus. Fidis occidit mane, et autumnus incipit.	11. Δύεται ἡ λύρα ὄρθρου, τὸ φθινόπωρον ἄρχεται καὶ ἀνεμομαχία. 12. Ὡσαύτως.
Idibus. Delphinis occasus tempestatem significat.	13. Ὁ δελφὶν δύεται σὺν τῷ λαγῳῷ.
xiii Kal. Sep. Sol in Virginem transitum facit. hoc et sequenti die tempestatem significat. interdum et tonat. hoc eodem die Fidis occidit.	20. Ἡ μὲν λύρα δύεται ὄρθρου, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος παρθένῳ. νότος ἄνεμος καὶ βροντώδης ὑετός.
vii Kal. Vindemiator exoritur mane, et Arcturus incipit occidere. interdum pluvia.	27. Ὁ τρυγητὴς ἀνίσχει, νότος δὲ πνεῖ καὶ ζέφυρος ἅμα.
iii Kal. Humeri Virginis exoriuntur. Etesiæ desinunt flare, et interdum hiemat.	30. Ὁμοίως τῆς παρθένου ἀνισχούσης (cf. ad 29) μέτριος ὁ ζέφυρος. cf. also ad Julii 21.
Pridie Kal. Andromeda vesperi exoritur. interdum hiemat.	31. Ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα ἀνίσχει, εὖρος πνεῖ καὶ ἐναλλάττονται οἱ ἄνεμοι.

ix. SEPTEMBER.

Kal. Sept. Calor.	1. Βροντώδης ὑετὸς κ', τ. λ.
iv Non. Piscis Austrinus desinit occidere. calor.	2. Ὁ ἰχθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου παύεται δύεσθαι.
Nonis. Arcturus exoritur. Favonius vel Corus.	4. Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀνίσχει σὺν τῷ τρυγητῇ. 5. Ζέφυρος πνεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνέμων ἐναλλαγῆς ὑετός.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
vii Idus Sept.. Piscis aquilonius desinit occidere, et Capra exoritur. tempestatem significat.	7. Ἀνίσχει ἡ αἴξ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ λίψ μετὰ ὑετοῦ.
iii Idus. Favonius aut Africus. Virgo media exoritur.	9. 10. 11. Τὸ μέσον τῆς παρθένου ἀνίσχει, ζέφυρος δὲ μετὰ λιβὸς πνεῖ.
Idibus. Ex pristino sidere nonnunquam tempestatem significat.	12. Ὁ ἀρκτοῦρος ἀνίσχει. 13. Ὗει διὰ τῆς ἐπιτολῆς τοῦ ἀρκτούρου.
xv Kal. Oct. Arcturus exoritur. Favonius aut Africus, interdum Eurus, quem quidam Vulturnum appellant.	17. Ζέφυρος μετὰ λιβὸς καὶ εὖρος πλατύς.
xiv Kal. Spica Virginis exoritur. Favonius aut Corus.	18. Ὁ ἰχθὺς (corr. στάχυς) ἀνίσχει, καὶ ἠρέμα ἀπαρκτίας.
xiii Kal. Sol in Libram transitum facit. Crater matutino tempore apparet.	19. Ὁ ἥλιος ζυγῷ. ὁ κρατὴρ φαίνεται. νότος πνεῖ. τὸ μέσον τοῦ ἀρκτούρου ὄρθρου φαίνεται.
xi Kal. Pisces occidunt mane. item Aries occidere incipit. Favonius aut Corus. interdum Auster cum imbribus.	21. Ἡ μετοπωρινὴ ἰσημερία, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες δύονται.
x Kal. Argo navis occidit. tempestatem significat. interdum etiam et pluviam.	22. Δύεται ἡ Ἀργὼ, καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑετώδης.
ix Kal. Centaurus incipit mane oriri. tempestatem significat interdum et pluviam.	23. Δύονται οἱ ἰχθύες καὶ ὑετοὶ ἐκ τοῦ νότου. 24. Ἐπιτολὴ τοῦ κενταύρου.
v Kal. Hœdi exoriuntur. Favonius. nonnunquam Auster cum pluvia.	27. Παύεται ἡ παρθένος ἀνίσχειν, αἱ δὲ πλειάδες ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ φαίνονται καὶ οἱ ἔριφοι σὺν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχουσιν.
iv Kal. Virgo desinit oriri. tempestatem significat.	28. Ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ νότος.

x. October.

Pridie Non. Hœdi oriuntur vespere. Aries medius occidit. Aquilo.	6. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ κριοῦ δύεται, καὶ ὁ σκορπίος σὺν αὐτῷ.
viii Idus. Coronæ clara stella exoritur.	8. Ὁ στέφανος σὺν τοῖς ἐρίφοις ἀνίσχων τρέπει τὸν ἀέρα.
vi Idus. Vergiliæ exoriuntur vespere. Favonius et interdum Africus cum pluvia.	9. Οἱ ἔριφοι σὺν ταῖς πλειάσιν ἀνίσχουσι, καὶ πνεῖ ἄνεμος λίψ. 10. Ὁ ζυγὸς ἄρχεται ἀνίσχειν καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.
iii Idus. Pridie Id. Corona tota mane exoritur. Auster hibernus et nonnunquam pluvia.	13. Ὁ στέφανος ἀνίσχων ἐναλλάττει τοὺς ἀνέμους. 14. Βορρᾶς πλατὺς πνεῖ.

Columella.	*Claudius.*
Idibus Oct. xvii Kal. Nov. xvi .. .. } Interdum tempestas. nonnunquam rorat.	15. Τὸ *μέσον τοῦ φθινοπώρου καὶ ἄνεμος νότος.* 16. Ὁ Ὠρίων *ἀνίσχει καὶ δροσώδης ὁ ἀήρ.* 17. *Ὠσαύτως.*
xiii Kal. Corr. xiv. } Sol in Scorpionem transitum facit.	19. Ὁ *ἥλιος σκορπίῳ, καὶ ζέφυρος πνεῖ.*
xiii Kal. xii .. } Solis exortu Vergiliæ incipiunt occidere. tempestatem significat.	20. *Δύονται αἱ πλειάδες καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ ἀέρος.* 21. *Ὠσαύτως. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὗει.*
xi Kal. Tauri cauda occidit. Auster. interdum pluvia.	22. Ἡ *οὐρὰ τοῦ ταύρου ** καὶ νότος πνεῖ ὑετώδης.*
viii Kal. Centaurus exoriri mane desinit. tempestatem significat.	25. Ὁ *κένταυρος ὄρθρου δύεται.*
vii Kal. Nepæ frons exoritur. tempestatem significat.	26. Τὸ *μέτωπον τοῦ σκορπίου δύεται.*
v Kal. Vergiliæ occidunt. Hiemat cum frigore et gelicidiis.	28. Αἱ *πλειάδες καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων παντελῶς δύονται.*
iv Kal. Arcturus vespere occidit. ventosus dies.	29. Ὁ *ἀρκτοῦρος δύεται, καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι βιαιότεροι.*
iii Kal. Prid... } Cassiope incipit occidere. tempestatem significat.	30. Ἡ *Κασσιόπεια ἄρχεται δύεσθαι.*

xi. November.

iii Non. Fidicula mane exoritur. hiemat et pluit.	3. Ἡ *λύρα ὄρθρου ἀνίσχει, καὶ πρῶτα βορρᾶς εἶτα καὶ νότος.*
viii Idus. Idem sidus totum exoritur. Auster vel Favonius. hiemat.	5. *ἡ λύρα ἀνίσχει. ἥλιος φαίνεται* (lege *ἀνίσχουσα ὅλη φαίνεται*) *καὶ ἄνεμος βορέας.*
vi Idus. Vergiliæ mane occidunt. significat tempestatem. hiemat.	8. *Στυγνὸς ὁ ἀήρ.*
v Idus. Hiemis initium. Auster aut Eurus. interdum rorat.	9. *Λαμπρὸν ἄστρον τοῦ σκορπίου καὶ χειμερινὴ τροπή.* cf. ad vii Id. in Columella. 10. *Ἄρχεται ὁ χειμών.*
xvii Kal. Dec. Aquilo. interdum Auster cum pluvia.	15. Ἡ *λύρα ἀνίσχει ἕωθεν. εὖρός τε πνεῖ ἅμα καὶ νότος σὺν τῷ βορρᾷ.*
xvi Kal. Fidis exoritur mane. Auster, interdum Aquilo magnus.	16. Τὸ *αὐτό.*
xiv Kal. Sol in Sagittarium transitum facit. Suculæ (Fidicula?) mane oriuntur. tempestatem significat.	18. Ὁ *ἥλιος τοξότῃ. καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων ἀνίσχει σὺν τῇ λύρᾳ, καὶ ταραχὴ τοῦ ἀέρος.*

Columella.	*Claudius.*
xii Kal. Dec. Tauri cornua vesperi occidunt. Aquilo frigidus et pluvia.	19. Τὸ κέρας τοῦ ταύρου σὺν ἡλίῳ δύεται, καὶ πνεῖ βορρᾶς.
xi Kal. Sucula mane occidit. hiemat.	21. Αἱ ὑάδες σὺν τῷ λαγωῷ ὄρθρου δύονται.
x Kal. Lepus occidit mane. tempestatem significat.	22. Ὑετὸς ψυχρός.
vii Kal. Canicula occidit solis ortu. hiemat.	24. Προοίμια τῆς χειμερινῆς τροπῆς, δύεται ὁ κύων, καὶ δρόσος φέρεται ψυχρά.
Prid. Kal. Totæ Suculæ occidunt. Favonius aut Auster. interdum pluvia.	30. Δύεται ὁ κύων, καὶ ζέφυρος μετὰ νότου καὶ βροχῆς.

xii. DECEMBER.

Kal. Dies incertus. sæpius tamen placidus.	1. Σύγχυσις τοῦ ἀέρος. ἀπαρκτίας φυσᾷ, κ', τ. λ.
viii Idus. Sagittarius medius occidit. tempestatem significat.	6. Τὸ μέσον τοῦ τοξότου ἀνίσχει.
vii Idus. Aquila mane oritur. Africus interdum Auster irrorat.	7. Ἀνίσχει ὁ ἀετὸς καὶ πνεῖ ὁ λίψ.
iii Idus. Corus vel Septentrio. interdum Auster cum pluvia.	11. Ἀπαρκτίας ἅμα καὶ καικίας.
Idibus. Scorpio totus mane exoritur. hiemat.	13. Ὅλος ὁ σκορπίος ἀνίσχει. βορρᾶς δὲ καὶ νότος, ὑετὸν ἐπισπώμενοι.
xvi Kal. Jan. Sol in Capricornum transitum facit.	17. Ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγοκέρωτα.
xv Kal. Ventorum commutationem significat.	18. Ἀνεμομαχία.
x Kal. Capra occidit mane. tempestatem significat.	23. Ὄρθρου ὁ αἴξ δύεται, καὶ συμπληροῦται ἡ βροῦμα, οἱονεὶ ἡ χειμερινὴ τροπή.
ix Kal. Brumale solstitium sicut Chaldæi observant. significat.	24. Χειμέριος ὁ ἀήρ.
vi Kal. Delphinus incipit oriri. tempestatem significat.	27. Ὁ δελφὶν ἔωθεν ἀνίσχει ἔχων (τρέπων) τὸν ἀέρα.
iv Kal. Aquila vespere occidit. hiemat.	29. Ὁ ἥλιος λαμπρὸς, ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς δύει, καὶ ὗει.
iii Kal. Canicula vespere occidit. tempestatem significat.	30. Ὁ μὲν δελφὶν ἀνίσχει ὁ δὲ κύων δύεται.
Pridie. Tempestas ventosa.	31. Κρυφία ταραχὴ καὶ ἀνεμώδης.

SECTION V.—*Observations on the above comparison; and inferences from it.*

It is proper to apprize the reader that in the calendar of Claudius every day in every month of the year is noted down in order, along with its proper accompanying phenomena; but not every day and in every month in that of Columella. The former is consequently much longer and more circumstantial than the latter. Besides this, there are some entries even in that of Columella to which there is nothing correspondent in the calendar of Claudius; which therefore in the preceding comparison are omitted. Notwithstanding these omissions however, and notwithstanding the difference between these two calendars in point of length and circumstantiality respectively; the preceding collation must shew that there is sufficient and more than sufficient common to both, which may serve as a test or criterion not only of the general but even of the particular agreement of each with the other throughout.

The first and most obvious inference from this comparison consequently is that neither of these compilations could have been a copy or transcript of the other; a mere translation of the other. The next and scarcely a less obvious one is that neither of them is essentially different from the other: neither is a literal version of the other, yet each is in sum and substance the same with the other: even the literal sense of either is faithfully rendered by the terms of the other. It follows from these facts laid together that, though the author of one of them must have been a different person from that of the other, each must have been compiled by its proper author from the same or similar materials; and, what is most to our purpose at present, each at the same or about the same time.

The particulars of agreement or of disagreement between any two productions of this kind, from the nature of the case, can be reducible only under the four following heads in general; First the risings and the settings of the fixed stars; Secondly the ingresses of the sun into the different signs of the sphere; Thirdly the phenomena or affections of the weather, supposed to be the effect of either; and Fourthly their

respective dates, according to the proper civil style of some calendar or other. The agreement or the disagreement of any two of the Parapegmata of antiquity must be restricted to these points; because nothing else is noticed in them: to these three points they confine themselves throughout.

Now with regard to the risings and the settings of the fixed stars, they necessarily involve the distinction of latitudes. They are phenomena which happen in the same order of succession for every latitude in its turn, all through the year and all round the globe; but not on the same days, except for the same latitudes. In every other instance they can happen only on different days, in proportion to the difference of latitudes; which is commonly assumed by astronomers to be such that a difference of 1° 5′ in latitude is nearly equivalent to one of a day in time. In these calendars of Columella and Claudius respectively it is observable that in nine cases out of ten, (even as the readings of each stand at present, and without making any allowance for possible errors of that kind in one or the other which might remove even the differences which still remain between them,) the same fixed stars rise or set on the same days throughout the year. It follows that, if either was as true to the heavens at the time when it was compiled as the other, or if these risings and settings were determined according to the same principles in each; one of them must have been adapted to the same latitudes as the other.

With regard to the ingresses of the sun into the different signs of the sphere; they do not depend on the distinction of latitudes, but on the difference of longitudes, or difference of meridians: and that is a difference which could amount to a day and a night complete only in an extreme case; that viz. of two meridians which differed by 360 degrees of longitude from each other. In any but an extreme case like that, or one approaching to it, the difference of meridians would make little or no sensible difference to the proper times of the solar ingresses; and to their proper civil dates. It may at least be taken for granted that there could be no two meridians in ancient Italy, for which a distinction of this kind would make any sensible difference.

It follows that if two calendars of this kind, adapted to

the same or contiguous meridians, make use of the same form of the civil reckoning, (for instance the Julian,) and both attach the same solar ingresses to the same Julian dates, and both may be supposed to be equally true to nature; they must agree in those Julian dates. The calendar of Claudius agrees with the calendar of Columella in being adapted either to the same meridian as that, or to some other which could not possibly differ from that of Columella's to the extent of a day; nor even of a very small fraction of a day. It agrees with it in using the same form of the civil reckoning, the Julian; and in attaching its proper solar ingresses to the same Julian dates. In eleven of these instances out of twelve the Julian dates of the ingresses are the same in each of these calendars. In the remaining instance they differ by a day. But this difference in that instance is evidently due to an accidental corruption in the text of Columella; which being corrected there is the same agreement between his calendar and Claudius' in this instance as in all the rest.

It follows that the Julian dates of the solar ingresses in these two calendars are absolutely the same; and that is a very important conclusion. We must infer from it that the Julian dates in one of these calendars, which are *nominally* the same with those of the other in any other instance, must be *really* and *bona fide* the same with them also. *That* could not have been necessarily inferred from the mere nominal agreement of the Julian dates of the *sidereal* phenomena, the risings and the settings of the stars in each, unless it were previously known that each was adapted to the same latitude; and that each was as true to nature for that latitude, or each was laid down on the same principles for that latitude, as the other. But it must be necessarily deducible from the agreement of the Julian dates of the *same solar* ingresses for the *same meridian;* or for *any two meridians* which could not possibly differ by a day or by any considerable part of a day. If each of two calendars of this kind dates its ingresses on the same days of the month according to the Julian reckoning, and each for the same or contiguous meridians; and if there is no reason to suppose that one of them does not do this as truly as the other; the Julian dates of those two calendars in such instances must be not only

nominally but absolutely the same: and if they are so in these instances, they must be so in every other instance also, in which they are nominally and apparently the same likewise.

In like manner, the affections of the air or the weather, (Ἐπισημασίαι in Greek, Significationes in Latin, Symptoms in English,) which were supposed by the ancients to be physically connected with these sidereal or these solar phenomena, and either to accompany them critically, or to precede or follow them by a stated interval of time; by virtue of that connection with them, and of that dependence upon them, must involve the distinction of latitudes in one case, or that of meridians in the other, just to the same extent as the risings or settings of the stars, or as the solar ingresses themselves; but no further. These symptomatic concomitants, adjuncts, or antecedents of those other phenomena in nine cases out of ten are the same in both our calendars; and often agree so critically that the identity of one with the other does not admit of a question. Their Julian dates in such cases are the same in each also. The inference then from this class of entries in each is the same as that from both the other two; viz. that if these symptoms of the other phenomena, whether the sidereal or the solar, are the same in each, and are equally true to nature in each, they must be intended of the same latitudes, and of the same meridians: and, if as so intended they are specified under the same Julian dates in each, those Julian dates must be the same in each, not only nominally but really.

Now with regard to the calendar of Columella, it may be proved from his own testimony that it was expressly adapted to the meridian and latitude of Rome, and of the country round about Rome; the ancient Campania on one side and the ancient Etruria on the other. So then must the calendar of Claudius have been. And this is consistent with its own testimony, according to Lydus; viz. that it was compiled from the records contained in the temples of the Etrurians. The date of the calendar of Columella, as we also hope to demonstrate hereafter, comes between A. D. 49 and A. D. 56; and in all probability was A. D. 49 itself. So then, it is to be presumed, must that of the calendar of Claudius which agrees so closely with it, likewise do. But, (what is most

important,) we trust to be able to shew in due time that between A. D. 49 and A. D. 56 the relation of the Julian calendar of the time being, (the proper Roman and Julian calendar,) to the Julian calendar, properly so called at all times, was such that the Roman Kalends were falling on the second day of the corresponding Julian months. It follows that, in order to the reduction of the Roman and Julian dates in the calendar of Columella to the Julian properly so called, they all require to be raised in terms *one* day; the first of Januarius Roman to the second of January Julian, and so on. The same correction therefore must be necessary for the Roman and Julian dates of any similar calendar compiled in the course of the same period, from A. D. 49 to A. D. 56. To reduce these also to the proper Julian dates to which they truly corresponded at the same time, they will all require to be raised one term higher in the proper Julian style and notation.

This conclusion is of very great importance. It will be perceived from it immediately that, though the calendar of Claudius, in the form in which it has come down to us, seems to make use of the simple Julian style of the calendar throughout, it does not do so in reality. It makes use of the *actual* Julian style, in the sense of the Roman, of its own epoch, A. D. 49—56; but that was not the same with the Julian properly so called. It differed from it by a day in excess; and in order to equate the Julian properly so called to this exactly the latter must be raised one day in terms all round the calendar.

And having by means of the comparison of the calendar of Claudius with that of Columella arrived at *this* conclusion respecting its date; we have approached as nearly to the discovery of the truth on that point as by these means only is possible. This comparison can prove no more than that the date of the calendar is circumscribed by A. D. 49 and A D. 56; but it still leaves it open to doubt in which of these seven years it must have been actually compiled. We have therefore yet to consider whether that too may not be discoverable from indications and tests of a different kind; which are peculiar to this calendar, and not common to it and to that of Columella also.

SECTION VI.—*On the further determination of the date of the Calendar of* Claudius *by means of its internal evidence.* Ecliptic Cycle *of the ancient Etrurians.*

We observe then in the first place that among the other intimations peculiar to this calendar, and not to be found in Columella's, nor in fact in any calendar of antiquity of the same kind which has come down to posterity, there are two, the same in themselves in terms, and apparently intended one just to have the same meaning as the other, whatsoever that might be; and in consecutive months, but not on the same day of the month in each instance: one in the month of August, the other in that of September; the former attached to the 10th of August, the other to the 24th of September: the former to this effect:

Τῇ πρὸ δ' εἰδῶν (Αὐγούστων) ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔκλειψις σεληνιακή—

the latter to this:

Τῇ πρὸ ἡ καλενδῶν (Ὀκτωβρίων) ἔκλειψις σεληνιακή.

These entries are peculiar to the calendar of Claudius. It is sufficient merely to lay them before the reader, to enable him to form an opinion of his own concerning them; and to give him reason to conclude at first sight that they belong to the number of those extraordinary things, to which we adverted at the beginning of the present chapter, as eminently characteristic of this calendar of Claudius the Tuscan. For what can have been the meaning proposed by such an entry as this of Τῇ πρὸ δ' εἰδῶν (Αὐγούστων) in one of these cases, and that of Τῇ πρὸ ἡ.καλενδῶν (Ὀκτωβρίων) in the other, except that the days so specified, August 10 in one instance, September 24 in the other, were stated and regular dates of some thing or other, as much as any other of the kindred Julian terms, which occur before or after them? But stated and regular Julian dates of what? of a solar ingress? of the rising or setting of some one of the fixed stars? of some one of the constellations? of some one of the signs of the ecliptic? or of the symptoms, the ἐπισημασίαι or significations, which preceded or accompanied or followed them? like every other cognate Julian term before and after these. By no means: but of a LUNAR ECLIPSE. August 10 is thus proposed as the

stated date of a lunar eclipse; and so is September 24. And that this is the natural construction of each of these entries, both in itself and as part of the context and series of such things in the midst of which it stands, cannot be better illustrated than by the version of Leonicus, which renders the former,

Lunaris defectus in hanc diem incurrere solet:

and the latter,

Lunaris defectus in hanc incurrit diem:

That is, each was a stated date of its kind; the regular date of the same phenomenon in these two instances, howsoever different that might be from every other which appeared in the same compilation, attached to its proper date also. In rendering each in this manner, Leonicus, we may take it for granted, had nothing to guide him but the context and the natural and obvious meaning of the original Greek. It must be certain then that the end and effect of each of these entries was to define the stated and regular date of a lunar eclipse. Let us therefore consider the difficulties and even absurdities *prima facie* implied in two such entries.

In the first place there is no such thing *in rerum natura* as the stated date of a lunar or a solar eclipse; i. e. there is no stated and regular *Julian* date, the same with itself in terms perpetually. The new or the full moons in general have such a date, at least for a certain length of time; but ecliptic new moons or ecliptic full moons in particular have no such dates. On this principle such a stated ecliptic date as August 10 would be impossible; and *a fortiori* such a stated ecliptic date of the same kind as September 24, so soon after August 10 in the order of the Julian calendar. For were it even possible that August 10 might be the stated Julian date of a lunar eclipse, that would render it only the more certain that September 24 could not be so too; or vice versa, though September 24 might be the stated Julian date of a lunar eclipse, August 10 could not be so likewise: at least not (as it is here implied) in consecutive months, and one after the other in the regular order of the Julian calendar.

In the next place if there was such a thing *in rerum natura* as the stated Julian date of a *lunar* eclipse, there must be such a thing as the stated Julian date of a *solar* eclipse also.

Why then, it might be demanded, was not some stated Julian date of the latter kind specified in this calendar, as well as these stated Julian dates of the former kind? or why are both these entries the stated dates of a lunar eclipse? why was not one of them that of a lunar, and the other that of a solar, eclipse? In our former work[n] we ourselves, when alluding to this very subject of these entries in the calendar of Claudius, were so forcibly impressed by this inconsistency that we proposed to correct the text in one of these instances by reading ἡλιακὴ instead of σεληνιακή. But there is no variation in the readings of MSS. from that of the printed text in each of these instances: nor had we at that time examined this calendar of Claudius with all the care and attention with which we have since done so. We are now satisfied that the true reading in each of these instances, (that which really proceeded from the author of the compilation and conveyed his actual meaning whatsoever it was,) is σηληνιακή.

It follows consequently either that each of these entries must be set down to the category of those other enigmatical statements which appear in this compilation also, and have been hitherto passed over as inexplicable or as unworthy of serious notice; or if they are to be treated as matter of fact, and as *bona fide* asseverations which the author knew or believed to be as rational and as consistent as any thing else which he admitted into his compilation, they must be understood and explained in some sense which might indeed be confounded with that *prima facie* construction of their meaning and import which has just been exposed, and yet was in reality different from it: and possibly was as rational and consistent as that was extravagant and absurd.

Now this natural and consistent explanation even of two such entries as these and in such a compilation as this is supplied by the matter of fact which we have ourselves established in our former work[o]; viz. that the ecliptic cycle, commonly called the Chaldaïc Saros, having been previously discovered and elaborated to the necessary degree of perfection by the ancient Egyptians, and having begun to be applied by them in particular to its proper use and purpose,

[n] iv. 133. Note. Diss. xv. ch. xiii. sect. ix.

[o] Fasti Catholici, iv. 91 sqq. Diss. xv. ch. xiii. sect. i—viii.

(the observation of solar and lunar eclipses,) in B. C. 848, in the course of time passed from the Egyptians into various parts of the ancient world: and first of all to the ancient Chaldeans; who made a change in the form of the cycle, as it passed originally to them, from that of the simple period of 6585 days and 7 or 8 hours, (which is commonly supposed to be meant by the name of the Saros at present,) to that of this simple period tripled, and made one of 19 756 days: in which shape its proper name in Greek appears to have been that of the Ἐξελιγμὸς or Evolution; and in our opinion in the original Chaldaïc was that of the Sar or Saros itself, in the proper and primary sense of that Chaldee term also[p].

Now it requires no argument to prove that this ecliptic cycle, whether in the simple form or in that of the simple tripled, like every other cycle, must have had *an epoch;* a point of departure *from* which it must have set out at first, and *to* which, if it was a circular or recurring period, it must have been expected in due time to return. It is evident also that the subject-matter of such a period must have been a cycle of eclipses; and that as a cycle of that kind it must have been as much one of solar as one of lunar eclipses: and one of both in conjunction, or of either separately, as it might happen to be applied. The Egyptians of antiquity conceived it at first, and elaborated and applied it *de facto* at first, as one of both; but the Chaldeans, for reasons peculiar to themselves[q], thought proper to confine it to lunar eclipses. The later Greeks too, (at least in the case of Eudoxus,) as we ourselves have proved[r], appear to have confined it to lunar eclipses also; though, if we are not mistaken, it is capable of being proved, and we hope in due time to have an opportunity of proving ourselves, that the earlier Grecian astronomers, Thales of Miletus in particular, were familiar with the use of the Saros as a cycle of solar eclipses also: and that Thales did certainly so apply it himself.

The Saros then as a regular and recurring cycle of a particular kind required its proper epoch; and from the subject-matter of the cycle itself this epoch must have been that of a

[p] Cf. our Fasti, iv. 100. note. Diss. xv. ch. xiii. sect. iii. [q] Ibid. cf. ii. 404. Diss. xii. ch. ii. sect. i. [r] Ibid. iv. 114. Diss. xv. ch. xiii. sect. vi–viii.

series or cycle of eclipses perpetually: and eclipses being both solar and lunar, and the Saros in its own nature being equally applicable to both; if it was intended for both, and was to be applied to both, it must have a double epoch, one for the series of solar, the other for that of lunar, eclipses which it was proposed to trace and to follow by means of this cycle perpetually. If it was to be confined to one class of eclipses, (for example lunar,) it would require its epoch in that case too; but an epoch which would be proper to a series of lunar eclipses perpetually, and, under the circumstances of the case, could be nothing but the date of the *first* lunar eclipse of the series itself. And, if that date was a given Julian date, this Julian date so given and so proposed in terms at first must be the proper *Julian* date of the cycle; the *actual* Julian date of the *first* eclipse of the cycle, and the *actual* Julian date of the *whole* series or circle of subsequent eclipses, as all dependent *upon* and all by the law of the cycle deducible *from* this first.

Now though it would evidently be absurd to propose a given Julian term as a constant ecliptic date; there would be no absurdity in proposing even such a term as the epoch of a cycle of eclipses. And as such a term must necessarily have been ecliptic itself, (the actual Julian date of the first actual eclipse of the cycle,) there would be no impropriety, no inconsistency, much less absurdity, in giving admission to such a term as the stated date of a lunar eclipse, even in such a compilation as this of Claudius the Tuscan. Nor would there be any ambiguity in such an entry; at least not more than might be purposely affected thereby, lest even the truth itself on a point so recondite should become too transparent and too common. To those who were in the secret, and knew the true meaning of such an entry, it would appear the most natural and consistent imaginable. Let us therefore see in what manner this construction will account for the entry in these two instances; and will clear each of them from that mystery or that confusion in which it appears to be involved.

In the first place, it has been already discovered that Claudius' Roman and Julian dates for the time being are one day behind the Julian of the same denomination; i. e. the first day of any one of his Roman months was the second

of the corresponding Julian one. We shall therefore now understand that his Roman date of August 10 in the first of these instances is the Julian August 11; and if that Roman date, so stated in terms, was intended by him of the proper epoch of a cycle of lunar eclipses, the proper Julian date of that epoch was August 11 not August 10.

In the next place, this Julian date of August 11, not August 10, was the actual Julian date of the ecliptic cycle which passed from the Egyptians to the Chaldeans in the form of the Ἐξελιγμός. It was shewn in our former work[s] that the Chaldaïc cycle of Sari was purposely attached to the date of the first Lunar eclipse of the second cycle of the Ἐξελιγμὸς, (regularly deduced from that of the first Lunar eclipse in the Egyptian cycle,) August 11 B. C. 794.

These two coincidences consequently are sufficient to explain the first of these entries, that of August 11, on *one* supposition more, to which there can be no objection *a priori;* viz. That as this cycle of Ἐξελιγμοὶ passed originally from the Egyptians to the Chaldeans so in the course of time it passed from the Chaldeans to the Etrurians of ancient Italy: and therefore that among them in particular the proper epoch of the cycle traced back to its beginning was the Chaldaïc of August 11, not the Egyptian of July 9[s]. It remains to explain the second entry; that which is attached to September 24.

In the first place, it will now be understood that this Julian term of September 24 must be proposed here, in its proper place in the order of the Julian calendar, in a sense and with a relation altogether analogous to that of August 10 just before; viz. as the Julian date of a cycle of lunar eclipses, but not of any such eclipse in particular except that of the *first* of the series. In the next place, we shall understand also that September 24 in this instance means in reality September 25; just as August 10 before denoted August 11. Thirdly, from both these facts, and from the analogy of what has been already discovered of August 11, we shall collect that as there was a cycle of Sari attached to August 11 so there was probably another attached to September 25; and that, if the former was really the proper characteristic cycle

[s] Vol iv. 107. 135 note.

of the Chaldeans, this latter in all probability was the more proper and characteristic one of the ancient Etrurians. If both appear in a compilation taken expressly from the records preserved among the Etrurians, the most probable explanation of that fact is that, though the latter was *de facto* peculiar to the Etrurians, it was borrowed *de facto* also from the former peculiar to the Chaldeans. The date of the latter would thus be necessarily dependent on that of the former; and it would not have been consistent to give one of them a place in this compilation without including the other also. And on the admission of this very natural connection between the two, we may perhaps be able to assign the date of the latter cycle.

It is a providential circumstance for such inquiries as these that all the eclipses, both lunar and solar, which could possibly have happened from B. C. 1001 down to A. D. 1 have been calculated by Pingré, and are known from his Table[t]; which goes 153 years further back than the epoch of the Egyptian cycle of Sari itself, B. C. 848. The inspection of this Table will shew that it is no common occurrence for the same kind of eclipse to fall on the same Julian date in repeated instances. We find in it only the following cases of a lunar eclipse on this same day of the same month, Sept. 25, from B. C. 794 to B. C. 33.

Lunar eclipses of the date of September 25.

i	B. C.	638	September 25	3.45	P. M.	Paris
ii	..	619	.. ..	4.15	A. M.	..
iii	..	573	.. ..	1.45	P. M.	..
iv	..	98	.. ..	11.15	A. M.	..
v	..	52	.. ..	12.0	P. M.	..
vi	..	33	.. ..	8.0	A. M.	..

Among these we need not hesitate to set aside the vith vth ivth and iiid. With respect to the ist and the iid; we would not undertake to say that a lunar eclipse September 25 B. C. 638 at 3.45 P. M. for the meridian of Paris might not have been visible in the ancient Etruria; but we may confidently venture to say that a lunar eclipse September 25 B. C. 619 at 4.15 A. M. Paris would certainly be so. Admitting however

[t] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, xlii. p. 78.

that the fact of each of these eclipses might have been equally attested in that country by sensible observation; we may nevertheless decide which would be the more likely of the two to be fixed upon by the ancient Etrurians as the epoch of a cycle of Sari, by reducing each of them first of all to the Nundinal calendar of Type v, the second Etrurian Type.

i. *Nundinal Calendar, Type* v. *Period* iii. *Cycle* i.

Year 1	Dec. 17	B. C.	641
.. 2	Oct. 17	..	640
.. 3	Aug. 17	..	639
.. 4	June 17	..	638

Cycle i. 4.

1 Month	June 17	B. C.	638
2 ..	July 19	..	..
3 ..	Aug. 20	..	..
4 ..	Sept. 21	..	..

5th of 4th month September 25.

ii. *Nundinal Calendar, Type* v. *Period* iii. *Cycle* v.

Year 1	Dec. 8	B. C.	621
.. 2	Oct. 8	..	620
.. 3	Aug. 8	..	619

Cycle v. 3.

1 Month	August 8 midnight	B. C.	619
2 ..	Sept. 9	..	..

17th of 2d month September 25.

In this year consequently the eclipse fell on the 17th of the Nundinal month; the proper Panselenic date in the Nundinal calendar in general. We conclude then that the actual epoch of an Etruscan cycle of Sari, attached to this Julian term of September 25, was much more probably the Julian date of the eclipse of September 25 B. C. 619 than that of the eclipse of September 25 B. C. 638.

Now B. C. 619=Nab. 129: and Thoth 1 at midnight Nab. 129 fell on January 25 at midnight B. C. 619.

Thoth	1	Nab.	129	January	25	B. C.	619
Phaophi	1	..	..	February	24	..	..
Athyr	1	..	..	March	26	..	..
Chœac	1	..	..	April	25	..	..
Tybi	1	..	..	May	25	..	..
Mecheir	1	..	..	June	24	..	..
Phamenoth	1	..	..	July	24	..	..
Pharmuthi	1	..	..	August	23	..	..
Pachon	1	..	..	Sept.	22	..	..
Pachon	4			Sept.	25		

The Nabonassarian date of this eclipse consequently was Pachon 4 Nab. 129 Sept. 25 B. C. 619: and assuming this date of September 25 as a fixed Julian term which corresponded to Pachon 4 Nab. 129 we trace it in the Æra of Nabonassar through successive periods of 120 years down to A. D. 51 as follows:

Period i.	Nab.	129	Pachon	4	B. C.	619	Sept. 25
.. ii.	..	249	Paüni	4	..	499	..
.. iii.	..	369	Epiphi	4	..	379	..
.. iv.	..	489	Mesore	4	..	259	..
.. v.	..	609	Epagom.	4	..	139	..
.. vi.	..	730	Thoth	29	..	19	..
	+	69		+ 17	+	69	..
Period vi. 70	Nab.	799	Phaophi	16	A. D.	51	Sept. 25

So that the equable representative of this fixed Julian term, Sept. 25 A. D. 51, in the Nabonassarian style was Phaophi 16 Nab. 799: and the General Tables of our Fasti Catholici Division E Nab. 799 will shew that such was then the case.

In like manner, if we go back to B. C. 794, we find August 11 at midnight falling at that time on Mecheir 6 of the Cyclical, Mecheir 5 of the Nabonassarian, reckoning for the time being.

Æra Cyclica 3213 B. C. 794.

Æra Cyc.			Nab.	
Thoth. 1	March	9	Epagomene	5
Phaophi 1	April	8	Thoth	30
Athyr 1	May	8	Phaophi	30
Chœac 1	June	7	Athyr	30
Tybi 1	July	7	Chœac	30
Mecheir 1	August	6	Tybi	30
Mecheir 6	August	11	Mecheir	5

Hence as before this fixed Julian term of August 11 being traced in successive periods of 120 years in the Nabonassarian style falls as follows.

	Æra Cyc.	Æra Nab.			B. C.	
Period i.	3213	—	Mecheir	5	794	August 11
.. ii.	3333	74	Phamenoth	5	674	..
.. iii.	3453	194	Pharmuthi	5	554	..
.. iv.	3573	314	Pachon	5	434	..
.. v.	3693	434	Paüni	5	314	..
.. vi.	5813	554	Epiphi	5	194	..
.. vii.	3933	674	Mesore	5	74	..
					A. D.	
.. viii.	4053	794	Epagom.	5	47	August 11
Period viii. 6.	4058	799	Thoth	1	51	August 11

The representative therefore of this Julian date too, A. D. 51, in the Nabonassarian style was Thoth 1 Nab. 799: and our General Tables shew that also to have been the case. As then the calendar of Claudius must have been compiled between A. D. 49 and A. D. 56; we infer from these coincidences that it was actually compiled in this year, A. D. 51—52, when Thoth 1 Nab. 799 at midnight was falling on August 11 at midnight, and Phaophi 16 at midnight was falling on September 25 at midnight, the former the Julian epoch of the Chaldean cycle of Sari (i. e. the original cycle), the latter that of the Etrurian (the derivative cycle): and that one reason of its being compiled in this year very probably was this coincidence itself; viz. because the epoch of the original cycle of the Sarus was then

falling on the first day of the equable year, and that of the derivative one on the 46th day after it. We shall proceed to confirm this date by another argument, taken like the preceding from the intimations peculiar to the calendar of Claudius, and not common to it with that of Columella.

SECTION VII.—*On the Hebdomadal character of the Calendar of Claudius.*

This calendar of Claudius as transmitted to posterity in the version of Lydus is arranged in conformity to the positive order of the Julian calendar; that is, it sets out apparently from the first of January, as if that was its proper beginning. But, if there is any foundation for the conclusion at which we have just arrived, that conclusion must be demonstrative that its actual order, according to the method prescribed by its original reference and constitution, must have been that of the equable, not of the Julian year, for the time being. And as the head of the equable year, any time between A. D. 49 and A. D. 56, was falling in the Julian month of August, the order in which we are bound to trace it in the Julian style all round the year is from the month of August; and from this Julian term of August 10=August 11 A. D. 51, the first also of the Nabonassarian Thoth Nab. 799. Its present order is due no doubt to Lydus; who was not likely to suspect that its true order was any thing different from the Julian, if he found no intimation to that effect in the calendar itself. It was natural therefore for him to arrange it in conformity to the Julian rule; and he has done so accordingly.

Thus much however having been premised with respect to the true order of this calendar; we observe in the next place that opposite to Sept. 5 there is the following entry in it:

Νώναις Σεπτεμβρίαις οἶκος Ἑρμοῦ.

And, as we proceed onwards in the order pointed out, opposite to January 8 we meet with the following also:

Τῇ πρὸ ϛ΄ εἰδῶν οἶκος Ἄρεως.

And each of these entries is peculiar to this calendar: there is nothing like them any where in that of Columella. And even in this calendar such entries as these are confined to

these two instances. Nothing of the same kind occurs in it any where else.

Now no one familiar with the technical rule of the Hebdomadal cycle in terms of the cycle of Planets can be at a loss to recognize in the first of these entries the *feria quarta* of the Hebdomadal cycle, and in the second the *feria tertia*; the former appropriated to the planet Mercury, the latter to the planet Mars. For the history of this translation of the names of the Planets to the several terms or feriæ of the Hebdomadal cycle, of the time when those planetary names were first imposed on those feriæ, and by whom, and according to what principle and after what manner, we refer to our former work[u]. This Planetary cycle of the Hebdomadal feriæ, having thus been devised and brought into being in Egypt B. C. 798, speedily passed from Egypt into all parts of the ancient world; nor is there the least reason *a priori* why it should not be supposed to have passed into the ancient Etruria, as much as any where else. The appearance of these names in connection with particular days in the midst of a calendar compiled from the monuments of Etruria must be decisive of that fact. We cannot believe that this calendar was actually compiled from the data discovered in Etruria, and yet that the Etrurians must not have been familiar with the technical nomenclature of the Hebdomadal in terms of the Planetary cycle; or that they could have spoken of the *house of Mercury*, and not have meant thereby the *feria quarta*, or of the *house of Mars*, and not have intended by it the *feria tertia*.

That such notices as these are found in this particular calendar attached to two days only, September 5 and January 8 respectively, though every day in such a calendar besides must have had its proper place in the Hebdomadal cycle and in the Planetary as the same with that, might be either purely *per accidens*, or the effect of design. We hope indeed in due time to shew that there was a particular reason for this distinction; and therefore that it must have been purposely made. But whether or not, the occurrence of a single date, in such a connection and with such a relation as this, is suf-

[u] Vol. iii. 489 sqq. Diss. xv. ch. viii. sect. viii. Cf. i. 408. Diss. vi. ch. ii. sect. i: i. 414. Diss. vi. ch. ii. sect. iii.

ficient to prove that the Etrurians must have been as familiar with the Hebdomadal in the form of the Planetary cycle as in itself; and *vice versa* as familiar with it in its simple form as in that of the Planetary cycle. That fact would be enough for our purpose at present. It would be a necessary inference from it that September 5, in the proper notation of this calendar, and in the year in which it was compiled, must have been the *feria quarta;* and January 8 must have been the *feria tertia.*

Now Sept. 5 of this calendar = Sept. 6; and January 8 = January 9. Let the year then in which it was compiled be assumed to have been A. D. 51–52. A. D. 51, the Dominical letter in the true order of that letter perpetually until then was A; and A. D. 52—down to February 29 that year —it was G: and when A is the Dominical letter September 6 is the *feria quarta;* when G is the Dominical letter January 9 is the *feria tertia.* These two characters therefore would be entirely in unison with the assumed date of the calendar, A. D. 51–52; and in its true order from August to January, not from January to August. And this mode of determining its true date is entirely independent of that which we adopted just before for the same purpose. As each therefore leads to the same result, one must be considered to confirm the other; and both together to do much to place this point out of question.

SECTION VIII.—*On the* Phœnix Period *and on the* Sphere *of the ancient Etrurians.*

Another remarkable entry which appears in the calendar of Claudius is the following, opposite to August 4=5:

> Τῇ πρὸ α' Νωνῶν τὸ μέσον τοῦ λέοντος ἀνίσχει· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον.

So much of this entry as relates to the rising[w] of the middle of Leo is found in Columella also; the remainder of it is peculiar to Claudius. What then is the meaning of this additional observation, Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον, as another of the characteristics of this day, August 5? The literal version of these words no doubt is, "Moreover the tree also appears (on this day.)" This day was the stated date of another

[w] Supra, page 471.

phenomenon also, that of the appearance of the tree. The article too prefixed to this word tree in the original (Τὸ δένδρον) implies that even that was something well known. *The tree,* absolutely referred to in this manner, was something which must have been considered intelligible in itself, and even as referred to in this manner, without any further explanation.

If we look at the nature of the compilation in the midst of which this entry is found, and that it is almost entirely a catalogue of the risings and settings of the fixed stars or of the contellations; our first and most natural impression concerning *the tree* here referred to must be that it was intended of some constellation: the stated appearance of which was supposed to be attached to this day August 5. But to this very natural and *prima facie* inference there would be two objections at least. First that φαίνεται, as applied to the first appearance of a star or of a group of stars, never is used, nor in fact could with propriety be used, without the accompaniment of ὄρθρου or ἑσπέρας, or of something to the same effect. All the stars and all the constellations appear for the first time, at stated seasons of the year, for every latitude in its turn; but they all appear even for the first time either in the morning or in the evening: and a first appearance in the morning was so different both in itself and in the astronomical sense and meaning attached to such things from a first appearance in the evening, and *vice versa,* that this further circumstance and criterion of the appearance could not without impropriety be omitted. The word φαίνεται might be used, and with the utmost propriety, to express such an appearance; but only as followed and qualified by ὄρθρου or by ἑσπέρας, or by something to the like effect: without which it must necessarily be ambiguous, and liable to a construction which might possibly be the very reverse of the truth or of that which was actually intended.

The first objection then to such an explanation of this entry would be that upon that principle it would not run in the usual style of such entries; it would not define whether this tree, even in the sense of a constellation so called, was appearing in the morning or in the evening; heliacally or

acronychally. The second and a still stronger one would be that this tree, in the supposed sense of a group of stars so called, would be a nonentity. No such constellation as this of the *tree* is known to have been any where recognized among the astronomers of antiquity; or to have been ever admitted under that name into the ancient sphere: though modern astronomers have both imagined and delineated on the sphere a constellation to which they have given the name of Ramus, or the Branch.

There was a ceremony in the Roman calendar, later than the date of the Julian correction, which passed by the name of *Arbor Intrat:* and this had been introduced into that calendar, attached to its proper date therein, before the date of this compilation of Claudius', A. D. 51—52. Are we then to explain this entry by the supposition of its being possibly referrible to the Arbor Intrat? That such a supposition would not be admissible will appear at once when the reader is reminded that the appearance of "the Tree" in the calendar of Claudius is attached to August 5; and when he is told that the ceremony of the Arbor Intrat in the Roman calendar of the same time was attached to March 22. It was one of the ceremonies in honour of the Phrygian Attes and the Phrygian Cybele, as they were performed at Rome. It was determined originally by the proper Phrygian rule of their proper service; and it gave rise to a particular order of the priests of Attes and Cybele at Rome, called Δενδροφόροι or the carriers of the tree, from this part of their proper service at Rome itself. We hope to explain these things in due time; if we are permitted to treat of the Phrygian correction of the Primitive calendar among the rest of the corrections of antiquity. We have said enough however to convince our readers that the Arbor Intrat of March 22 in the Roman calendar and this appearance of the Tree of August 5 in the calendar of Claudius must have been totally different things.

It cannot therefore be denied that this entry at the first view of it is very mysterious and inexplicable. Yet we doubt not that it had a meaning; agreeable too to the literal and grammatical sense of the words in which it was expressed: and that too, when once understood, such as might possibly

make it appear very simple and very consistent. And the true explanation of all the mystery, in which it seems to be involved as it stands, in our opinion is *this:* It defines the epoch of the Phœnix cycle of the ancient Etrurians. The word Phœnix in the Greek language at least was ambiguous. It denoted both the bird so called and the tree so called. Substitute the word ὁ Φοῖνιξ for the word τὸ δένδρον in the terms of the entry,

Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον—
i. e. Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ—

and what mystery or what obscurity would there be in it then? at least in the apprehension of those who knew any thing about the phœnix, and the fable of the phœnix? Substitute again the word τὸ δένδρον for the word ὁ φοῖνιξ in the terms of the same proposition; and what ambiguity or what mystery would there appear to be in it, even in that form? at least in the apprehension of those who knew that τὸ δένδρον even in that form of the proposition really denoted ὁ φοῖνιξ.

The history of the Phœnix and of the Phœnix cycle of the ancient Egyptians was one of those subjects of our former work, which we had occasion to investigate with very great care and minuteness, and at very great length; nor would it be possible even to recapitulate the conclusions to which that investigation led within moderate bounds, so as to do proper justice to the subject itself. We are obliged therefore for the necessary explanations on each of these points to refer our readers to our work itself[x]. This fable however having been invented among the Egyptians so early as B. C. 1847 passed in the course of time into so many other quarters of the ancient world, that there can be no possible reason *a priori* why it should not be supposed to have passed into the ancient Etruria also.

It does not appear that there was any ambiguity in the Egyptian name for the Phœnix; only so far that it denoted first and properly the period so called[y], secondarily and through that the bird, which was the type and representative of the period. But it is certain that the proper Egyptian term whether for the period or for the bird was rendered in

[x] Vol. iii. 199 sqq. Diss. xv. [y] Ibid. 216.

Greek by Φοῖνιξ; and that the meaning of Φοῖνιξ in Greek was ambiguous. It denoted both the bird so called, and the tree so called, the palmtree of the east; and very possibly, as we shewed in our former work [z], it came to denote the palmtree at last in Greek, simply because it had come to denote the Phœnix in that language previously.

Now it is very allowable for us to suppose, if necessary, that the idea and the name of the Phœnix passed to the ancient Etrurians through the Greek language, in which they were expressed by Φοῖνιξ; in which case it could not have been unknown to them even from the first that, howsoever simple and singular of its kind the idea or thing denoted by the name might be, the name itself was ambiguous. It might be understood of the bird so called; and it might be understood of the tree so called: and, if there was any end to be answered by an affectation of mystery on this subject, this very ambiguity of the name itself would make it appear only so much the more suitable for that purpose. It would be extremely convenient for such a purpose as that of disguising the real meaning of the term, to appear to be speaking of the tree when they intended to speak of the Phœnix; and such language would be clear and intelligible to the authors of it themselves, obscure and unintelligible only to others. It is certain that for some reason or other this particular fable of the Phœnix, (the history, the period, the times of the appearing and disappearing of the Phœnix,) is exactly that about which the greatest degree of reserve and secrecy seems to have been every where observed. The Egyptians set the example in that respect; and the rest of the nations of antiquity imitated them in it.

We return then to our proposition, that the real meaning of this enigmatical entry in the calendar of Claudius opposite to August 5,

Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον—

is precisely the same which would have appeared to be intended by it if it had run in the terms of

Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ.

We contend too that as so stated it becomes intelligible. There is no longer any mystery about it. It is seen to have

[z] Ibid. 207. note.

a meaning; and a very simple meaning too. No one who had heard of the fable of the Phœnix, and no one who believed in its actual existence, and in the fact of its actual appearance at stated times, (as all the ancients believed,) could possibly see any thing equivocal, any thing uncertain or unintelligible, in such a proposition as this,

Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ—

or even in such an one as this,

Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον—

if he was previously made aware that even by the tree alluded to here the Phœnix was really to be understood.

It follows, (and that is the most important inference of all,) that, as we find this entry attached to August 5, August 5 must have been the stated date of the appearance of the Phœnix; and therefore of the Phœnix cycle, among the ancient Etrurians at least, from whose monuments and records this calendar of Claudius was compiled. Let us then proceed to consider how far the state of the case in this respect among the Etrurians will accord with those conclusions respecting the Phœnix cycle, its proper epoch, and its proper measure, at different times, amongst the ancient Egyptians themselves, which were established in our former work.

Now it was shewn in that work that the proper and original epoch of the Phœnix cycle among the ancient Egyptians was the mean vernal equinox for the meridian of the ancient Heliopolis; and that the proper measure of the cycle at first was 500 mean natural years, reckoned from the mean vernal equinox for the same meridian to the mean vernal equinox again perpetually. It was shewn too that both these laws or conditions of the cycle were strictly observed down to the ingress of the third Period, B. C. 847 or rather B. C. 848; but that 50 years after this date, B. C. 798, both a new measure of the Period of the cycle, and a new epoch of its decursus, were introduced into Egypt, apparently from Chaldæa: this new measure of the Period being 640 years, and this new epoch of its decursus being the Natale Mundi in the Chaldean cosmogony, August 8[a].

Such then being the nature of the new theory of the Phœnix cycle, and of the new rule of its administration, which

[a] Fasti Catholici, iii. 307—312: 439—498: 542—551.

first came up in Egypt in B. C. 798; if in a particular instance, and at a distance from Egypt, the epoch of this cycle is found attached to the month of August, and to some day in that month either the same with August 8, or only proportionally different from it, this must be considered a very strong ground of presumption *a priori* that the Phœnix cycle in this instance must have been regulated by this new rule, or by some one analogous to it, and only proportionally different from it. We perceive that such is the case in the present instance. We find an entry in this calendar of Claudius which attaches the stated appearance of the Phœnix among the Etrurians at least to August 5; between which, and the proper Egyptian epoch of August 8 according to the new rule, there was either no difference or only a proportional one. The former was three days in terms lower than the latter; but increase it by three days and it is the original epoch, August 8: or suppose the original epoch August 8 always to have been liable to a recession of three days on itself, for every one of its proper periods; and the original epoch itself in the course of time would become August 5.

Now this stated recession of the epoch on itself a certain number of days for every cycle of its proper period was one of the peculiar and most distinctive characteristics of the period from the first; only that in the original and genuine cycle of this kind it was a recession of 3 days 21 hours of mean solar time exactly in every period: a recession founded on the proportion of mean natural annual time of the standard of the period [b] to mean annual Julian; and *de facto* inseparable from it. Some rule and some rate of recession of the epoch on itself must necessarily characterize every assumed measure of the cycle; though not necessarily every where, and under all circumstances, the same. It must vary with the nature of the case; and in proportion to the assumptions on which the period itself was founded.

Now we appear to have already discovered that the true Julian epoch of the calendar of Claudius was August 11; yet not that Julian term absolutely and *per se*, but as the Julian exponent and representative for the time being of the equable Thoth 1. Let us therefore first of all go back to the time

[b] Fasti Catholici, iii. 499—502: cf. iv. 143. note.

when Thoth 1 was falling on August 11 last before A. D. 51. We find it in Æra Cyclica 2573 B. C. 1434; when Thoth 1 at midnight in the cyclical reckoning was coinciding with August 11 at midnight in the Julian. Now August 11 is the same in proportion to August 8, as August 8 to August 5. Let us therefore suppose a succession of Phœnix cycles to have come into existence, attached to this epoch of Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2573 August 11 B. C. 1434; but such that the period of each should be 640 mean natural or mean Julian years, and the epoch of the whole decursus should by hypothesis be liable to recede three days exactly on itself in the course of one of these periods. The epoch of the first such cycle would be August 11 at midnight B. C. 1434; that of the second would be August 8 at midnight B. C. 794; and that of the third would be August 5 at midnight B. C. 154. And the epoch of this third cycle as regulated by a cyclical rule of this kind would still be nominally August 5, A. D. 51. For a recession of three days on the whole period of 640 years would be in the proportion of one day in 213 years 4 months exactly; and, if the epoch was left attached to August 5 B. C. 154, it could not be supposed to have yet descended to August 4 by A. D. 51 : because the number of years from B. C. 154 to A. D. 51 was only 204 not 213.

Now B. C. 154 is only four years later than B. C. 158, the date of the time at which it is otherwise known that the first Phœnix cycle of 640 years among the Egyptians actually came to a close[c]; and B. C. 794 is only four years later than B. C. 798, when the new doctrine of the succession of the Phœnix cycle, and the new epoch of the entire decursus, first came into vogue in Egypt itself. It was also the date of the cycle of the Chaldee Sarus in the sense of the Ἐξελιγμός; from which the Etrurian one of the same kind, attached to Sept. 25 B. C. 619, was itself derived. The epoch of that cycle was August 11 B. C. 794; that of the Phœnix cycle synchronous with it, such as we are supposing, was August 8 B. C. 794 also, three days lower than August 11. But go back one more cycle of this kind, from B. C. 794 to B. C. 1434, and the epoch would be found at that time to be August 11; and thus the proper epoch of the Ecliptic cycle

[c] Fasti, iii. 444.

of B. C. 794, and the proper epoch of the Phœnix cycle, would both be found meeting in August 11 B. C. 1434, and both on the first of the equable Thoth, Æra Cyclica 2573. We are entirely of opinion that, whether the Etrurians received this Phœnix period of 640 years, subject to its proper rule, in B. C. 154, (which is not impossible,) or some time between B. C. 154 and B. C. 794, (which would be more probable,) it was for the sake of this coincidence more than any thing else that they set it back one more period of its proper kind even beyond B. C. 794; viz. to B. C. 1434.

It is very observable that each of these years, A. D. 51, B. C. 154, B. C. 794, and B. C. 1434, is the same year in the proper Julian cycle of leap year, and in the Egyptian cycle of leap year, to which we gave the name of the Sothiacal[d]; viz. the fourth in the former, the first in the latter: and that was a point which was very likely to be attended to in each of these instances. And with regard to this assumption of a recession of the epoch in one of these periods, amounting to three days exactly; it was not indeed agreeable to the proper Phœnix rule of the Egyptians, nor to the proportion of mean natural annual time to mean Julian annual time assumed in that period. But it might be something allowable in itself; and it might not imply a greater degree of inaccuracy than would be excusable for the time at which it must have been made. Let us therefore see what is the standard of the mean natural year involved in it.

Three days = 1440 min. × 3 = 4320 minutes: and 4320 minutes divided by 640 give 6·75 m. or 6 min. 45 seconds, for the rate of the recession of mean natural time on mean Julian every year, in proportion to one of three days in 640 years. The standard of the mean natural year, so assumed, must consequently have been 6 m. 45 sec. less than that of the mean Julian.

Standard of the mean Julian year ..	365 d.	6 hours	0 m.	0 s.
			— 6	45
Standard of the mean natural year in the period of 640 years	365	5	53	15

640 years of this natural standard therefore must contain 3 days exactly less than 640 mean Julian years.

[d] Fasti, iv. 171—213. Diss. xvii. ch. i. and ii.

			d.	h.	m.
15 sec. × 640 =	160 m.	=	0	2	40
53 min. × 640 =	33920 m.	=	23	13	20
5 h. × 640 =	3200 h.	=	133	8	0
365 d. × 640 =		233600			
365 d. 5 h. 53 m. 15 s. × 640 =		233757	0	0	
		+ 3			
640 mean Julian years =		233760			

We collected together in our former work a variety of standards of the mean natural year, which were assumed in ancient times[e]: and the following among the rest.

	d.	h.	m.	s.
The Chaldean	365	5	54	31
Or	365	5	50	43
Hipparchus and Ptolemy	365	5	55	12
The Siamese	365	5	55	13 46
Rabbi Adda and the Jewish calendar	365	5	55	26

And with any of these this Etruscan standard of 365 d. 5 h. 53 m. 15 sec. will bear a comparison; so that if each of those was allowable in its proper order of time, or excusable under the circumstances of the case, this must have been so too.

It is also to be observed that B. C. 1434–1433 (one and the same year reckoned from August 8 to August 7) we have the mean vernal equinox for the meridian of Jerusalem.—

		h.	m.	s.
B. C. 1433	April 4	7	36	28·8
Correction		+ 12	11	31·2
True mean V. E.	April 4	19	48	0·0 at Jerusalem.
		— 1	31	
	April 4	18	17	0·0 at Rome.

For the meridian of Rome consequently, (and therefore for any meridian which did not differ materially from that of Rome,) this equinox would bear date almost exactly at sunset, the beginning of the noctidiurnal cycle according to the primitive rule. The Mazzaroth date of the Egyptians, by their positive rule, was attached to March 24; but its proper date even among them was March 25[f]. The decursus of Etruscan sæcula was attached to March 25 B. C. 860. If they too had a Mazzaroth date, it must have been this of March 25 also.

[e] Fasti, i. 75. 76.

[f] See our Fasti Catholici, iii. 240. 241. 290 sqq

March 25 then being assumed as the proper date of the first degree in *their* sphere of Mazzaroth; April 4 would be that of the eleventh degree: and a tropical sphere which bore date at the mean vernal equinox in the *first* degree of its own notation yet on April 4 B. C. 1433, referred to the sphere of Mazzaroth, graduated from March 25 whether at midnight or at noon, would bear date in the eleventh degree of that.

Now though we know of no tropical sphere of antiquity besides which was laid down in the eleventh degree of the sphere of Mazzaroth; there is good reason to believe that the Etruscan sphere was so. In the first place, the Etruscan sphere did properly bear date from Aries. John Lydus in his work *De Ostentis* has given a version in Greek of much curious matter which had been translated into Latin before his own time by different Roman writers from the supposed books of Tages among the Etruscans; and, among other subjects of this kind, one is that of the Tagetic doctrine Περὶ κεραυνῶν[g]. In the course of the preliminary observations which he has premised to it[h], he remarks; Ἄξιον δὲ ζητῆσαι τίνος χάριν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων διοσημειῶν τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ δὲ μόνων τῶν κεραυνῶν τὸν ἥλιον ἡ ἀρχαιότης ἐπετήρησεν[i]: from which we must infer that in this theory of the Fulguratores and in the explanation of portents of that particular description the first thing to be regarded was the epoch or place of the sun among the signs. Now in the explanation which follows[k], and which is actually the translation of the Etruscan doctrine on this subject[l], the sun is supposed to be first in Aries, and then in Taurus; and so on in the natural order of the signs one after another, down to Pisces. It follows that the Etruscan sphere like every other of antiquity, except the Grecian, must have been graduated from Aries.

In the next place, the Etruscan sphere was laid down in the 11th degrees of the signs, not in the first, all round the ecliptic; that is, it was the natural sphere laid down in the sphere of Mazzaroth, but in the eleventh degrees of that sphere not in the first. This Etruscan account of Fulgura, as dependent on the sun, and as referrible to the place of the sun in and among the signs at the time, is preceded by an-

[g] De Ostentis, 342. 47 sqq.—348. 52.
[h] Ibid. 341. 45—342. 46.
[i] Ibid. 341. 46.
[k] Ibid. 347. 47.
[l] Cf. the end of the preceding chapter.

other, translated from the Etruscan too; in which the same doctrine is applied to the moon. The title of it is as follows[m]: Καθολικὴ ἐπιτήρησις πρὸς σελήνην περὶ κεραυνῶν καὶ ἄλλων καταστημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Λαβεῶνος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν, ἀπὸ τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς. This observation at the end implies that the moon was supposed to be first of all setting out from the summer solstice; and we have only to read over what follows[n] to see that the state of the case, assumed throughout, is *this*—of the moon's being in each of the signs in its turn, but at the date of the summer solstice in all of them alike: and, as a consequence of that, what was to be expected in the way of portent, according as it happened to be in one sign at that particular epoch, and not in another. And here too it is supposed that the moon is first of all *in Aries* at this epoch, and then in Taurus; and so on, according to the natural order of the signs as reckoned from Aries perpetually. The sphere then to which the moon's epoch at the summer solstice in and among the signs was thus referred was graduated from Aries*.

In what manner then is the first case of this kind, that of the moon's being in Aries at the point of the summer solstice, actually here expressed? Εἰ κατὰ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην τοῦ καρκίνου μοῖραν ἡ σελήνη εἴη κριῷ, κ', τ. λ.[o] If so, the summer solstice must have been supposed to fall in the 11th degree of Cancer; and therefore the vernal equinox in the 11th degree of Aries; the autumnal equinox in the 11th degree

* Though however this account is entitled a General Observation Πρὸς σελήνην περὶ κεραυνῶν; there is nothing discoverable in it which would connect such portents as thunders or lightnings with the moon, as their cause or source; that is primarily, in any way: but only secondarily, and per accidens. When any of these portents happened, (whatsoever their cause might be,) the moon must be in some sign or other; and what this particular account supposes over and above is its being in some sign or other *at the summer solstice* when any thing of that kind occurred: and the object of the account is to explain what was portended by such phenomena according as the moon was in one sign at that particular epoch in the natural year, and not in another. As to the true or the efficient cause of this particular class of portents, thunders and lightnings, it is explained in what follows (Περὶ κεραυνῶν, p. 341. cap. 46.) that it was the sun, and not the moon.

[m] 336. [n] 336-338. [o] Cap. 42. 336.

of Libra; and the winter solstice in the 11th degree of Capricorn: that is, the proper graduation of this sphere must have been from the eleventh degree of each of the signs respectively all round the ecliptic; and a natural or tropical sphere laid down in the eleventh or in any other degree, according to a positive rule of this kind, is an infallible argument of a double sphere, a fixed and a moveable one, one of which serves as the standard of reference for the other perpetually: such as we explained at large in our former work, when treating of the first combination of that description which was ever made, that of the natural or tropical sphere with the sphere of Mazzaroth[p].

And such being the assumed state of the case, that the moon was supposed to be in the eleventh degree of Aries when the sun was supposed to be in the eleventh degree of Cancer; it is further implied thereby that the sun and the moon would be in conjunction, seven days after, in the 18th degree of Cancer. For seven days after the summer solstice the sun's mean longitude would be

$$96^\circ\ 53'\ 58''\cdot3^{q}$$

and in seven days 8 hours' mean motion from the mean vernal equinoctial point the moon's mean longitude would be

°	′	″
92	14	5·2
4	23	31·7[r]
96	37	36·9

And if we may assume that the Mazzaroth date of the first degree of Aries was March 25, that of the first degree of Cancer, 92 days later, would be June 25; and that of the eleventh degree of Cancer, July 5: and that of the eighteenth July 12. Now if we turn to our General Lunar Calendar, Period ix, Cycle viii. 7. B. C. 1433, we find the first of our Nisan falling April 15 at midnight, and the first of our Thammuz July 12 at midnight; so that this assumption of the position of the sun and the moon relatively to each other, at the summer solstice, would be true *de facto* of B. C. 1433.

[p] Fasti, iii. 288 *sqq.*

[q] Fasti, Introduction to the Tables, Append. p. xiv. Table vii. Part i.

[r] Ibid. p. xix. Table xi. Part i and ii.

It appears indeed from the internal evidence of these books of Tages that, whensoever they were actually compiled, it must have been some time later than the introduction of the astrological doctrine relating to the Planetary Houses; which, as we shewed in our former work, took place in Egypt first in B. C. 798[s]. Thus, in the treatise Περὶ σεισμῶν[t], the Etruscan origin of this work is distinctly attested: Αὐτὸς γὰρ Βικέλλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ τῶν Τάγητος στίχων (and this implies that Tages himself wrote in verse, or in measured lines of some kind or other,) περὶ οὗ (leg. fors. παρ' οὗ) καὶ Ἀπουλήϊος ὕστερον πλατεῖ καὶ ἐλευθέρῳ ποδὸς ἐχρήσατο λόγῳ, ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑρμηνείαν φησίν[u]. Yet here too Cancer is recognized as the house of the moon: Ἐκλείψεις τε σεληνιακαὶ ἔσονται, ὅτι σελήνης οἶκος ὁ Κάρκινος, κ', τ. λ[w]: i. e. if an earthquake happened when the sun was in Cancer there would be a lunar eclipse, because Cancer was the house of the moon. And Leo is recognized as the house of the sun: Ἡλιακὸν ζῴδιον ὁ Λέων[x].

There is another of these Tagetic writings, which Lydus translated from the Latin of Nigidius Figulus. The title of this runs as follows:

Ἐφήμερος βροντοσκοπία τοπικὴ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Φίγουλον, ἐκ τῶν Τάγητος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν[y]. And it begins thus[z]: Εἰ ἐπὶ πάσαις τῆς διοσημείας παραδόσεσι τὴν σελήνην φαίνονται λαβόντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, (ὑπ' αὐτὴν γὰρ τά τε βροντῶν τά τε κεραυνῶν ἐκδέδοται σημεῖα,) καλῶς ἄν τις ἄρα καὶ τὸν σελήνης οἶκον ἐπιλέξαιτο· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ καρκίνου καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐφήμερον ἀπὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς νουμηνίας κατὰ τοὺς σεληνιακοὺς μῆνας ληψόμεθα τῶν βροντῶν ἐπίσκεψιν· ἐξ ἧς τὰς τοπικὰς ἐφ' ὧν ῥήγνυνται χωρίων αἱ βρονταὶ παρατηρήσεις οἱ Θοῦσκοι παρέδοσαν. Cancer is here plainly set forth as the proper house of the moon: which in our opinion is an infallible argument that this composition could not be older than B.C. 798, whatsoever it might pretend to be.

It is observable however that it proposed to set out from the new moon; and to follow the order of the lunar months. On this principle it must have set out from the new moon of

[s] Fasti Catholici, iii. 447.
[t] Lydus, De Ostentis, 348. cap. 53.
[u] 350. l. 18. cap. 54.
[w] 353. l. 1. cap. 56.
[x] 353. l. 14.
[y] 306.
[z] 306. cap. 27.

Cancer, the lunar conjunction in the moon's own house. Now it does in reality set out from the Roman June; and from the first of that month: and it passes next to the Roman July, and to the first of July: and so on in the regular order of the Roman calendar from June to May. And in this recension every month has 30 days, those which in the actual Roman and Julian calendar had 31 days, as well as those which had 30; and that month (February) which had only 28 days, as much as the rest: and all these months together, (that is, the whole year,) have 360 days.

Now this must appear very unintelligible in itself, and very inconsistent with the profession with which it set out, except on *one* supposition; viz. that these months of 30 days each were in reality intended of the months of the equable calendar, and through them of those of the Apis calendar: merely under Roman names. The Apis calendar was the natural lunar calendar of the equable solar year; and its relation to it was such that every term in the solar calendar was common to the lunar also in this form: every equable term was both a solar and a lunar term at once. The Apis calendar borrowed its nomenclature from the equable solar calendar: and as these two proceeded in conjunction perpetually every noctidiurnal term in the equable style might be referred to either the one or the other *pro re nata.* On this principle there would be no inconsistency in professing to trace a nominal lunar reckoning even through 12 solar months in succession of 30 days each.

Let us therefore attend to the following coincidence; viz. that though the date of the Cyclical Thoth B. C. 1433 was August 10 that of the Nabonassarian was August 16; that of the Nabonassarian Epagomenè 1 was August 11, and that of the Nabonassarian Mesore 1 was July 12. Now it has been seen that July 12 was the date of the mean new moon of July, the lunar conjunction in Cancer, B. C. 1433. Consequently this year must have been altogether such as would correspond to the state of the case recognized or implied in the above scheme of the Lunar calendar according to Figulus, after the ancient Etrurians. It will now be understood that *his* Junius is the Nabonassarian Mesore, and the first of *his* Junius the first of *this* Mesore; and both are July 12 B. C.

1433; the true date of the Lunar conjunction at that time. *His* Julius again is the next Nabonassarian month to Mesore, which in the present instance should strictly have begun on the first Epagomené; but if these Epagomenæ were passed over and not taken into the account it would be the Nabonassarian Thoth: and so on, with the rest of the months after Julius, in the Roman order, in one of these calendars, and with the rest after Thoth, in the equable order, in the other. And that the five Epagomenæ wheresoever they occurred must have been purposely passed over in the reckoning in question may certainly be collected from the fact that the sum total of days in these 12 months collectively is 360 not 365.

These coincidences do strongly imply that whensoever these various notions, (ultimately borrowed from the Egyptians, yet not before B. C. 798,) relating to the Phœnix, to the Phœnix cycle, to the sphere of Mazzaroth, and to the Tropical sphere, actually came into vogue among the ancient Etrurians; the common epoch of all these things in conjunction was purposely carried back to B. C. 1434–1433: and to the head of the Æra Cyclica 2573. Their Phœnix period was attached to Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2573 August 11 B. C. 1434 in the first year of the Sothiacal cycle of Leap-year; the epoch of their sphere of Mazzaroth to March 25 B. C. 1433: the epoch of their Tropical sphere to the eleventh degree of this sphere of Mazzaroth, and to the mean vernal equinox, in this first instance, of the same time, April 4, B. C. 1433; and the Lunar character of the proper Lunar house in this original delineation of both spheres according to the Etrurians was purposely taken from that which did actually distinguish the sign of Cancer B. C. 1433.

In the scheme of their calendar of Mazzaroth, digested and laid down according to these principles, but in all other respects analogous to that of the Egyptians[a]; the dates of the cardinal ingresses before B. C. 672 would stand as follows:

[a] Fasti Catholici, iii. 304.

Cardinal dates of the Etruscan sphere of Mazzaroth before B. C. 672.

First of Krion	March	25
First of Karkinon	June	25
First of Zygon	September	24
First of Ægon	December	24

After B. C. 672[b] they would range one day lower each.

First of Krion	March	24
First of Karkinon	June	24
First of Zygon	September	23
First of Ægon	December	23

These dates cannot be detected in the calendar of Claudius; at least in its present state. He has three dates of the vernal equinox, March 24=25; March 27=28; March 28=29: and two of the summer solstice, June 25=26; June 27=28: and one of the autumnal equinox, September 21=22; and two of the winter solstice, December 23=24, and December 28=29. His date of the autumnal equinox however, September 22, is not consistent with his date of the Ingress into Libra, (in which Columella agrees with him,) September 19=20:) for that would suppose the autumnal equinox, on the eighth day after, (in 8vis partibus,) September 26=27; which is actually one of Columella's dates for it. We suspect some corruptions in the text of Claudius in these instances. He has a remarkable entry opposite to September 16=17: Τὸ δωδεκατημόριον ἄρχεται τοῦ μετοπώρου: which would have been altogether proper for the ingress of the sun into Zygon in the Etruscan sphere of Mazzaroth, and for the ingress into Libra in the Tropical combined with it, and laid down in undecimis partibus of the former throughout. The ingress into Zygon in the one being dated September 17, that into Libra in the other, on the 11th day after, would be dated September 27*.

* The original date of the autumnal equinox B. C. 1433 would be October 4, and after B. C. 672 October 3. And the recession being assumed at 1 day in 213 years 4 months, B. C. 153 (1280 years after B. C. 1433) it would be September 27 (October 3–6). And it must still be considered September 27 A. D. 51; because the recession even then did not yet

[b] Fasti Catholici, i. 452 sqq. Diss. vi. ch. iv. Introduction to the Tables, Part ii. ch. iii. sect. vii. p. 136: P. iii. 209: 212: 247.

SECTION IX.—*On the Cycle of the* Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν *or* κρύφιον *in the Calendar of Claudius; and on the principle on which it is to be explained.*

Another of the extraordinary things which distinguish this calendar, and apparently as mysterious and as inexplicable at first sight as any thing contained in it, is the allusion to an Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν or κρύφιον which occurs in it repeatedly. We shall begin with collecting these allusions together, preliminary to any attempt to explain them; though for a reason which will appear by-and-by we shall not state them in the proper or forward order of the calendar, from August 10 =11 upwards, but in the retrograde order, from the same term backwards.

Cycle of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν *in the Calendar of Claudius.*

i. August 9=10. Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν, ἀπαρκτίας πρῶος καὶ μέτριον καῦμα.

ii. July 2= 3. Κρύφιον ἄστρον, καὶ ζέφυρος ἢ νότος.

iii. June 24=25. Κρυφίου ἄστρου ἐπιτολή, καὶ ἐπίτασις καυμάτων.

iv. June 16=17. Ἄστρον κρύφιον, καὶ ζέφυρος σὺν τῷ νότῳ.

v. April 14=15. Κρύφιον ἄστρον, καὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ ὄμβροι.

vi. Feb. 9=10. Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν, καὶ ἀνίσχει ὁ ὑδροχόος.

vii. Feb. 1= 2. Κρυπτὸν ἄστρον· νότος καὶ εὖρος, καὶ ἡ λύρα ἄρχεται δύεσθαι.

viii. Jan. 14=15. Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν, καὶ ποικίλη τροπὴ βορέου ἅμα καὶ ἀπαρκτίου, καὶ ὁ μὲν λέων ἄρχεται δύεσθαι, ἕσθ' ὅτε δὲ βρέχει.

amount to a day more. The date of the ingress *in primis partibus* corresponding to this *in undecimis* would be September 17.

We shall probably see proof hereafter, in the course of our review of the Roman calendar, that the cardinal dates of the ingresses in this Etrurian sphere, fixed according to the assumptions thus explained, were considered ever after the same in terms; with no difference but that which was produced in the nominal Julian epochs after B. C. 672 compared with what they were before: the same, that is, in the estimation of the common people, and for certain purposes proper to the divination of the time.

ix. Jan. 13=14. Ἄστρον κρυπτόν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λύγος τὸν ὀϊστὸν δύεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ βρέχειν.

x. Dec. 18=19. Ἄστρον κρυπτόν, καὶ ἀνεμομαχία.

xi. Dec. 11=12. Κρύφιον ἄστρον. ἀπαρκτίας ἅμα καὶ καικίας.

xii. Aug. 15=16. Ἄστρον κρυπτόν. ζέφυρος σὺν τῷ νότῳ πνεῖ.

SECTION X.—*Observations on the preceding Cycle.*

The preceding are all the entries of this kind which occur in this calendar. They are consequently *twelve* in number: and as traced in the order in which we have stated them they set out from, and they terminate in, the same Julian month of August: and the first of the number is dated August 10, the twelfth and last August 16. There is no variation in the readings of the Greek text with respect to any of these entries; and in particular with respect to their Julian dates. In Leonicus' version Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν or κρύφιον is regularly rendered by Astrum obscurum, or by Obscurum astrum. Nor do his dates disagree with the above in any instance but one, that of the ivth; June 16=17; which he has one day earlier, June 15=16. And to the terms of the entry opposite vii in the Greek, Feb. 1=2, he adds *apparet*; Obscurum astrum apparet: which would imply that he read the original with the ellipsis of φαίνεται. But we cannot hesitate to reject this addition. It must have been pronounced an interpolation even if it had occurred in the Greek. For, from the nature of the case, an Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν must be invisible. It could not possibly appear.

These allusions to such a star, as we have already observed, are peculiar to the calendar of Claudius. Part of the circumstances of these entries may be seen in some instances, in the parallel places of the calendar of Columella[c]; that viz. which assigns the symptom or signification on the same days: but not these allusions to the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν on the same days and the same occasions.

Moreover, though no proper name is given to this Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν in any of these instances, yet that is no proof that it was not supposed to have a real existence; but merely that it was not seen, that it was concealed, and possibly that it

[c] See supra, p. 466 sqq.

was unknown. But that it was something real in each of these cases appears from the influence attributed to it in each of them; for that influence is real: being attested by the symptoms or significations supposed to accompany it. These symptoms must be as real in the case of these Ἄστρα κρυπτὰ as in that of the visible stars, to which they are similarly attributed. These Ἄστρα therefore and the dates to which they are attached must be intended of real days; and of the proper causes of real effects in the symptomatic affections of those days, whether they were otherwise visible or not. They themselves might be unseen and even unknown; but their influence was something sensible. That they were actual and active agents appeared from their effects.

Lastly, the dates of these Ἄστρα κρυπτὰ follow no general rule. They are twelve in number; and they might have been so distributed as to come once in every month, and every 30 or 31 days asunder. But that is by no means the case; as the inspection of the above synopsis shews. It is clear then that, on whatsoever principle they might have been actually arranged all round the calendar, it was not on that of a *cycle*, properly so called; that is, so as to recur after a stated order, and at equal distances of time asunder. It must be confessed therefore that at first sight this scheme of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν is very obscure and very unintelligible. Yet we doubt not that it has a meaning; and that it admits of some explanation. We must therefore endeavour to explain it if possible; and it is a providential thing for this purpose that we have already ascertained, on good grounds, both the proper date of this compilation, A. D. 51—52, and the date to which it virtually goes back, B. C. 1434—1433. With the help of these two data we may perhaps explain even this cycle of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν, peculiar to it also.

Section XI.—*Explanation of the Cycle of the* Ἄστρον κρυπτόν.

The actual date of this compilation being A. D. 51—52, and its virtual date (the date to which it goes back) being B. C. 1434—1433; the comparison of the equable reckoning in the Æra Cyclica and in the Æra of Nabonassar respectively, at each of those epochs, brings a remarkable coin-

cidence to light. B. C. 1434—1433 corresponded to Æra Cyclica 2573; A. D. 51—52 to Æra Cyclica 4058 Nab. 799. At the former of those points of time the Cyclical Thoth was falling on August 11 at midnight, and the Nabonassarian on August 17 at midnight; at the latter the Cyclical Thoth was falling on August 17 at midnight, and the Nabonassarian on August 11 at midnight: that is, the relations of these two Thoths one to the other, such as they were B. C. 1434—1433, were exactly inverted A. D. 51—52. At each of these times there was six days' difference between them, in the regular order of the equable notation, and six days exactly; but such that B. C. 1434, to get the Nabonassarian Thoth from the Cyclical, it was necessary to reckon on 6 terms, in the regular order of the equable notation, from the proper date of the Cyclical Thoth; and A. D. 51, to get the Nabonassarian Thoth from the Cyclical, it was necessary to go back six terms, in the contrary order of the equable notation, from the proper date of the Cyclical Thoth.

It follows however from this state of the case that the proper Nabonassarian term which did truly correspond to the first of the Cyclical Thoth B. C. 1434 was the 30th of the Nabonassarian Mesore; and the proper Cyclical term, which was corresponding to the first of the Nabonassarian Thoth, was the 7th of the Cyclical Thoth: and the proper Cyclical term which was corresponding to the first of the Nabonassarian Thoth, A. D. 51, was the 30th of the Cyclical Mesore; the proper Nabonassarian term which was corresponding to the first of the Cyclical Thoth, A.D. 51, was the 7th of the Nabonassarian Thoth. And between these terms, Mesore 30 and Thoth 7, in the regular order of the equable notation in either style, the interval was just 12 days. What then would be the *prima facie* inference from this state of the case B. C. 1434, at the beginning of the period embraced by this compilation of Claudius, and A. D. 51, at the end of it? What but that, between B. C. 1434 and A. D. 51, either the Cyclical reckoning had lost 12 days in the retrograde order of the equable reckoning, and gone back from Thoth 7 to Mesore 30, or the Nabonassarian had gained 12 days in the proper order of the equable reckoning, and had advanced from Mesore 30 to Thoth 7? In either case, there was a difference

of 12 days, in excess on one side and in defect on the other; and a difference which could not be mistaken.

The true type and standard of the equable reckoning of noctidiurnal and annual time from first to last, as we shewed at large in our former work [d], was the Cyclical; and the Nabonassarian only as perpetually equated to the Cyclical. The real explanation of the phenomenon which has just been pointed out is the fact that, in the constant comparison and in the constant equation of these two forms of the same equable reckoning in general one *with* and one *to* the other (down to A. D. 225 at least), a given Nabonassarian term, originally set at par with a given Cyclical one, must descend upon that same term in the contrary order of the equable notation perpetually; and at the rate of one day for every one of our periods. There were twelve of these periods exactly between B.C. 1434 and A.D. 51. The former was the 79th year of the xxist period; the latter was the 79th year of the xxxiiid. It follows that, if the 30th of the Nabonassarian Mesore was at par with the first of the Cyclical Thoth. B.C. 1434, it must be at par with the 24th of the Cyclical Mesore A. D. 51; or if the first of the Cyclical Thoth was at par with the 30th of the Nabonassarian Mesore B.C. 1434, it must be at par with the 7th of the Nabonassarian Thoth A.D. 51.

It is easy then under these circumstances to see that, in order to recover the first of the Cyclical Thoth from the 30th of Mesore Nab. 798–799, it would be necessary to go forward 12 terms in the equable notation; from Mesore 30 Nab. 798 August 5 A. D. 51 to Thoth 7 Nab. 799 August 17 A. D. 51: and conversely, in order to get Mesore 30 in the Nabonassarian style from Thoth 1 in the Cyclical at the same point of time, it would be necessary to go back 12 terms in the order of the equable notation; from Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 4058 August 17 A. D. 51 to Mesore 24 Æra Cyclica 4057 August 5 A. D. 51. In either case 12 days were to be taken into account, in order to explain the difference between the state of the case in the relation of these two forms of the equable reckoning to each other, in the 79th year of period xxi, B.C. 1434 and in the 79th year of period xxxii, A.D. 51, at the beginning and at the end of the whole compass of equa-

[d] Vol. i. 617 sqq. Diss: viii. ch. ii. sqq.

ble time embraced by this calendar, respectively; 12 days, in one of these equable styles, in excess, as it would seem at first sight, and 12 in the other, in defect: 12 days in excess in the Nabonassarian style, reckoned from Mesore 30 to Thoth 7; 12 in defect in the Cyclical, reckoned from Thoth 1 to Mesore 24: by the former of which the Cyclical reckoning in the course of this period might appear to have advanced or gained on the Nabonassarian, and the Nabonassarian to have receded or lost on the Cyclical.

Now it appears to us that in these two facts we have all the explanation which can be desired of this cycle of the Ἄστρον κρυπτόν; which is another of the remarkable characteristics of the calendar of Claudius the Tuscan. The cycle of this Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν is neither more nor less than the cycle of these 12 days, by which equable Nabonassarian time had receded or lost on Cyclical, and Cyclical had advanced or gained on Nabonassarian, in the course of the period comprehended by the calendar; from B. C. 1434 to A. D. 51. It seems to be so pertinent to the circumstances of the case, and so much to the point, that it requires only to be stated, to clear up all the mystery relating to this cycle of the star; and to make one of the most inexplicable things, contained in this calendar, one of the most simple and intelligible. The number of these stars is 12; and the number of these days is 12. The first of the stars is attached to August 10, the last to August 16: the former the date of the Nabonassarian Thoth Nab. 800 A. D. 52, the latter that of the Nabonassarian Thoth, Æra Cyc. 2574 B. C. 1433: or if we will, the former the date of the Cyclical Thoth Æra Cyclica 2574 B. C. 1433, the latter the date of the Cyclical Thoth Æra Cyclica 4059 A. D. 52.

These 12 days too were unquestionable realities; as real as the several terms of the interval from Mesore 30 to Thoth 7 in the style of the Nabonassarian reckoning, or from Thoth 1 to Mesore 24 in that of the Cyclical: and as real days they must be entitled to their characteristic symptoms and phenomena, as much as any other days which appear in the same compilation. But though realities of their proper kind they had disappeared in some unaccountable manner or other; or it might be supposed that they had done so.

They were absolutely necessary and indispensable to connect things together, which were once the same, and now were plainly different; a given Nabonassarian term, and a given Cyclical one (the 30th of Mesore for instance and the first of Thoth): and yet they could be found and supplied under the circumstances of the case, even for this necessary purpose, only in idea. And in this peculiar view of their nature and relation, if such days were supposed to be under the ascendancy of any particular influence, it must be an invisible one of some kind or other; an influence visible in its effects and attested thereby, but not visible in its agency. Hence the idea of referring them to an Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν in each instance; a star real indeed in its power and efficacy, and the author of real affections of some kind in external nature: but necessarily an unknown one, and therefore a latent and unseen one.

We cannot indeed suppose that this cycle of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν could have been as old as the epoch of the period, B. C. 1434; or that these days could have been marked and set down in their proper order from B. C. 1434 to A. D. 51. We are entirely of opinion that this particular cycle was laid down in terms when the calendar itself was reduced to its present form; whether in A. D. 51–52, or possibly a few years earlier, in A. D. 28: as we may probably see by and by. It ought not therefore to be considered any objection to our explanation, that these dates of the stars in question, defined as they were so long after the proper time, appear to have followed no certain rule; but to have been determined and arranged on a purely positive principle: whereby nothing would seem to have been prescribed beforehand except that the cycle should contain neither more nor less than *twelve* terms; the first of which should be the proper Julian date of the Nabonassarian Thoth at the beginning of the period, August 10, and the last that of the Nabonassarian Thoth at the end, August 16—: a condition which is seen to have been strictly observed accordingly.

Moreover as these two dates in particular appear to have been purposely intended of the Nabonassarian first of Thoth at these two distinct points of time respectively, and each in the first year of the Julian cycle of Leap-year; it is only reasonable to suppose that the same thing was intended by

them in every other instance also. Consequently that these Julian dates of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν are to be understood throughout to be really intended for the proper Julian dates of the Nabonassarian Thoth, at such and such times; and in the first year of the Julian cycle of Leap-year. On which assumption it is easy to assign the times to which each of them must have been referred; though it may not be easy to assign the reasons also which caused them to be so referred. We shall however exhibit the cycle, digested under its proper Nabonassarian and Julian epochs from our own Tables; in conformity to this view of its construction.

Cycle of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν of the Calendar of Claudius; shewing the times when the first of the Nabonassarian Thoth was falling on the Julian date of the Ἄστρον in the first year of the Julian cycle of Leap-year.

Ἄστρα.	Midnight.			Nab.		
i	August 10	B. C.	1409	Thoth 1	Æra Cyc.	2598
ii	July 3	..	1257	..	..	2750
iii	June 25	..	1225	..	..	2782
iv	June 17	..	1193	..	..	2814
v	April 15	..	941	..	..	3066
vi	February 10	..	681	Thoth 1	Nab.	67
vii	February 2	..	649	..	..	99
viii	January 15	..	577	..	..	171
ix	January 14	..	573	..	..	175
x	December 19	..	473	..	..	276
xi	December 12*	..	445	..	..	304
xii	August 16*	A. D.	28	Thoth 1	Nab.	776

In this last instance we observe the following coincidence:

The date of the Period in the equable reckoning being assumed as	Æra Cyc. 2574
Add	1461
And you come to	Æra Cyc. 4035

=Nab. 776; consequently to the actual equable date of this last entry of August 16: if made A. D. 28. In like manner, the number of Julian years from B. C. 1433 to A. D. 28 was 1460 exactly. So that on this principle the cycle of these dates of the Ἄστρον κρυπτὸν, from B. C. 1433 Æra Cyclica 2574 down to A. D. 28 Æra Cyc. 4035 or Nab. 776, would embrace *de facto* one entire cycle of the Sothiacal period both in the equable and in the Julian reckoning of annual

time. A coincidence like that it may be very well supposed could not have been accidental: and therefore, upon the strength of it, we may reasonably conclude that the cycle itself, in all probability, was actually digested in this very year A. D. 28.

The long interval, from the date of the xith Ἄστρου Dec. 12 B. C. 445 to that of the xiith August 16 A. D. 28, may very probably lead us to suspect that among some of the communities of the ancient Etruria the equable year itself fell into desuetude at or about the first of these extremes; and there is reason to believe that about this time the Roman calendar, or one like it, was very generally adopted in those quarters along with their proper one, or even instead of it.

With respect to the relation of each of the above dates to the Nundinal cycle for the time being; we have ascertained that in two instances, the xith and the xiith, they would fall on a Nundinal day; and we have marked those dates with an asterisk accordingly. But, whether this coincidence was accidental or designed, we cannot undertake to say; though we incline to the opinion that it was accidental in the first instance but not in the last.

Nundinal Calendar. *Type* iv. *Cycle* ccii. 1.			*Nundinal Calendar.* *Type* v. *Period* ix. ii. 1.		
Year 1	Jan. 28	A. D. 25	Year 1	Feb. 21	A. D. 25
.. 2	Nov. 28	.. 25	.. 2	Dec. 22	.. 25
.. 3	Sept. 28	.. 26	.. 3	Oct. 22	.. 26
.. 4	July 29	.. 27	.. 4	Aug. 22	.. 27
.. 5	May 28	.. 28	.. 5	June 21	.. 28
i Month	May 28	A. D. 28	i Month	June 21	A. D. 28
ii ..	June 29	..	ii ..	July 23	..
iii ..	July 31	..			
17th of iiid Month	Aug. 16		25th of iid Month	Aug. 16	

In each consequently a Nundinal day; in each too the *feria* 4ª of the Hebdomadal cycle, which was the proper Hebdomadal character of Type v.

SECTION XII.—*On the testimony of the Calendar of Claudius to the two miracles of Scripture; the* Solstice *of Joshua and the* Recession *of the* Sun *in the time of Hezekiah.*

There are two more remarkable entries in this Calendar of Claudius. One of them stands opposite to Pridie Nonas Augusti, August 4=5: the other to the Kalends of April, April 1=2. The former is this:

Τῇ πρὸ α' νωνῶν τὸ μέσον τοῦ λέοντος ἀνίσχει, φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δένδρον. ἐν τῷ διημέρῳ τούτῳ ὁ ἥλιος μίαν μοῖραν κρατεῖ. ὁ νότος δὲ ἀχλυώδης κρατεῖ καὶ πνεῖ.

The latter is this:

Καλένδαις Ἀπριλίαις ὁ μὲν σκορπίος δύεται, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος μίαν προστίθησι μοῖραν, καὶ συννεφία γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ βορρᾶ.

We have already considered and explained part of the first of these entries. The peculiarity to which we would still direct the attention of the reader in the former is the observation,

Ἐν τῷ διημέρῳ τούτῳ ὁ ἥλιος μίαν μοῖραν κρατεῖ.

And in the second it is that of,

Καὶ ὁ ἥλιος μίαν προστίθησι μοῖραν.

These two observations are confined to the calendar of Claudius. Nothing to the same effect appears in the parallel places of that of Columella.

We take it for granted that the word μοῖρα in each of these instances is used in its proper astronomical sense. No one who is in the least degree acquainted with the writings of the Greek astronomers can be ignorant of thus much; viz. that what we mean and express in English by a degree of the ecliptic, the 360th part of the ecliptic circle, they mean and they express by μοῖρα; as writers on the same subjects in Latin do by the literal version of μοῖρα in Latin, *particula*. The occurrence of this term in the calendar of Claudius is confined to these two instances, and to one more, an entry belonging to vii Kalendas Decembres, Nov. 24=25: Τῇ πρὸ ζ' καλενδῶν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μοίρας τοῦ τοξότου: and here there can be no doubt that Ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μοίρας τοῦ τοξότου means on the first degree of Sagittarius. The ingress into Sagittarius was noted in its proper order for the xiv Kal. Decem-

bres, Nov. 18=19: Τῇ πρὸ ιδ' καλενδῶν ὁ ἥλιος τοξότῃ: and this being intended of the Mazzaroth ingress, when the sun was in reality in the 24° of Scorpio, the ingress in 8vis partibus, when the sun would be really in the first degree of Sagittarius, on the 8th day after, would be Nov. 25=26.

We take it for granted too that by a μοῖρα, a *particula*, a *degree*, of the ecliptic, in the ordinary idiom and mode of speaking of the astronomers of antiquity * without exception, so much of the ecliptic circle is to be understood as the sun moves through in one day and one night, one noctidiurnal period of 24 hours; especially where it is not otherwise limited and explained. No one who is familiar with the astronomical writings of antiquity can think of objecting to the reasonableness of this assumption.

These two things then being taken for granted, we contend that the literal version of the first of these entries, that which is opposite to August 5, is as follows:

> In this double day the sun holds one degree.

And that of the second, opposite to April 2, is this:

> And the sun adds one degree.

And we contend that in the former by "holding one degree" (the literal version of the Greek μίαν μοῖραν κρατεῖ) *occupying* one degree is meant; and by occupying one degree *moving over* or *through* one degree. So that the general sense of the first of these entries in the way of a paraphrase of the literal meaning would be faithfully represented as follows:

> On this day, one day equal to two, or two days in one, the sun nevertheless moves only through one degree.

In like manner, we contend that in the second by the sun's *adding* one degree nothing can be meant except its adding a degree to the ordinary rate of its diurnal motion; so that, if that is assumed as *one degree*, it must be intended hereby to say that on this particular day the sun moves through two degrees instead of one: i. e. through *twice* the usual space of one day. So that, though April 2 is not called a διήμερον in this instance as August 5 was before; yet there is a very

* Cf. our Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels, iv. 625, note. Appendix, Diss. xxvii.

perceptible analogy between the proper characteristic of April 2 here and that of August 5 before: viz. that August 5 *there* was represented as one day equal to two, in which nevertheless the sun moved only through the ordinary space of one day; and on April 2 *here*, though not represented as one day equal to two, the sun is supposed to move through two degrees, that is double the space of one day.

Such we maintain is the sense and meaning of each of these entries, according to its literal grammatical construction; subject only to the peculiar modification which it borrows from the idiom of the astronomers: nor do we think that any competent person will be of a different opinion. We demand then, What explanation is to be given of two such entries? or Are they to be explained at all? Must they not rather be set aside at once, as utterly absurd and extravagant? as asserting a physical impossibility? We cannot come to that conclusion concerning them, without further consideration and inquiry. We have met with other things in this calendar which at first sight were just as mysterious, and even as absurd, as these, and nevertheless have turned out to have been seriously intended, as grave and sober truths. We are persuaded that these entries too are to be set down to the same category; that they have a meaning which will explain them when it is once understood: that there was some reason for them; that they were not mere random, gratuitous, vague, and extravagant suppositions.

We observe then in the last place that if these entries must be supposed to have some foundation in any matter of fact which would be capable of accounting for them, and of explaining them, and of assigning a reason why they should have been attached to these two days in particular; the only two matters of fact in the history of the past which would be competent for that purpose, and would supply the necessary explanation which the nature of the case requires, must be the two miracles, related in Scripture; that of the solstice of Joshua on the one hand, and that of the going back of the sun in the time of Hezekiah on the other: the explanation of which, and the proof of which both from the testimony of Scripture and from testimony external to Scrip-

ture and independent of it, occupied so large a portion of our former work[e]*.

For if the account which we there gave of those two extraordinary occurrences was strictly agreeable to the natural construction of the testimony of Scripture, and to the nature of the case and to the reason of things; let the reader consider what the sensible or external appearance of the effect on each of those occasions would necessarily be: and then let him compare it with each of these entries in the calendar of Claudius. On the first occasion the sun continued stationary in space for an entire day in the ordinary sense of a day; on the verge too of the sensible horizon in the east. What could be the apparent and sensible construction of such a phenomenon as that, except that one day had been made as long as two days? and yet that the sun, even on this one day as long as two, could have moved only through one degree? And if it may be assumed that this one day thus made as long as two was August 5, and was ever after known by the name of August 5, and that the characteristic phenomenon exhibited by this first August 5 was ever after remembered as something peculiar to it; how could this day August 5 be more justly described and designated ever after, than as the *one* day which had once been equal to *two?* the day which was both a single day and a double day; on which nevertheless the sun had occupied only one degree; had moved through no more than one degree: i. e. even in this

* We were not of course aware of the confirmation of our conclusions on each of these points, and of the very important addition to the collection of testimonies to the two miracles, external to Scripture, which was supplied by these two entries in the calendar of Claudius. We have already observed that this calendar had not been examined by us with all that care and attention which it deserved, before we were engaged on this second part of our work. And it is probably a providential circumstance that not being aware at that time of what it contained, bearing on such subjects as these, we did not think of referring to it on that occasion; for we were not then in a condition to analyze and sift this calendar itself, so completely and effectually as we have since been enabled to do: nor consequently to make use of its testimony in the best manner for the confirmation of such important facts as these of the two miracles in question.

e Vol. i. 237–383. Diss. v: iv. Appendix, 523–622. ch. ii. iii. iv.

double day had moved through no more than the ordinary space of one day.

On the second occasion the local position of the sun in the heavens was seen to be suddenly and instantaneously reversed from a point approaching to that of sunset in the west, to a point not much more elevated than that of sunrise in the east; i. e. on this occasion also, to the extent of that space in the heavens which it describes apparently, and as judged of by the senses, in the ordinary length of one day. The apparent or sensible state of the case then on that occasion also would be, That to judge from what had just taken place the sun would have to move over the same space again, over which it had already moved once, in the course of the same day. It might or might not occur to remark on that occasion also that one day then too must *de facto* have been made as long as two; but it must have been an obvious inference even from the most superficial observation of such a phenomenon any where, that the sun would have to move over the same space in the heavens a second time, over which it had moved once already, within the limits of that which externally and to the senses appeared to be still one and the same day. The characteristic phenomenon of this day would appear to be that the sun had doubled the ordinary amount of its daily motion in space, on that *one* day. And how could that effect be better expressed than by the sun's *adding a degree* to the ordinary amount of its daily motion in space? which is that of a degree too. And if it may be assumed that the proper name of this day, both at first and ever after, was April 2; in what manner could it go down to posterity, with an express and intentional reference to that which had distinguished it on this first occasion, except as the day on which the sun had added a degree to the ordinary amount of its diurnal movement in the heavens? the day on which it had moved through two degrees instead of one.

As we observed in our former work, when treating of this subject before[f], the true cause of either of these extraordinary occurrences could not possibly have been known at the time in any part of the ancient world except Judæa. Where-

[f] iv. 612. Appendix, ch. iv.

soever these miracles were witnessed at the time, except in Judæa, (and they were of a nature to be sensibly perceived every where,) the observers must have been left to divine the cause or causes of either for themselves, as well as they could; and we may take it for granted that the first and most natural tendency of the impression produced by them every where, except where the truth was known, would be to conclude that the extraordinary phenomenon of which men had just been eye-witnesses on either of these days was the effect of some power or virtue of the day itself: of some law of nature, or of some fatal necessity, which, having once produced such an effect and so different from usual on that one day, had connected that day with such a phenomenon, if it was ever to recur again; had stamped and sealed this one day as the proper day of an effect like that of an extraordinary departure from the laws of nature such as had just occurred, if it was ever to be witnessed again. On this principle one of these days would go down to posterity as that which was destined to be at stated times as long as two; yet upon which nevertheless the sun should be seen to move over no more than the space of one day: and the other as the day which was destined to be at stated times just the reverse; a day nominally and apparently one and the same: in which nevertheless the sun should be seen to move over twice the usual space of one day.

It may however be objected even to this explanation that, according to our own conclusions, the actual date of these miracles was the same day on each occasion, i. e. the same Julian day, May 31; but that the Julian date of one of these entries in the calendar of Claudius is August 5 and that of the other is April 2. It is not difficult to answer this objection, nor to account for this distinction. Had the Julian calendar indeed been universally in use at the time of these miracles, and ever after, any such distinction in the Julian date of one and the same day or of one and the same matter of fact would have been a serious objection; but with a calendar so different from the Julian as the Primitive Equable solar calendar, and every where still in use even at the time of the later of these two miracles, there is no difficulty in it. It rather confirms our explanation, than otherwise. It

is no more than under the circumstances of the case was to be expected.

We must first of all ascertain the true equable date of each of these miraculous occurrences in its proper order of time; for which purpose we assume that the true year of the former in the vulgar æra was B. C. 1520 and that of the latter was B. C. 710: and that the Julian date of the day on which each happened in its proper year was May 31.

i. *Scheme of the Equable Calendar, Æra Cyclica* 2486
B. C. 1521—1520.

	Midnight.		B. C.		Midnight.		B. C.
Thoth	1 August	31	1521	Mecheir	1 January	28	1520
Phaophi	1 September	30	..	Phamenoth	1 February	27	..
Athyr	1 October	30	..	Pharmuthi	1 March	29	..
Chœac	1 November	29	..	Pachon	1 April	28	..
Tybi	1 December	29	..	Paüni	1 May	28	..
...				Paüni	4 May	31	

ii. *Scheme of the Equable Calendar, Æra Cyclica* 3297
Nab. 38. B. C. 710.

	Midnight.			
Thoth	1	February	17	B. C. 710
Phaophi	1	March	19	..
Athyr	1	April	18	..
Chœac	1	May	18	..
Chœac	14	May	31	

It appears then that the true equable date of the first miracle was the fourth of the tenth month, Paüni 4; and that of the second was the fourteenth of the fourth month, Chœac 14. It follows that the day which must have been noted at the time as characterised by the phenomenon in the first instance, and which must have been transmitted to posterity as the stated date of such a phenomenon if it was ever to recur again, would be Paüni 4; and that which would be recorded at the time as similarly characterised by the second phenomenon, and similarly expected to be the stated

date of its recurrence some time or other, would be Chœac 14.

Now it is liable to every equable date, while the civil year continues to be the equable one, to recede in the order of the natural year, and in the order of the mean or the actual Julian year; and to coincide first with one Julian term and then with another perpetually: remaining nominally the same in itself. And, if there is any thing special and particular to characterise such an equable date *per se*, the same special character at a particular time must be attached to the Julian date with which it coincides, and as long as it coincides with it; and therefore to one such Julian term after another: for an equable term of any kind cannot coincide with the same Julian term for more than four Julian years in sequence. But if the equable year happens to become fixed, i. e. to become Julian; every one of its terms is fixed and becomes Julian too: according to the relation in which it was standing to some proper Julian term at the time. In this case the special and particular character of a given equable term becomes ever after the special and particular character of some corresponding Julian date; viz. that with which it was coinciding at the time: and such a Julian date continuing ever after the same in terms, this special and particular character also continues to belong to it ever after.

On this principle it is easy to account for each of these entries in the calendar of Claudius; attached as they both are to certain Julian dates. The second was attached to April 2 when Chœac 14 was coinciding with April 2. Now, if Chœac 14 must coincide with April 2, Thoth 1 must coincide with Dec. 21 or 20; Dec. 21 in the last year of the Julian cycle of leap year, Dec. 20 in the first.

Thoth	1	December 20	at midnight
Phaophi	1	January 19	..
Athyr	1	February 18	..
Chœac	1	March 20	..
Chœac	14	April 2	

And this was the case in the Cyclical type of the equable

reckoning of noctidiurnal and annual time, (by which only we are bound to calculate in such a case as this,) for four years, but four years only, B. C. 470 to B. C. 466 each inclusive. All that we have to suppose then is that the equable year, in which this date of Chœac 14 had been perpetually recorded until then, first became fixed in the form of the Julian in one of these years from Dec. 21 B.C. 470 to Dec. 20 B. C. 466; and we shall account for the particular note and character ever after attached to April 2: which ultimately passed into this compilation of Claudius. But to require us to produce actual proof of the fact of this fixation itself, in the absence of testimony of any kind *ab extra*, would not be reasonable. Such an occurrence as the fixation of the Primitive civil year in the form of the Julian was still happening somewhere or other, B. C. 470: and we have already assigned probable and presumptive proofs that changes of that kind were going on even in Italy and amongst the neighbours of the Romans at this very time.

Again, if Paüni 4 is to coincide with August 5, Thoth 1 must coincide with Nov. 6 or Nov. 5; Nov. 6 in the last year of the Julian cycle of leap year, Nov. 5 in any other.

Thoth	1	November	5	Mecheir	1	April	4
Phaophi	1	December	5	Phamenoth	1	May	4
Athyr	1	January	4	Pharmuthi	1	June	3
Chœac	1	February	3	Pachon	1	July	3
Tybi	1	March	5	Paüni	1	August	2
				Paüni	4	August	5

The equable calendar, therefore, in which this date had been constantly recorded until then, must have been fixed some time when the first of the Cyclical Thoth was falling on November 6 or 5, and the fourth of the Cyclical Paüni was falling on August 5. Our General Tables shew that that was the case B. C. 286—282. We cannot indeed produce actual proof of such a fixation and at this time from testimony. But, if such a contingency was possible or probable even B. C. 470—466, it must have been still more so B. C. 286—282.

We have not however yet done with this subject. In the case of the second miracle the apparent effect was such as to

admit of a double construction. In the first place, if the day was supposed to continue one and the same, (and it is certain that it must have continued *nominally* the same,) it might be inferred from what took place upon it that the sun had *twice* described the ordinary space of one day's motion on that *one* day. In the second place, if it was further considered that, though the day was nominally continuing the same, it had in reality been doubled and made as long as two; then it might be inferred even from what took place on this occasion also that the sun had moved apparently only over the space of one day in two: for it must be evident that its place in the heavens even at the end of the addition made to this day was exactly the same as it had been before it was made. And that was only the necessary consequence of what actually now took place; the previous reversal of the sun's place in the west by 180 degrees: i. e. to the same or an analogous position in the east. It is manifest therefore that we might have found an entry in the calendar of Claudius opposite to April 2, the very same even in terms with that which actually occurs in it opposite to August 5,

Ἐν τῷ διημέρῳ τούτῳ ὁ ἥλιος μίαν μοῖραν κρατεῖ.

And yet even that might truly and consistently have been understood of the apparent effect of the second miracle; and even that might truly and consistently have been explained by a reference to that phenomenon.

Now it cannot but be considered a very remarkable coincidence, that an entry occurs in the calendar of Columella also, which is so entirely the same with that in Claudius', attached to August 5, that it could scarcely have been more so even had it been expressly proposed as the literal version in Latin of his in Greek. In the calendar of Claudius the entry stands,

Ἐν τῷ διημέρῳ τούτῳ ὁ ἥλιος μίαν μοῖραν κρατεῖ.

In that of Columella, it stands,

Hoc biduo sol unam dicitur tenere particulam.

If this entry had run in the following terms,

Hoc biduo sol unam *tenet* particulam—

it would have appeared to be a literal version of that of Clau-

dius. It is an apparently slight distinction that it actually runs in the terms,

Hoc biduo sol unam dicitur tenere particulam.

But even this difference slight as it seems is competent to establish a real distinction between this entry and that of Claudius; and to preclude the supposition that this was taken from that, even if it had been possible. For it is an obvious inference from these different modes of stating or enunciating the same proposition that the character of a particular day, affirmed by the one, is proposed thereby as its real or its absolute character; as a character supposed to belong to it in its own right: and that which is affirmed by the other is set forth as its historical or traditionary character; as that which belonged to it from common fame and in the common belief.

This distinction then would be one among other arguments to prove that Columella could not have borrowed the entry in his own calendar in this instance from that in the calendar of Claudius; nor Claudius on the other hand his from that of Columella: and even that Columella could not have derived it, in the form and to the effect in which and to which he has stated it, from the same data or from the same quarter as Claudius did his. He met with it, no doubt, some where or other; as Claudius also must be supposed to have met with his: but neither of them with his own entry in the same quarter as the other. And this conclusion is after all only agreeable to the actual matter of fact with respect to the sources from which these calendars were respectively compiled; viz. that Claudius' was taken from the records preserved in the temples of Etruria, and Columella's, according to his own account, from the Parapegmata of the Greek astronomers, Meton's, Eudoxus', and the rest.

Now this particular entry in the calendar of Columella stands opposite to the Kalends of May; May 1 of the Maius of his time May 2 of the Julian. It follows, that it comes much nearer to the true Julian date of the second miracle, May 31, than Claudius' of April 2. In fact, if the equable date of that miracle was Chœac 14, and its Julian was May 31, it would require only a recession of the former in the Julian calendar of one period of 120 years to bring it to

May 2: that is, from May 31 B. C. 710 to May 2 B. C. 590. If Chœac 14 falls on May 2, Thoth 1 must fall on Jan. 20 in the last year of the Julian cycle of leap year, and on Jan. 19 in any other.

Thoth	1	January 19	at midnight
Phaophi	1	February 18	——
Athyr	1	March 20	——
Chœac	1	April 19	——
Chœac	14	May 2	at midnight.

Now this was the case, as our General Tables shew, B. C. 593—590; in the first of which years the Cyclical Thoth fell on January 20 and in the rest on January 19. Now with regard to the possible fixation of the equable year some time in this interval, B. C. 593—590, among the Greeks at least, we are not left to conjecture. The lunar correction of Solon, taken directly from the preexisting equable year, was attached to the first of the Cyclical Thoth in the second of these years, and under its proper Julian date at that time of January 19 B. C. 592. We see then how possible it was for a certain traditionary character, before attached to such an equable term as Chœac 14, among the Greeks at least, from the time of this correction of Solon to become attached to a certain Julian term, May 2; the Julian representative of the equable Chœac 14 both at that time and ever after: and ultimately through that date to get admission even into such a compilation as this calendar of Columella. The lunar term indeed which corresponded to this equable term of Chœac 14 in the first year of the first cycle of the Octaëteris of Solon was Munychion 16; the stated date of which in the first year of his cycle was April 17: and the 16th Munychion could not always fall on the same Julian term, May 2. But it would always do so in the same year of the cycle; viz. the first: and it is another singular coincidence that, if the date of Columella's calendar was actually A. D. 48—49, (as we believe it was,) A. D. 49 was the first year of one of the cycles of the old Octaëteris of Solon. For $592+48=640=80\times 8$. If then that cycle had still been in use in Columella's time, the 16th of Munychion A. D. 49 would actually have been falling on May 2. There is however no difficulty nor

uncertainty in tracing a given Julian term, like May 2, through all the years of a given lunar cycle, Octaëteric or Metonic, alike. It will fall on a different lunar term in the different years of such a cycle, but it will always be the same in itself; and whatsoever those lunar terms may be in themselves, and in comparison of one another, they will all be equivalent to the solar one of May 2: and in their Julian sense and meaning they will all denote it constantly.

We have no doubt therefore that this particular entry in the calendar of Columella came to him through the Parapegmata of the Greeks; a totally different source from that of the very similar entry in Claudius. It serves therefore to authenticate and confirm in the strongest and most decisive manner those traditions among the Greeks[g] relating to the going back of the sun, which we had occasion to inquire into. It renders it extremely probable too that the traditionary date of this recession, even as a supposed concomitant of the banquet of Thyestes, was this Julian term May 2; and that will be seen at once to reflect the greatest light on Euripides' allusions to both these things: particularly to the season of the year at which he supposed them to have happened; and to the recession of the Pleiads also from west to east on the same occasion along with the sun: which we contended was virtually an argument of a time of the year when the Pleiads were rising heliacally, and preceding the sun[h]. In the calendar of his time, that of Meton and Euctemon, the stated date of that phenomenon for the latitude of Athens was May 6; only four days later than the traditionary date of the miracle May 2: and if May 6 was a correct date for that phenomenon and that latitude B. C. 432, May 2 must have been so much the nearer to the truth for the same phenomenon and the same latitude B. C. 710, 278 years before.

SECTION XIII.—*On the attestation of the actual existence of the fourth and of the fifth Type of the Nundinal Correction furnished by the calendar of Claudius.*

We have already had occasion to allude to the two entries,

[g] Fasti Catholici, i. 334. Diss. v. ch. iv. sect. iii. [h] Ibid. 342.

which occur in this calendar, one opposite to January 8=9, the other to September 5=6.

i. Jan. 8=9. Τῇ πρὸ ϛ' εἰδῶν οἶκος Ἄρεως. νότος ἅμα καὶ ζέφυρος. ὁ δὲ αἰγόκερως ἄρχεται (sc. ἀνίσχειν.) βροχή τε ἅμα καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ νότος πυκνός.

ii. Sept. 5=6. Νώναις Σεπτεμβρίαις οἶκος Ἑρμοῦ. ζέφυρος δὲ πνεῖ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνέμων ἐναλλαγῆς ὑετός.

And we have already deduced from them a strong and convincing proof, as we think, of the date of the calendar itself, A. D. 51—52; in the former of which years September 6 was actually the *feria quarta* of the hebdomadal cycle, and in the latter January 9 was actually the *feria tertia*. This conclusion has since been confirmed by other proofs, which can leave no doubt concerning it.

Yet though the coincidence in question was undoubtedly true of the time at which this calendar was actually compiled, and very probably had something to do with the choice of the year of its compilation; it is manifest that this coincidence only cannot account for the appearance of two such entries as these in this calendar. First, because every thing which appears in this calendar, and even in the form in which it appears there, was older than the date of its own compilation. Secondly, because no such characters as these, taken whether from the Hebdomadal or from the Planetary cycle, are specified in connection with any days in this calendar except these two: so that there must have been some particular reason for distinguishing these two days in this manner, and none besides. Thirdly, because it is almost self-evident that these characters, one of them taken from the Planetary name of the feria quarta, and the other from that of the feria tertia, and attached to these two days respectively, and to none else, in such a compilation as this, must have been something supposed to belong to them *suo jure* and at all times; not at *this* particular time only, and because of an accidental coincidence which was *then* holding good of each. We must therefore endeavour to explain what it could be which made two such characters as these, borrowed from the Planetary cycle of the Hebdomadal feriæ, proper and peculiar to these two days; and why these two

Julian dates should have such characters distinctly assigned to them in this compilation, and no other Julian date besides.

In the first place then it is to be considered that, as we were informed by Lydus, this compilation of Claudius' was taken altogether from the monuments of the Etruscans; from the data which he had found recorded in some manner or other in the temples of the Etrurians. It is to be presumed therefore that, if there is any thing peculiar to it, it must in some manner or other have been peculiar to Etruria; and its proper explanation must ultimately be derived from such things as were peculiar to Etruria. In the next place it is also to be considered that, as we ourselves appear to have discovered, there were two Types of the Nundinal correction, both derived from the Primitive equable calendar, each of which was proper and peculiar to Etruria; one which we have called the ivth, and another which we have denominated the vth, of its kind in general. Thirdly it is also to be considered that, as we ourselves likewise have ascertained, every Type of this correction, beginning with the first, had its proper Hebdomadal as well as its proper Nundinal character, in its proper order of time; as in fact could not fail to be the case, if the successive corrections of this kind were all derived, and according to the same law, from the same Primitive equable calendar; and if the very first Nundinal cycle in the very first Type of this kind was taken from, or grafted upon, the Hebdomadal of the time being also: with this difference only; viz. that the seventh or last feria of the Hebdomadal was purposely assumed as the first of the Nundinal cycle. Under these circumstances it could not fail but that the Nundinal character of every subsequent Type, at the distance of every 120 years in succession from the first, must be invariable and always the same, the feria prima of the Nundinal cycle; while the Hebdomadal, originally combined with it and ever after accompanying it, must rise in the order of its proper feriæ one term successively with every change of the Type: so that the Hebdomadal character of the first Type being the *feria septima*, that of the second must be the *feria prima;* that of the third the *feria secunda;* that of the fourth the *feria tertia;* and that of the fifth the *feria quarta.* In this case, and

merely in order to express the terms of the Hebdomadal in the style of the Planetary cycle, the character of the first Type being the house of Saturn, that of the second would be the house of Helius; that of the third the house of Selené; that of the fourth the house of Ares; that of the fifth the house of Hermes. It follows that the Planetary characters of the two proper Etrurian Types would be the house of Ares and the house of Hermes respectively.

It appears to us that we possess in these several facts all the explanation of these two entries which can be desired. One more observation only is necessary to be made upon them. In a case of this kind, the Hebdomadal character of the Type being that of the first year of its proper decursus, it must be common at that point of time both to the first day of the Equable and to the first day of the Nundinal year, which at that point of time are the same; but after the first year the Hebdomadal characters of these two kinds of year respectively must differ from each other, until the completion and consummation of the period, (whatsoever that may be,) which brings about the restitution of the first day of the Nundinal year to the first of the Equable again, and under the same circumstances as at first. And this as we shall see hereafter is properly a period of 1825 Equable years. It is not improbable that a period of this kind was contemplated at the outset of each of these Nundinal Types, and in the combination of annual Equable with annual Nundinal time, or *vice versa*, under all circumstances, as often as it was made. Meanwhile however, as the standard of reference was supplied by the Equable, not by the Nundinal, year perpetually; the Hebdomadal character of the *epoch*, (common at first as it might be to both kinds of year alike,) was considered and treated ever after as the proper Hebdomadal character of the first day of the Equable, not of the first day of the Nundinal year, combined in the same cycle of five years of the one and of six of the other perpetually. Not indeed as the *actual* Hebdomadal character even of the first day of this Equable year perpetually; which in the nature of things was not possible: but as its *epochal* character of that kind; as that which had been its *actual* character at first, and from which its *actual* character ever after, and at a given time,

was still derived: consequently its *virtual* character if not its *actual* at all times; its *positive* or *conventional* character if not its *real* one perpetually. Nor was it expected that even this character should recur at the end of one of these periods of restitution; for neither would that be possible: but it might be expected to recur after a number of such periods, whatsoever that might be, (and it would properly be 1825×7 equable years): and it was expected that some character should occur at the end of every one of such periods, regularly derivable from this of the beginning, and as competent to be the *positive* or *conventional* character of a *second* period as that had been of a *first* one.

These principles then having been laid down and this kind of cycle of the Hebdomadal character of the epoch having been contemplated from the first; it will now be understood that this particular character of the Οἶκος Ἄρεως was the proper epochal character of the ivth Nundinal Type, and that of the Οἶκος Ἑρμοῦ was the proper epochal character of the vth Nundinal Type, not only at first but ever after: so long as each went on in obedience to its proper laws, and in conformity to its original relations. Nor is it any objection that such names as these of the *House of Ares* for the *feria tertia* of the Hebdomadal cycle, and of the *House of Hermes* for the *feria quarta*, were in reality 182 years younger than the ivth Type in question and 62 years younger than the vth. They were only other modes of denominating and expressing the different feriæ of the Hebdomadal cycle; with which the ancient Etrurians as we have seen[1] had been familiar long before this Planetary cycle was heard of. Nothing was easier or more natural than to transfer these Planetary names to the different feriæ of the Hebdomadal cycle; and that having once been done, it would follow from it that Type iv of the Nundinal and Equable period was now under the special patronage of Ares or Mars, and Type v was under that of Hermes or Mercury.

With respect then to the Julian dates, to which we find these characters actually attached in the calendar of Claudius, January 9 and September 6; the same explanation of them

[1] Supra 356. ch. i. sect. v.

is applicable here as in the parallel cases which we have already considered. These Julian dates represent the first of Thoth, one in Type iv, the other in Type v, under peculiar circumstances; that is, just at the moment when that equable term was stopped or arrested, in the midst of the recession in the Julian year to which it was constantly liable, and became fixed in the shape of one of these Julian terms ever after. And it is very observable that as the order of this recession is contrary to the natural order of the Julian calendar perpetually, and Thoth 1 in the equable year must come to January 9 in the Julian long before it does so to September 6; so, as the proper Hebdomadal and Planetary character of Type iv is found thus attached to January 9, and that of Type v to September 6—this must be demonstrative that Type iv fell into desuetude long before Type v. And that was what we might have expected *a priori,* from the distinction of these two Types themselves. Both were proper to the Etrurians, but the vth more so than the ivth. The decursus of Etruscan sæcula themselves was associated with Type v; not with Type iv. The latter therefore was much the more likely of the two to continue in being unchanged, and in its integrity, for the longest time.

Now the precise point of time when the first day of the Cyclical Thoth began to fall on January 9, as our General Tables shew, was B. C. 552: and it continued so to fall down to B. C. 549. This date is remarkable. It is the epoch of Servius Tullius' Nundinal correction at Rome, of which we have already given an account; borrowed too, as we have seen, from the Etrurians. It is the date too of the long war which he waged with the Etrurians; for 20 years. It is far from improbable that as *he* thought it prudent or politic, on the eve of such a contest as that, to adopt the Etrurian calendar at Rome; so some of the Etrurians, if not all, and those of Vulsinii in particular, should have thought it equally expedient to adopt the Roman calendar, or some one like it, embodying the principle of the mean Julian year: in which case Thoth 1 in the equable year would be fixed at this point of time and would be identified with January 9. We have already explained that the epochal character of the first of Thoth, and the actual or real, at a given time, ever

after the epoch, were totally distinct things. It is no objection therefore that Thoth 1 Æra Cyc. 3455 January 9 B. C. 552 was a Wednesday, not a Tuesday; the Dominical letter being F.

In like manner the time when the first of the Cyclical Thoth was coinciding with September 6 was B. C. 37–34 inclusive. There were two years in this interval, one B. C. 35 Dom. letter A, in which September 6 was the feria 4[a]; and the other B. C. 34, Dom. letter G, in which January 9 was the feria 3[a]: that is, the former was the οἶκος Ἑρμοῦ, the latter the οἶκος Ἄρεως. On the strength of these coincidences we incline to the opinion that the moveable Thoth in this case was actually arrested and fixed B. C. 35. This year is memorable in the contemporary history for the death of Sextus Pompeius[k], after the decisive battle by sea of the year before[l]. It is mentioned by Dio[m] that before this defeat the people of Tyrrhenia (which means the Etrurians) had been disposed to side with him; but in consequence of this final reverse of fortune were deterred from doing so: Τά τε τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στασιάσαντα ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι κατέστη. It appears too that the day of this victory B. C. 36 was September 2 Roman[n] = September 1 Julian at that time; i. e. the first Epagomenè of the Cyclical year, Æra Cyclica 3971: and that might be among the other reasons for adopting the Julian calendar, and thereby fixing the equable year, in Etruria, the next year, B. C. 35.

We conclude then that both the fourth and the fifth Type of the Nundinal correction are recognized in this calendar of Claudius the Tuscan, as the proper and distinctive Types of his countrymen the Etrurians. Had we then no other testimony of the actual existence of the fourth Type in particular, to which we might appeal, it would still be attested by that of this calendar; and it was in the hope of arriving at this conclusion at last by its help that we thought it excusable to digress into the long account of the calendar itself which is now completed. We trust however that the many

[k] Dio, xlix. 18: cf. Strabo, iii. 2.
[l] Dio, xlix. 1—11.
[m] Ibid. 15.
[n] Ibid. 18: 15. Livy, Epit. xxix: ccxxxi. Appian. B. C. v. 97—144. Suetonius, August. xvi. 2—9: xlvii: 5. Caius, xxiii. 3. Amiternine Cal. ad Sep. 2. apud Fogg. Nundinal cycle cvii. ii. supra, p. 94. Id. Nov. B. C. 36.

curious and interesting and important discoveries of other kinds, to which it has also led, will justify this digression, in the opinion of our readers, even on its own account. We shall now resume the proper thread of our original inquiries *.

* It is not proper to take our leave finally of this calendar of Claudius without noticing a difficulty connected with the preceding account of it, which may possibly occur to some of our readers. We have seen that its principal term is August 11 Julian August 10 of the time being, and that its proper beginning is August 11 A. D. 51; and consequently that it goes round the Julian calendar from August 11 A. D. 51 to August 11 A. D. 52. Now in this Julian year, from August 11 A. D. 51 to August 11 A. D. 52, there were 366 days, because A. D. 52 was a leap-year; in the calendar of Claudius, from August 11 the same year to August 11 in the next, there are only 365 days. The explanation of this fact is that this calendar of Claudius was originally equable or cyclical; the principal and initial term of which was properly Thoth 1 perpetually: and that he was proposing to fix this Cyclical calendar in the form of the Julian just at this time, A. D. 51, when Thoth 1 was falling on August 11. And in fixing on this year as the first of his equable, in this form of the Julian, calendar, he was fixing on a year which was the first both in the Sothiacal cycle of Leap-year and in the Julian. It is manifest however that as he has not drawn out the scheme of this Julian calendar for an entire cycle of the Leap-year, he must have intended it, in the form in which he has actually proposed it, to serve for every year of the cycle of Leap-year alike. Consequently he has taken no notice of the leap-day which should properly have come in in February A. D. 52. But it does not follow from that fact, that he did not take it into account. The proper style of the leap-day in the Roman calendar as every one knows was vi Kal. Martias repeated. Claudius has not omitted the vi Kal. Martias; though he has not specified any Bis vi Kal. Mart. We must infer from this distinction that either he purposely assigned no phenomenon to this day at all, or that he intended the phenomenon which he actually assigns to the vi Kal. Mart. to be applicable, in the proper years of the cycle, to the Bis vi Kal. also. And it is very observable of the entry of this day, the vi Kal. Martias, that it is such as might be just as applicable to the Bissex Kal. as to the vi Kal. Martias. It is not the rising or setting of a star, or a constellation: but simply an affection of the air; Τῇ πρὸ ϛ' καλενδῶν ὁ ἀργέστης πνεῖ ἅμα καὶ βορρᾶς.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.—*On the constitution and details of the Nundinal Calendar.*

Before however we pass to the consideration of the fifth Type of the Nundinal correction, we wish to be permitted to advert to some questions relating to the Nundinal calendar in general; which we cannot perhaps have a more convenient opportunity for discussing than the present stage of our investigations.

The first of these is that of the constitution and details of the Nundinal calendar of antiquity. We have already seen reason to conclude[o] that as the Nundinal calendar, in every form and under every name, agreed in consisting of 304 days only, and in being a Lunar calendar formed on a cycle of half or quarter lunations of a peculiar standard; among the various modes of distributing and digesting the parts or subdivisions of such a calendar, which might have been conceived *a priori*, none would be more agreeable to its own principles and to its own assumptions, and none consequently would be more probable, than that they should have consisted of nine months of 32 days each, and of the half of a tenth month, 16 days in length: the effect of which constitution would be that, from whatsoever lunar phasis it might have been appointed to set out, it would alternate with successive years from that to the opposite phasis perpetually. And this conclusion too, concerning the probable nature and constitution of such a calendar from the first, seemed to be only a necessary consequence of the particular fact which has also been established in the former part of our work[p]; viz. that of the possible states of the lunar phasis, which were competent to serve as the epoch of such a Lunar calendar as this, and were liable to be fixed on accordingly, the most proper and natural was that of which the senses were the

[o] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. vi. Vol. i. 151.

[p] Ibid. sect. iii. 137.

best qualified to judge with accuracy: that is the full moon or πανσέληνον.

In all our reasonings and all our calculations hitherto, whensoever it was necessary to assume that the details of the Nundinal calendar of antiquity were distributed in some manner or other, we have proceeded on the supposition that they were distributed in every instance in the same way; and *that* the way which has thus been explained: and we have found this assumption of ours' to be confirmed hitherto in a remarkable manner by the matter of fact; so that we should be justified in considering its truth as already placed out of question. There are however some distinct and independent arguments of the same thing and to the same effect, which we have not yet had an opportunity of bringing distinctly forward; and which we shall now proceed to state.

SECTION II.—*Of the particular proofs or arguments of the constitution of the ancient Nundinal year.*

i. The first of these arguments is the peculiar term of days which appears to have been prescribed by the Jus Feciale, in all cases of difference between one community of ancient Italy and another, which involved the question of Res Repetundæ, or the claim to redress for the supposed infraction of the law of nations, or of existing treaties, preliminary to going to war on such grounds of quarrel as those. For this period seems to have been critically this particular term of 32 days; the standing measure as we have assumed of one entire and perfect Nundinal month.

The institution of the college of Feciales or Heralds at Rome is attributed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and by Plutarch to Numa Pompilius[q]; by Livy on the contrary[r] to Ancus Marcius, his successor: and probably on this point Livy is more in the right. Yet it seems to be agreed that, whether by Numa or by Ancus, the Jus Feciale was borrowed from the Æquicolæ, whom Dionysius calls Αἰβικλοι, or from the Ardeates. Servius only derives it from the Falisci[s]; founded by Haliscus or Halesus of Argos, and called after him by changing the first letter of his name from H to

[q] Dionys. ii. 72: Plutarch, Numa, xii. [r] i. 32. [s] Ad Æn. vii. 695. Æquosque Faliscos.

F. Yet it appears from his own explanation of the circumstances of the case that, even though there might have been an historical foundation for his statement, it must have been some matter of fact much later than the time of Numa or that of Ancus: Æquos autem dicit id est justos: quia populus Romanus missis Decemviris ab ipsis jura Fecialia et nonnulla supplementa duodecim tabularum accepit quas habuerant ab Atheniensibus. That is, it was not earlier than the date of the xii Tables, B. C. 449—448 at least.

The Jus Feciale then was borrowed by the Romans in the first instance from such of their neighbours as were using the Nundinal calendar at the time; and, (if these were really the Æquicolæ,) from those who were most probably using the third Type of the Nundinal correction, the Latin Type in particular. The term of days prescribed by the Fecial Law in these cases of Res Repetundæ is clearly supposed to have been just one month. As to its length; Dionysius says it was a month of 30 days[t], distributed over three periods of ten days each. But he appeals to no ancient authority for this statement; and well informed as he seems to have been on so many other curious and abstruse points of Roman antiquity, it does not appear from his writings that he was aware of the ancient Nundinal calendar, so characteristic of Italy; or acquainted with its nature and constitution. There is great reason *a priori* to suspect that when he made this statement he was thinking only of the Greek month of 30 days; and of the three decads of ten days each, into which it was every where divided among the Greeks.

Livy distinctly asserts that the legitimate and customary term of days in question was 32: Si non deduntur quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta, (tot enim sollemnes sunt,) peractis, bellum ita indicit[u]: and this statement is repeated by Servius[w]: Post tertium autem et tricesimum diem quam res repetissent ab hostibus Feciales hastam mittebant. Post tertium et tricesimum diem means here no more than on the 33rd day: that is, after the expiration of 32 days complete. The proper term therefore, legally required and legally to be conceded, for considering these demands of redress, and either allowing or disallowing them, was 32 days exactly:

[t] ii, 72. [u] i. 32. [w] Ad Æn. ix. 53 Principium pugnæ.

and if that was the stated and regular measure of the civil or calendar month, among all these communities of ancient Italy alike, nothing could be more natural, or more appropriate; or more likely to have been fixed and prescribed accordingly. The first argument therefore of the legitimate measure of the ancient Nundinal month is derivable from the peculiar rule of the ancient Fecial Law.

ii. Again, a probable conjecture respecting the manner of dividing and reckoning the ancient Nundinal month, which must once have been in use, may be formed from certain facts, relating to the peculiar nomenclature of the latter half of this month, which have been handed down. Quinquatrus[x]: hic dies unus a nominis errore observatur proinde ut sunt quinque dictus ab Tusculaneis (*corrige* proinde ut sit quinque dictus. ab Tusculaneis) post diem sextum eidus similiter vocatur Sexatrus; et post diem septimum Septimatrus. sic hic quod erat post diem quintum eidus Quinquatrus —Quinquatrus appellari quidam putant a numero dierum qui fere his celebrantur. qui scilicet errant tam hercule quam qui triduo Saturnalia et totidem diebus Compitalia. nam omnibus his singulis diebus fiunt sacra. forma autem vocabuli ejus exemplo multorum populorum Italicorum enuntiata est, ut apud Tusculanos Triatrus et Sexatrus et Septimatrus, et Faliscos Decimatrus[y].

There was consequently in the Nundinal calendar of antiquity a peculiar nomenclature, which appeared in the style of the latter half of the month; running on in the form of Triatrus, Quinquatrus, Sexatrus, Septimatrus, Decimatrus: to the actual occurrence of each of which terms for a particular day of the month testimony we see is extant. The actual occurrence of these is virtually a proof of more of the same kind, necessarily implied by these. A Triatrus must vouch for an Unatrus and a Duatrus: a Quinquatrus for a Quateratrus or Quatratrus: a Decimatrus, besides a Septimatrus, for an Octatrus and a Nonatrus. In short, if this nomenclature could begin and go on as far as Decimatrus; there is no reason in the nature of things why it might not continue and proceed in the same way to any extent beyond the Decimatrus: at least, as far as a Sexdecimatrus, and

[x] Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 55. [y] Festus, xv. 412. 8 Quinquatrus.

through the intermediate forms of an Undecimatrus, a Duodecimatrus, a Tredecimatrus, a Quaterdecimatrus, and a Quindecimatrus respectively.

With respect to the meaning of this affix of *atrus*, which thus appears in each of these instances, attached to a different day of the month; Aulus Gellius has observed that as making part of the Roman term Quinquatrus it had no signification: Sicut in eo quod Quinquatrus dicimus, quod quinque ab idibus dierum numerus sit, *atrus* nihil significet[a]: and very probably, as it was so used in the Roman calendar merely, this observation concerning it might be true. But that it would not be true of its use in any of the instances above enumerated appears from the fact that this affix of *atrus*, and this only, gave each of those terms the power of denoting a certain day from the Ides of the month; in one instance, the third, Triatrus, in another, the fifth, Quinquatrus: and so on. It was doubtless something significant; and well understood to be so, in its proper calendar at least. And though it must be difficult to assign its true meaning, with nothing to guide us to it in the shape of positive testimony; yet reasoning from the obvious tenor and natural construction of the two passages quoted supra from Varro and Festus we consider it an exceedingly probable inference that this affix of *atrus* in all these cases must have had much the same meaning as *alter* in Latin or ἕτερος in Greek: and that the explanation of this whole nomenclature, confined as it seems to have been to the Nundinal month from the Ides or middle day upwards, is *this;* That the Nundinal month consisted of 32 days, divided into two halves of 16 days each: That the days or terms of the first half were reckoned from 1 to 16, just as they would be in one of our own months; but that through the second half and from the 17th day of the month upwards they were reckoned as from a fresh beginning, in such a manner as to run on in the same order of one, two, three as before, but in composition also with this affix of atrus in each instance: the final end and the proper meaning and proper effect of this addition in each instance being to shew that it was the *second* numeral term of the *same* denomination in the *same* month, but just 16 days dis-

[a] ii. 21.

tant from the *first* of the *same* name in the *same* month also; consequently in the *latter* half of the month. The Unatrus on this principle would denote the *second first* in the month, the 16th day from the first, that is the 17th; the Duatrus the *second second*, the 16th day from the second, and therefore the 18th: and so on, as far as the Sexdecimatrus, the *second sixteenth* in the month, the last day of the month, the 16th from the 16th, the 32nd of the month. Such it appears to us is the true explanation of the peculiar style of the latter half of the Nundinal month; the actual use of which cannot be doubted. We propose it only as conjectural; but it is strongly recommended by its own probability, and by its perfect accordance to the genius of the Nundinal calendar itself. We collect from it that every Nundinal month (complete Nundinal month) consisted of two halves, of 16 days each; that the style of the month went on uniformly from the 1st to the 16th of its proper half in each, and yet was different *de facto* in the latter half from what it was in the first: and that the point of the difference lay in *this*; that every term in the latter half was referred directly to the corresponding term in the first half, just 16 days before it: and consequently was a second of the same name in its proper half, the *ἀντίστοιχον* of the first of the same name in the preceding half.

iii. Again, if the last month of the Nundinal calendar was one of 16 days, and if the Idus or middle day of the month was so called ab *induando* or *iduando*, (which seems to have been the proper and original derivation of the term [b],) it follows that the last month in that calendar must always have ended on the Ides, the middle day of the perfect Nundinal month. The annis fenebris, as we have seen [c], was always even among the Romans a year of ten months; implying that its length had been originally fixed and prescribed by the Nundinal calendar, and had never been altered for that particular purpose even with the change of the calendar. On this principle, the year in question would properly begin on the Kalends, on which day money would be lent; and would properly end on the Ides, on which it would be called

[b] Diss. iii. ch. ii. sect. xvi. Vol. i. 255 note.

[c] Diss. ii. ch. i. sect. iv. Vol. i. 72.

in, or the interest due upon it would have to be paid. And this serves to explain a particular rule of the usurers or money-lenders among the Romans even of later times; of which also we are made cognisant by testimony; viz. that of lending their money on the Kalends, and of calling it in again, or of expecting their interest from it, on the Ides.

> Hæc ubi locutus fœnerator Alfius
> Jam jam futurus rusticus
> Omnem relegit Idibus [d] pecuniam:
> Quærit Kalendis [e] ponere [f].

Nam olim Idibus, observes the Scholiast, exigebantur usuræ; ut Cicero [g]: Prætermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties [h]. Macrobius also observes on the month of Martius [i]: Hoc mense mercedes exsolvebant magistris quas completus annus deberi fecit; yet on the Ides, as we may collect from Horace,

> Magni
> Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
> Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
> Ibánt octonis referentes Idibus æra [k].

These customs were so many relics and traces of the old Nundinal year. They are explained by the fact that the old Nundinal year began on the first and ended on the 16th of the proper month.

iv. Again that the Idus was a solemn and stated day in the Nundinal month is proved by the ceremony of the sacrifice of the Ovis Idulis. Sunt qui existiment Idus ab ove Iduli dictas quam hoc nomine vocant Tusci [l]. This ceremony therefore and this name for it must have been as old as some of the original Types of the Nundinal calendar itself. The day meant must have been either the 16th or 17th of the month; between which we cannot hesitate to determine the ceremony of the Ovis Idulis in particular to the 16th, for this reason: viz. that it appears to have been a stated ceremony, on the same day in every month, and that the Idus in each alike. Now every month in the Nundinal calendar

[d] Cf. Sermon. i. 6. 75.
[e] Cf. Sermon. i. 3. 87, 88.
[f] Horace, Epod. ii. 67.
[g] In Catilinam, i. 6, 14.
[h] Cf. Philippica, ii. 37, 93.
[i] Saturnalia, i. 12. 256.
[k] Sermon. i. 6. 72—75.
[l] Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 15. 273. Cf. the Testimonies quoted supra, Vol. i. 244.

had a 16th day; but every month had not a 17th. Besides which the day of the Ovis Idulis though a sacred or religious day appears to have derived that character from the ceremony regularly performed upon it; but the 17th of the Nundinal month must have been sacred *per se*, at least as being a Nundinal day: whereas the 16th could never be so.

v. The old Roman tradition relating to Servius Tullius, to the Nones of the month, and to the Nundinal Incidence[m], is almost demonstrative that in the ancient Nundinal calendar revived by Servius the Nones of the month (i. e. the *ninth* day of every month) was a stated Nundinal day. And that would be decisive that the first day of every month was so too; and consequently that every month was a complete measure of the Nundinal cycle: which too is explained at once, if the first nine of these months consisted of 32 days, and the tenth of 16 days. We have seen also that according to tradition among the Romans, and to the actual practice of some if not all of their neighbours[n], there was a stated resort to the kings on the ninth of the month; to receive intimations among other things of the *feriæ* which were to be celebrated in the course of the month. It is far from improbable that the 17th of the first month, the first Nundinal day after the first stated resort of this kind at the beginning of the year, might be designated by rule and custom as one of these Regiæ Feriæ in particular. Something of that kind seems to have come to the knowledge of Ovid. Speaking of the 17th of the Martius of his own time, the stated date of the Liberalia in the calendar of his time, and assigning a reason why it should have been generally preferred and selected from time immemorial as the proper date for the ceremony of giving the Toga Pura to young men who were now old enough to receive it, he observes as follows:

> An quia cum prisci colerent studiosius agros,
> Et patrio faceret rure senator opus;
> Et caperet fasces a curvo consul aratro,
> Nec crimen duras esset habere manus;
> Rusticus ad ludos populus veniebat ad urbem?
> Sed dîs non studiis ille dabatur honos.
> Luce sua ludos uvæ commentor habebat
> Quos cum tædifera nunc habet ipse dea.

[m] Vol. i. 461 sqq. [n] Supra, p. 433.

Ergo ut tironem celebrare frequentia posset
Visa dies dandæ non aliena togæ [o].

That the Liberalia were in existence and were attached to the 17th of Martius as early as the foundation of Rome is a very questionable point. But that the 17th of Martius, the 17th day of the new Nundinal year, might always have had some ceremony or other upon it, some *πανήγυρις*, some conventus of a special kind, even over and above the stated Nundinal resort from the country to the towns, we can easily believe.

SECTION III.—*On the constitution and details of the Nundinal Calendar of Romulus.*

With respect to the changes which Romulus in particular may be supposed to have made in the constitution and details of the old Nundinal calendar, in order to accommodate them to his own; we are left in a great measure to conjecture. The only date which has been handed down in his calendar in terms, and can be regarded as authentic and certain of its kind, is that of the eclipse at his death; and what that would imply of the mode of dividing and reckoning the months in his calendar has been already explained[p]. Besides this, tradition appears to have perpetuated two dates of Triumphi acti in his reign; one as if on the Kalends of Sextilis, the other as if on the Ides of October[q]: and two of Coloniæ deductæ, one on the Ides of Aprilis to Fidenæ[r]; the other on the Kalends of Sextilis to Cameria[s]: the style of all which however it is evident must have been taken from that of the calendar of Numa, even though the days themselves so styled might have been traditionally handed down in a form more agreeable to that of Romulus.

We have already declared our own opinion[t] that the reckoning of the months in the proper style of the calendar of Romulus probably ran on, like that of the Julian at present, from the beginning to the end of the month; consequently, if he made a change in the old rule like that, it will now be seen that he was merely carrying on the style of the first half

o Fasti, iii. 779—788.
p Vol. i. 118, Diss. ii. ch. ii. sect. vi. ch. iii. sect. vii. 154.
q Fasti Triumphales.
r Plutarch, Romulus, xxiii.
s Ibid. xxiv.
t Vol. i. p. 158.

of the month through the second, and subjecting both in his own calendar to the same rule. There was this great circumstance of distinction between the old Nundinal month and that of Romulus; viz. that the former was divisible into two halves of 16 days each, but the latter was not. It was impossible therefore to refer the last half of one of Romulus' months to the first, as the last half of the old Nundinal month was referrible to the first. Some change therefore must be made in the style of the last half of the month in order to accommodate it to his calendar; if not in that of the first.

We confess however that we have met with no direct proof of the rule of the style in the last half of one of Romulus' months; unless it may be considered to have been supplied by the date which Plutarch assigns of the Raptus Virginum; the 18th of his Sextilis: Τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν...διεδόθη λόγος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ὡς θεοῦ τινος ἀνευρήκοι βωμὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κεκρυμμένον· ὠνόμαζον δὲ τὸν θεὸν Κῶνσον, εἴτε Βουλαῖον ὄντα· Κωνσίλια γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὸ συμβούλιον καλοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κώνσουλας οἷον προβούλους[u]· εἴτε Ἵππειον Ποσειδῶ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ μείζονι τῶν ἱπποδρόμων ἐστὶν, ἀφανὴς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀνακαλυπτόμενος[w]—Ἐτολμήθη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἁρπαγὴ περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ τότε Σεξτιλίου μηνὸς Αὐγούστου δὲ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν τῶν Κωνσαλίων ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν[x].

The date of the Raptus is thus attached by Plutarch to the 18th of the Roman and Julian August of his own time; which he says was also the date of the Roman Consalia or Consualia of his time likewise. The Consualia of August are dated in the Julian calendar on the xii Kal. Septembres[y]; August 21 of Plutarch's time, not August 18. There were also Consualia in December: xviii Kal. Jan.[z] December 15 Roman. With respect however to the date of the Raptus in question, the Roman historians themselves appear to have been divided. Dionysius, after observing that the feast in honour of Neptune on this occasion lasted more than one

[u] Cf. Dionysius Hal. iv. 76: v. 1.
[w] Plutarch, Romulus, xiv. Cf. Quæst. Romanæ, xlviii.
[x] Ibid. xv.
[y] Maffæan, Capranic, and Pincian Cal. apud Foggini.
[z] Maffæan, Prænestine, Amiternine, Antiatine.

day, and that the Raptus took place on the last, continues[a]: *Ταῦτα δὲ γενέσθαι τινὲς μὲν γράφουσι κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ῥωμύλου ἀρχῆς· Γναῖος δὲ Γέλλιος κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκός...τὴν δὲ τότε τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ καθιερωθεῖσαν ἑορτὴν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἄγοντες Ῥωμαῖοι διετέλουν, Κωνσουάλια καλοῦντες· ἐν ᾗ βωμός τε ὑπόγειος ἱδρυμένος παρὰ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν ἱπποδρόμων περισκαφείσης τῆς γῆς θυσίαις τε καὶ ὑπερπύροις ἀπαρχαῖς γεραίρεται, καὶ δρόμος ἵππων ζευκτῶν τε καὶ ἀζεύκτων ἐπιτελεῖται. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεὸς ᾧ τάδε ἐπιτελοῦσι Κῶνσος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ὃν ἐξερμηνεύσαντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναί τινες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπογείῳ τετιμῆσθαι βωμῷ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει.* Servius again dates the Raptus even in the month of March.

> Nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas,
> Consessu caveæ, magnis Circensibus actis[b].

Raptæ autem sunt Sabinæ Consualibus, hoc est mense Martio. Consos autem est deus consiliorum. qui ideo templum sub tecto in Circo habet ut ostendatur tectum debere esse consilium...iste Consus et equestris Neptunus dicitur: unde etiam in ejus honorem Circenses celebrantur. errant ergo qui dicunt magnis Circensibus aut Megalesiacis (in April) aut Romanis, quos constat fieri ante Kalendas Januarias (in September, or as Servius might possibly mean here in December.)

Having therefore to decide between these different statements or opinions concerning the same matter of fact, we do not hesitate to declare our conviction that, independent of the authority due to that of Fabius on account of his antiquity, it is to be considered the most probable in itself; much more so at least than that of Gellius: for to provide wives for his new community of citizens it may well be supposed would be one of the very first cares of Romulus. It is not credible that he would defer a matter of so much importance as that for three or four years. It seems however to be agreed that whether in the fourth year or in the first the Raptus actually took place in the *fourth* month from that of the Foundation; that is, as the Foundation took place in the *third* month of the Roman year of Romulus, the Raptus took place in the seventh: his September. It is agreed too that

[a] ii. 30, 31. [b] Æneid. viii. 635.

it took place at the Consualia; and that these having been celebrated on that occasion and for that purpose on a certain day were celebrated ever after nominally still on the same day. Let us assume then that this day in the first instance of all was the 18th of Romulus' September; and then consider on what day of the Julian calendar that would fall U. C. 1 and U. C. 4 respectively of the true Æra of the city.

U. C. 1. *B. C.* 750. *Nundinal Calendar of Romulus Cycle* i. 1.

Martius	31 days.	Feb.	4 B. C. 750 at midn.
Aprilis	29	March	7
Maius	31	April	5
Junius	29	May	6
Quinctilis	31	June	4
Sextilis	29	July	5
September	32	August	3
18 September		August	20

U. C. 4. *B. C.* 747. *Nundinal Calendar of Romulus Cycle* i. 5

Martius	31 days.	June	4 B. C. 747 at midnight.
Aprilis	29	July	5
Maius	31	Aug.	3
Junius	29	September	3
Quinctilis	31	October	2
Sextilis	29	November	2
September	32	December	1
18 Septembris		December	18

This latter date approximates so closely to the date of the Consualia of December in later times, December 15 Roman, that it may very probably be supposed to have been ultimately derived from it. The former is still nearer to the date of the Consualia of August: August 21 of the calendar of Cæsar, August 19 of the old calendar*. In this par-

* It is most probable that the Consualia celebrated on this occasion, as the preceding authorities seem to imply, were the first of their kind; yet that the feast was kept up under the same name and on the same day ever after. It is probable too that both the idea and the name of this god Consus were first imagined and first devised for this occasion. Consualia ludi dicebantur, quos in honorem Consi faciebant, quem deum consilii putabant[1]:

[1] Paullus apud Festum, iii. 96. 1 Consûs.

ticular statement of Plutarch's therefore, that the Raptus Virginum took place on the 18th of the 7th month U. C. 1.

that is, he was the god of stratagem, the god of secresy, the god of trick: the fittest patron of that scheme which Romulus was contriving at this very time, and hoping to execute under his auspices. There was an obsolete theme *conso*, in the sense of to counsel; from which his name might be derived. It is attested by the name of the Dii *Consentes* among the Etrurians, as we may see hereafter; and possibly even by the Roman name of Consul: which the best-informed of the Greeks considered to be the same with σύμβουλος or πρόβουλος in their own language.

That this Deus Consus of Romulus was ever confounded with Neptunus among the Romans, or Ποσειδῶν among the Greeks, appears to have been due simply to the circumstance that the games first celebrated in honour of him, and ever after because at first, were horse and chariot races: for these were the kind of games which among the Greeks were consecrated to Neptune or Poseidon in particular. It is observable accordingly that in the preceding quotations even this Consus is identified only with the Ποσειδῶν ἵππειος of the Greeks. And this distinction serves to explain that even in the Roman calendar the Neptunalia properly so called and the Consualia were totally different festivals, and fell out in different months. Horace refers to the former as some well known day,

Festo quid potius die
Neptuni faciam [2]—

And we may infer from Festus that they fell out in the hottest season of the year: Umbræ vocabantur Neptunalibus casæ frondeæ pro tabernaculis [3]: something like the Σκίρα in the month Skirrhophorion at Athens celebrated at midsummer too. Satus utrique generi (Napus et Rapa) justus inter duorum numinum festos dies, Neptuni atque Vulcani [4]: from which, as the Vulcanalia were celebrated in August, we might infer that the Neptunalia must have been celebrated in some month before August at least. Neptunalia, a Neptuno: ejus enim dei feriæ [5]: and the context of Varro determines that allusion to the month of July. In fact it appears from the fragments of the Julian calendar [6], that the actual date of the Neptunalia was July 23 Roman. Between this therefore and that of the Consualia August 21 Roman there was 29 days' interval.

Tertullian recognizes a stated sacrifice on the altar of Consus every year, on the Nones of July; one of the days of the Ludi Apollinares in his time. From the peculiarity of this date, (that of the disappearance of Romulus,) we may conjecture that it was probably in its origin connected with his memory. Exinde ludi Consualia dicti, qui initio Neptunum honorabant. dehinc Equiria Marti Romulus dixit: quamquam et Consualia Romulo defendunt, quod ea Conso dicaverit, Deo ut volunt consilii . . . . . et nunc ara Conso illi in Circo defossa est ad primas metas sub

2 Od. iii. 28. 1.
3 xviii. 595. 5.
4 Pliny, H. N. xviii. 35. p. 122.
5 Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 56.
6 Maffæan, Pincian, Allifan.

of the true Æra of the city, yet on the date of the Consualia in his own time; it turns out that he is wonderfully in accordance with the truth. On this principle however the days of the month in the calendar of Romulus must have been reckoned straight forward from the first to the eighteenth: and if so, no doubt, from the eighteenth also to the end.

SECTION IV.— *On the accounts of the Calendars of* Alba, Tusculum, Aricia, *and* Lavinium *respectively in the time of* Ovid *and in that of* Censorinus, *or of* Solinus.

On this question however of the constitution of the Nundinal calendar of antiquity in general, and of the distribution of its details in particular, it will probably be objected to our conclusions that according to some of the testimonies heretofore adduced the length, if not the number, of the months in that calendar must have been very arbitrary and very irregular. Plutarch, it will be remembered, distinctly observed, Ῥωμύλου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος ἀλόγως ἐχρῶντο τοῖς μησὶ καὶ ἀτάκτως, τοὺς μὲν οὐδ᾽ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν τοὺς δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τοὺς δὲ πλειόνων λογιζόμενοι· τῆς δὲ γινομένης ἀνωμαλίας περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἔννοιαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἓν φυλάττοντες μόνον ὅπως ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔσται[d]. And that Plutarch in all probability had met with some authority for so much of the preceding statement, (if no more,) as relates to the length of the months, seems only a necessary inference from the following testimony of Censorinus; in which just such an anomaly and just such an irregularity as that, to which he alludes, is distinctly asserted of three calendars of antiquity, which were once undoubtedly Nundinal; that of Alba, and that of Tusculum, and that of

terra, cum inscriptione hujusmodi, CONSUS CONSILIO MARS DUELLO LARES COMITIO POTENTES. sacrificant apud eam Nonis Juliis sacerdotes publici, xii Kalendas Septembres flamen Quirinalis et Virgines[7]. Of the Ara Consi cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 24. Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 57: Consualia dicta a Conso, quod tum feriæ publicæ ei Déo, et in Circo ad aram ejus ab sacerdotibus fiunt ludi illi quibus Virgines Sabinæ raptæ. Cf. Asconius, in Act. ii. contra Verrem, p. 36 ad calcem.

[7] Opp. iv. 113, 114. De Spectaculis, 5: cf. 8, 9: Arnobius, iii. p. 113: Minucius Felix, xxv. 8.

[d] Numa, xviii.

Aricia. Apud Albanos Martius est sex et triginta (dierum), Maius viginti et duum, Sextilis duodeviginti, September sedecim. Tusculanorum Quintilis dies habet triginta sex; October triginta duos: idem October apud Aricinos triginta novem.[e]. The calendar of Lavinium too was once no doubt Nundinal; yet Solinus asserts[f] that the civil year of Lavinium consisted of 13 months and 374 days.

These statements therefore and the matter of fact in these particular instances, as it seems to be affirmed by them, appear to be directly at variance with our general conclusion that the number and length of the months in every Nundinal calendar of ancient Italy, down to the Nundinal correction of Romulus, followed one simple and uniform rule, such as we have explained; viz. that every such calendar had *ten* months only; that *all* these months but the last were of the *same* length; that all but the last were 32 days long; and that the last was 16 days long.

With regard to the number of months in every calendar of this kind, there is nothing even in the above statements, except the last relating to the calendar of Lavinium, which would militate against our conclusion that it was neither more nor less than ten. As to this particular statement, we hope to recur to it by-and-by; and then perhaps to see in what sense it is to be understood. To be a Nundinal calendar and to have ten months and only ten months are almost convertible propositions. Censorinus alludes to a particular class of calendars much older than the Julian correction, and still existing at the time of the Julian correction, under the name of *Decimestres*[g]; and though he does not call them Nundinal, and possibly might not himself know that they were or had been Nundinal, no one can doubt that these older calendars, characterized still by this peculiarity of having ten months only, either had once been Nundinal, or, as we should consider infinitely the more probable, were still Nundinal at the very time of the Julian correction.

Again, though months of an excessive, and months of a defective, standard in comparison of the proper Nundinal standard appear in the above list; one month of the legitimate length appears even there, October, a month of 32

[e] De Die Natali, xxii. [f] i. § 34. [g] De Die, xx.

days; and one more of the regular standard of the half month at least; September, a month of 16 days.

Again, the calendars specified by name, and exhibiting these anomalies in the lengths of the months, are only three; that of Alba, that of Tusculum, and that of Aricia. If these three calendars ever had an actual existence, it must have been as three individuals of the general or specific Type which we have called the Latin Type: nor is there any reason to believe that the Nundinal calendar of this third or Latin Type might not be still in use, in particular instances, as late as the time of the Julian correction itself. We have ourselves produced proof supra [h] of its actual existence among the Socii Nominis Latini as late as B. C. 194.

Now it is proper to be considered here, with reference to this particular Type and its use, that none was confined to a circulation so much in the immediate vicinity of Rome as that; none was so liable to be affected in the course of time by the ascendancy of the Roman calendar as that: none was so likely consequently to be absorbed and lost in the Roman at last. Is it credible that Aricia within 16 miles of Rome [i], Tusculum within 12 miles, Alba within 12 or at the utmost 16, and all so early reduced under the dominion of the Romans, and received into the body of Roman citizens, would still be retaining their old and their proper Nundinal calendar even in the time of Censorinus, 300 years later than the date of the Julian correction itself? And if this would exceed the bounds of credibility even of Aricia and Tusculum, both which might have and probably had an actual existence in his time, how much less credible would it be of Alba! which had absolutely ceased to exist in any form and under any name, nearly 1000 years before his time. Must we suppose that when he alludes to Alba in this instance he does not mean Alba Longa, the well known metropolis of Rome itself, the only city known in ancient Roman history by that name; but Alba in Æquis, a colony founded by the Romans U. C. 451 B. C. 303 [k]? We cannot suppose ourselves that he means any Alba but Alba Longa: and if so, to judge from

[h] Page 438.

[i] Supra, p. 185.

[k] Livy, x. 1. Cf. xxix. 15. Pliny, H. N. iii. 9. 603. indeed mentions Alba Longa as still existing on its ancient site. It was a village, which grew up out of the ruins of the ancient Alba.

his language in reference to its calendar, it might have been something as actual in his time as that of Tusculum or that of Aricia. Apud Albanos Martius *est* sex et triginta dierum: not Martius *erat*:—Tusculanorum Quintilis dies *habet* triginta sex: not *habebat*. But if it would be very questionable whether there was even a Tusculan Quintilis in his time any thing different from the Roman Julius; it must be still more so whether there was an Alban Martius differing from the Roman.

The truth appears to us to be that none of these calendars, as here referred to and here described by Censorinus, was an actual calendar of its kind; but merely an hypothetical or imaginary one, the supposed representative even then of a calendar which really existed some time or other: but on what principle and to what effect would be another question. It is very important that we should compare Censorinus' statements concerning them in his time with what Ovid also had said about them, 200 years and upwards before the time of Censorinus.

Quod si forte vacas, peregrinos inspice fastos:
Mensis in his etiam nomine Martis erit.
Tertius Albanis quintus fuit ille Faliscis
Sextus apud populos Hernica terra! tuos.
Inter Aricinos Albanaque tempora constant *
Factaque Telegoni mœnia celsa manu.
Quintum Laurentes bis quintum Æquicolus asper
A tribus hunc primum turba Curensis habet.
Et tibi cum proavis miles Peligne! Sabinis
Convenit: hic genti quartus uterque deus.
Romulus hos omnes ut vinceret ordine saltem
Sanguinis auctori tempora prima dedit[1].

* Constant. The printed text reads *constant:* but the sense requires *constat* in the meaning of *convenit* as in line 96. By the city of Telegonus, Tusculum is meant: see Dionysius Hal. iv. 45: Horace, Od. iii. 29. 7, 8: Epod. i. 1. 29, 30: and the Schol. in loc.: Propertius, ii. xxiii. 41: Silius Italicus, Punica, vii. 691 (cf. Cicero, De Legibus, ii. 2, 5: Plutarch, Cato Maj. 1: Cornelius Nepos, Cato, 1): xii. 535: Statius, Silvæ, i. iii. 83: Festus, xi. 218. 17 Mamiliorum. Plutarch, Parallela, xli. makes Telegonus the founder of Præneste; though that was more properly Cæculus: Cf. Virgil Æn. vii. 678 and Serv. in loc. Marcianus Capella, vi. 206 De Conditoribus Urbium, falls into the same mistake as Plutarch.

[1] Fasti, iii. 87.

Now, to judge from the letter of this representation, we should be bound to conclude that the calendar of Laurentum, the calendar of the Æquicoli, the calendar of Cures, and the calendar of the Peligni, each had still an actual existence in Ovid's time; and each was still more or less what it had always been: and for ought which is known to the contrary that conclusion might not be wrong. Why must we not therefore conclude on the very same principle, from the letter of the representation, that the calendar of Alba, the calendar of the Falisci, the calendar of the Hernici, the calendar of Aricia, and the calendar of Tusculum, were not in his time still in existence? He says of the same month of Martius that it *was* such and such a month in each of *these*; that it *is* such and such a month in each of *those*. Have we any right to assume that this distinction means nothing? And that it was not made on purpose? But if it was, then these three calendars, that of Alba, that of Aricia, and that of Tusculum, had ceased to exist in the time of Ovid; and therefore could not have been in existence in that of Censorinus.

If however they had no longer a real existence in Censorinus's time, it is not of much importance in what manner they might be said to have been digested. The details of such calendars could not be real any more than the calendars themselves. It is most probable, as we have already observed, that these calendars were purely hypothetical; constructed indeed on certain principles of their own, and adapted to certain suppositions concerning the nature and relations of the ancient Nundinal calendar: of which good use might possibly have been made in illustrating both, had they been more distinctly made known, or had the details of these calendars been given us throughout. Even as it is, something might be proposed in the way of conjecture, calculated to explain them; founded on the little which has been made known concerning them. But we do not consider it *operæ pretium* to go any further into this subject. It is sufficient to have satisfied ourselves that none of these calendars supplies any real ground of objection to those conclusions, concerning the true nature and constitution of the old and

genuine Nundinal calendar, to which we have been led by other and better considerations and testimonies of various kinds.

With regard to the calendar of Lavinium, Solinus indeed observes[m]: In Italia (annus) apud Lavinios tredecim (mensibus terminabatur): quorum annus trecentis septuaginta et quatuor diebus ferebatur: and this statement is repeated in substance by Augustin De Civitate[n]. But in each of these instances a year of this kind is spoken of as something which *was once* peculiar to and characteristic of Lavinium; not which was so still: and that distinction is something important.

It must be confessed that, if the calendar of Lavinium was ever of such a kind as is here represented, it could not have been a Nundinal calendar. It must be admitted too that as Solinus appears to have understood it, and as he has stated the case in reference to it, the ordinary length of the year of Lavinium would seem to have been *this*, of thirteen months, or 374 days. We would not undertake to say that even that was impossible; but we may safely venture to say it would be in the highest degree improbable. Such a civil year as that must have exceeded the mean or the actual Julian year by nine days in every common year, and eight days in every leap year; and if it was ever in actual use it would have exhibited the phenomenon of a regular advance on the Julian year of 35 days in every cycle of the leap year. Such a civil year as that could not have answered to the idea or the description of any form of the civil year, which was ever in use and any where, whether solar, or lunar, or sidereal. It would have been out of proportion to them all alike.

We suspect therefore that, if this statement of Solinus respecting the peculiar year of Lavinium admits of a rational and consistent explanation, it must be by supposing that he has confounded the ordinary length of its year with its length under certain circumstances; and he might fall into that mistake concerning it, if it had long ceased to have an actual existence in his time. It would be an extraordinary thing for any calendar, whether solar or lunar, to consist of 374

[m] i. § 34. [n] xv. 12. Cf. Censorinus, xx.

days annually; but it would be nothing extraordinary for a lunar calendar at stated times to contain that number of days: though not so every year.

The calendar of Numa or that of the Decemvirs, regarded whether as a solar or as a lunar calendar of its kind, was so purely artificial in its structure, and so clearly adapted to mere civil and positive or conventional purposes, that it might admit of being modified in various ways, and yet would attain to the same end, and answer the same purpose, and be entitled to the same name, whether lunar or solar or lunæsolar, as before. And there was one part of the technical details of this calendar in which there was obviously room for alteration, and perhaps for improvement; that is, in the rule and administration of its intercalary system, and in the number and lengths of its Merkedonii. In the last octennium of Numa's cycle of 24 years, according to his rule, it was necessary to change both the length of the intercalary month and the order of the intercalary years, with a view to eliminate 22 days in the last 8 years, which had crept in over and above what was required in the preceding 16.

Now it might have been possible to avoid the necessity of both these changes, without affecting the entire number of days contained in his period, 8766; by adopting an uniform system of intercalation all through the period: such that there should be 12 regular Merkedonii, each of them 19 days long, one every other year; and one supplementary Merkedonius of 18 days, which should come in in the last year of the cycle. On this principle, the details of the entire period would stand as follows.

355 days	×	24	=	8520 days
19 ..	×	12	=	228 ..
18 ..	×	1	=	18 ..

11 common years of 355 days 12 intercalary of 374 .. 1 intercalary year of 373 ..	}	8766 days

And on this principle too, the regular length of the intercalary year would be 374 days. These changes it is evident would be more directly applicable to the Decemviral form of

the cycle or period of Numa than to the original one: because the first year was intercalary in the former but not in the latter. For on this principle, the first year being intercalary, every other year would be so down to the 23rd of the period; and all these intercalary years would be of the same length: 374 days. The only anomaly would be that the 24th would be intercalary also, with a Merkedonius of 18 days; and would consist of 373 days, not of 374. It is not improbable that such a modification of the Decemviral correction at Rome might some time or other be made at Lavinium: and as the very first year of its proper cycle on this principle would be one of 374 days, and would consist of 13 months, it might give occasion to a mistatement like that of Solinus so long after, that the year of Lavinium once consisted of 13 months, and 374 days.

CHAPTER VII.

On the fifth Nundinal Type, the second Etrurian Type.

Equable Epoch Thoth 1 at midnight Æra Cyclica 3147.
Julian Epoch March 25 at midnight B. C. 860.

Nundinal Character the Feria Prima.
Hebdomadal Character the Feria Quarta.
Lunar Character the Luna 17ª.

SECTION I.—*On the evidence or proof of the existence of this Type.*

With respect to this fifth Type of the Nundinal correction in general; the actual existence of such a Type, the truth of the epoch which we have assigned it, and its proper characteristic denomination as a Type peculiar to the ancient Etruria, might be considered to have been sufficiently proved already by the connection which has been established between this older Etruscan Type and the Nundinal correction of

Romulus[o]. And forasmuch as we have now, by a totally different mode of proceeding and through the various links of an entirely different chain, traced it downwards to the very same point of time to which we before traced it upwards, each of these conclusions should be considered to confirm the other. The common point in which they meet should be considered truly the epoch and origination of a common Nundinal Type, the same in general as all the preceding; and just as necessary at this moment as any before it, to carry on the series of the same kind of Types older than itself, and to account for the rise of any other younger than itself. Yet much still requires to be said in explanation or in illustration even of this fifth Nundinal Type. It is something extraordinary at first sight that a *second* Type of the same kind of calendar should have taken its rise among the same people who had already adopted, and had long been using, a *first* one; and this phenomenon deserves to be explained if possible. It happens too, by a providential coincidence, that we are better supplied with the means *ab extra* of illustrating and verifying this Type, than any other which we have yet considered.

SECTION II.—*On the accounts which have been left of the ancient Etrurians.*

It is not easy, merely from the testimony of antiquity, to determine the question whether the ancient Etrurians are to be reckoned aboriginal inhabitants of Italy, or strangers and advenæ who came into that country from abroad. In our opinion the latter is the more probable supposition of the two. On the date of the rise of this nation in Italy and under that name indeed, our own subject, the history of the Nundinal calendar and of its various Types, must be allowed to have thrown some light. The second Nundinal Type was proper to the Sabines; and yet it appears to have been recognized even by the Etrurians, so late as the epoch of the fifth Nundinal correction, as their proper Type also. The decursus of the sæcular periods, peculiar to the Etrurians, was as distinctly referrible to this second Type in its consummation, as to the fifth in its commencement; and it is a

[o] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. i. sqq. Vol. i. 133.

truly significant circumstance that, according to the doctrine of the cycle of changes both physical and moral, (the successive termination of one state of things, and of one order of being, and the successive rise and introduction of another,) which accompanied this decursus, and assigned its mystical meaning and signification, when this fatal revolution of periods had at last come round again to the point from which it was virtually assumed to have set out, that is to the epoch of the second Nundinal Type, the same moment was destined to witness the extinction of the last survivor of the Etruscan name and race. *Finem fore nominis Etrusci;* yet only when the fatal decursus of periods had returned once more to the proper epoch of the Sabine Type. What can be inferred from such a doctrine, except that the Etrurians either were descended from the old Sabine stock, or dated their existence in Italy from the epoch of the Sabine Type? We do not however think it necessary, for our particular purpose, to enter at present into this question of the origin of the Etrurians at any length, nor with a view to any exact results. We shall confine ourselves to a general statement, and to an equally general consideration, of what the ancients have actually left on record concerning it.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus[p] the Greeks in general confounded the Tyrrheni with the Pelasgi: but in his opinion they were rather successors of the Pelasgi and settlers in the same part of Italy, which had been evacuated by them a little before or a little after the Trojan war[q]. He leans to the conclusion that they were of native extraction; and the same neither with the Pelasgi nor with the Lydians: differing from both in their language, and from the Lydians in their religion, their laws, and their rules and habits of life also[r].

Τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνοὺς οἱ μὲν αὐτόχθονας Ἰταλίας ἀποφαίνουσιν οἱ δὲ ἐπήλυδας. καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῖς ταύτην οἱ μὲν αὐθιγενὲς τὸ ἔθνος ποιοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἃ πρῶτοι τῶν τῇδε οἰκούντων κατεσκεύασαντο, τεθῆναι λέγουσι. τύρσεις γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς αἱ ἐντείχιοι καὶ στεγαναὶ οἰκήσεις ὀνομάζονται ὥσπερ παρ' Ἕλλησιν[s]— Οἱ δὲ μετανάστας μυθολογοῦντες αὐτοὺς εἶναι Τυρρηνὸν

p i. xx: xxiii: xxv: xxvi. q i. xxvi. r i. xxvii: xxviii: xxix: xxx.
s i. xxvi: cf. xxx.

ἀποφαίνουσιν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας γενόμενον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ θέσθαι τῷ ἔθνει τοὔνομα. τοῦτον δὲ Λυδὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος κ', τ. λ.[t]—Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενος ἑτέρους εἶναι πείθομαι τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τοὺς Πελασγούς. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἀποίκους οἶμαι γενέσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁμόγλωσσοί εἰσιν ... οὔτε ... θεοὺς Λυδοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν οὔτε νόμοις οὔτ' ἐπιτηδεύμασι κέχρηνται παραπλησίοις ... κινδυνεύουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀληθέσι μᾶλλον ἐοικότα λέγειν μηδαμόθεν ἀφιγμένον ἀλλ' ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀρχαῖόν τε πάνυ καὶ οὐδένι ἄλλῳ γένει οὔτε ὁμόγλωσσον οὔτε ὁμοδίαιτον εὑρίσκεται .... Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι ἄλλαις αὐτὸ προσαγορεύουσιν ὀνομασίαις. καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἐν ᾗ ποτε ᾤκησαν, Ἐτρουρίας προσαγορευομένης, Ἐτρούσκους καλοῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβάσματα λειτουργιῶν, διαφέροντας εἰς αὐτὴν ἑτέρων, νῦν μέντοι ἀσαφέστερον πρότερον δ' ἀκριβοῦντες τοὔνομα ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Θυοσκόους ἐκάλουν. αὐτοὶ μέντοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὸς Ῥασένα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τρόπον ὀνομάζουσιν[u].

Tusci a Tusco rege filio Herculis sunt dicti: vel a sacrificando studiose ex Græco Θυοσκόοι: velut Tusculum dictum quod aditum difficilem habet, id est δύσκολον[w]—

> Quæ manus interea Tuscis comitetur ab oris
> Æneam[x]:

Thusci a frequenti sacrificio sunt dicti, ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν. unde Thuscos populos bene dicimus; Thusciam vero non debemus dicere quia nequaquam in idoneis auctoribus legitur: sed aut Etruria dicenda est, ab Etrusco principe, aut Lydia a Lydo, aut Tyrrhenia ab ejus fratre, qui ut supra diximus (ad ii. 781) cum parte populi de Mæonia venit ad Italiam[y].

It seems then that after a time Tyrrhenia, Etruria, Tuscia for the country, Tyrrheni, Etrusci, Tusci or Thusci for the people of the country, inhabited by the ancient Etrurians, were understood to mean the same thing and might be used indifferently. The form too of the ancient Etrurian polity, which has been traditionally handed down, is that of a confederation or community of xii principal cities; and this number is well attested, though the names of the twelve have not been recorded, except in some instances[z].

[t] i. xxvii.
[u] i. xxx.
[w] Festus, xviii. 581. 1 Tusci.
[x] Æneid. x. 164.
[y] Servius, in loc.: cf. ad ii. 781: viii. 479.
[z] Cf. Appian, B.C. v. 49. Strabo, v. 2.

Each of these had its own head or chief called Lucumo; and one of these xii Lucumones themselves was at the head of the rest.

Sed tibi ego ingentes populos[a]—

Non sine caussa dixit, says Servius. nam Tuscia duodecim Lucumones habuit, id est reges, quibus unus præerat. The middle syllable in this term was short: and therefore it occurs in Propertius (who was himself a native of Umbria, on the borders of Etruria[b]) in the form of Lucmo:

Prima galeritus posuit prætoria Lucmo,
Magnaque pars Tatio rerum erat inter oves[c].

And the meaning of the term itself in the Etruscan language was king[d]. The Lucumones of the Etrurians are frequently mentioned by Livy; and the proper insignia of the kings at Rome were borrowed in the first instance from those of these kings of Etruria[e].

It seems to have been understood by the commentators on Virgil that this old and peculiar form of the constitution or commonwealth of the Etrurians was intended to be described in the following lines of his, relating to that of Mantua, his own birthplace.

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
Fatidicæ Mantûs et Tusci filius amnis,
Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi Mantua! nomen.
Mantua dives avis. sed non genus omnibus unum.
Gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,
Ipsa caput populis; Tusco de sanguine vires[f].

On which Servius: Quia Mantua tres habuit populi tribus quæ in quaternas curias dividebantur: et singulis singuli Lucumones imperabant quos in tota Tuscia duodecim fuisse manifestum est: ex quibus unus omnibus præerat. hi autem totius Tusciæ divisas habebant quasi præfecturas. sed omnium populorum principatum Mantua possidebat: unde est, Ipsa caput populis. ergo Virgilius miscet novam et veterem Etru-

[a] *Æneid*, viii. 475.
[b] Cf. i. xxii. xxi. iv. i. 63.
[c] iv. i. 29. cf. ii. 51.
[d] Servius, ad Æn. ii. 278: viii. 65.
[e] Livy, i. 8. Dionysius, iii. 61: 62: ii. 29. Diodorus, v. 40. Pliny, H. N. viii. 74. 555: ix. 63. Silius Italicus, viii. 482. Strabo, v. 2.
[f] *Æneid*, x. 198. Servius in loc. Alii a Tarchonte Tyrrheni fratre conditam dicunt (Mantuam): Mantuam autem ideo nominatam quod Etrusca lingua Mantum Ditem Patrem appellant: cui etiâm cum ceteris urbibus et hanc consecravit.

riam, ut utriusque principatum patriæ suæ adsignet: cum alioquin Mantua ad hæc auxilia pertinere non debeat; quod Æneas nulla a Transpadanis auxilia postulaverit, cum omnis exercitus adversum Mezentium uno loco consederit: et propterea putetur poëta in favorem patriæ suæ hoc locutus, ut de hac sola trans Padum pro Ænea adversum Mezentium auxilia faciat venisse, et quod nec populorum nomina nec Lucumonum retulerit. We may infer then from this passage that Mantua in its particular constitution, having three Gentes or Tribus, and twelve Populi or Clans, four belonging to each, and Twelve Lucumones, one at the head of each, (the chief of whom in this instance was the Lucumo of Mantua itself,) reflected that of Etruria in general[g].

Notwithstanding the scepticism of Dionysius with respect to the tradition which connected the ancient Etruria with the ancient Lydia; it is difficult not to believe that a Lydian colony did some time or other settle in Italy: a fact to which Roman testimony is unanimous; and which was confirmed by the local history of the principal cities in Etruria which traced up their foundation to these Lydians; and by local traditions of various kinds; and by the genealogies and family records of illustrious individuals in the latest times, which went back to them also.

> Haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
> Urbis Agyllinæ sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
> Gens bello præclara jugis insedit Etruscis[h]—

Lydi, a quorum rege Tyrrheni, mox a sacrifico ritu lingua Græcorum Tusci sunt cognominati[i]—

> Non quia Mæcenas Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
> Incoluit fines nemo generosior est te[k].

And though Dionysius insists on the silence of Xanthus, the Lydian historian[l], with respect to this colony; that is

[g] Cf. ad Æneid. x. 172. and Livy, v. xxxiii.

[h] Virgil, Æneid, viii. 478: cf. Servius, in loc. Agylla is mentioned by Dionysius, i. 20, as one of the settlements of the Pelasgi before it was occupied by the Tyrrhenians; from which time it took the name of Cære. Cf. iii. 58. Servius, ad Æn. vii. 652: viii. 597: x. 183. Strabo, v. 2. Pliny, H. N. iii. 8. 582.

[i] Pliny, H. N. iii. 8. 579. Cf. 6. 9. 17. 687: 19. 694: 20. 702: 711: 23. 722: 24. 726.

[k] Horace, Serm. i. vi. 1. Cf. Od. i. i. 1: iii. xxix. 1. Propertius, iii. vii. 1. Martial, xii. 4. Virgil, Æneid, i. 67: ii. 782: viii. 479: ix. 11. Diodorus, v. 40. Solinus, i. 8: ii. 6. 7. Appian, viii. 66. Justin, xx. i. 7. Steph. Byz. Τυρρηνία.

[l] i. 28.

more than counterbalanced by the express testimony to it of Herodotus[m]: as old an historian as Xanthus himself, and as good an authority even on a point of Lydian history as he*.

* The difficulties which begin to perplex the solution of any question of ancient history, as soon as it ceases to be argued simply as one of fact which must be decided by testimony, are strikingly exemplified in the case of the Etrurians, by the attempts which have been made in modern times to account for their origin and their early history independently of the testimony of antiquity. This testimony has always been express to the point; always to the same effect, and always consistent with itself and unanimous. No chronologer or historian (with one exception only which will be considered by and by) appears to have entertained any doubt about it. It was not more generally believed out of Italy, than in Italy itself, and on the spot. It is easy for modern criticism to find fault with this account of the ancients; and to object to some of its circumstances that they are improbable: but it is not easy for modern ingenuity itself to devise any other more probable or more consistent than this; and it is impossible even for modern research to substitute any other in its stead which shall rest on the same solid foundation of tradition, prescription, or testimony.

The phenomenon which has to be explained in this instance, on some rational grounds or other, is peculiar. It is not that of the sudden appearance of a race of autochthones or *terræ filii* (as the ancients might have termed them), which some time or other sprang up out of the ground within the precincts of the ancient Etruria, without laws, without order and government, without manners and civilisation; and afterwards became a nation. Nor yet is it that of the gradual formation of a numerous and flourishing people, within the same limits of the ancient Etruria, from an handful of settlers who some time or other found their way thither from abroad. This we say is not the phenomenon which has to be accounted for in the present instance; for it seems to be agreed that there was no *infancy* of the Etrurian nation properly so called, in Italy itself. It was as great, as flourishing, as powerful, almost from the moment when it first appeared in Italy, as ever after. Like the Minerva of fable, it started into life and being, in the full perfection of its nature. The phenomenon which has to be accounted for in this instance is that of the appearance in Italy, at the proper time, of a colony from abroad; sufficiently numerous to occupy and people one third of its extent at once, and to found twelve cities, at one and the same time, equals in size and strength and numbers, and each of them worthy to have been the metropolis of the whole community: the arrival of a nation in Italy from some quarter or other, far advanced in civilisation and refinement; accustomed to laws and order

[m] i. 94. Cf. Dionysius, i. 27. Tacitus, Ann. iv. 55. Strabo, v. 2. Timæus, apud Tertullianum, iv. 113. De Spectaculis, 5. Plutarch, Romulus, xxv. Quæstiones Romanæ, liii.

and government: a nation of soldiers as well as of citizens, inured to the use of arms and military discipline; a nation already in possession not only of the necessaries and conveniences but also of the elegancies and luxuries of life: inferior too to none of its contemporaries in the knowledge and science of the time; especially in mechanical skill and contrivance, and in mechanical powers and resources: a nation capable from the first both of devising and of executing for itself a variety of extraordinary works, requiring the highest degree of power and skill; the remains of which are still to be seen in the ancient Etruria, and notwithstanding their magnitude, and the scale on which they appear to have been planned and executed, in the opinion of competent judges are as old as the nation itself.

This is in reality the phenomenon which has to be accounted for, (the problem which has to be solved,) in the case of the ancient Etrurians. The tradition of antiquity is the only one which offers a satisfactory explanation of it. According to this, one half of a more ancient nation, the Mæones or Lydians of old, having been compelled by circumstances to abandon their own country in Asia Minor, migrated in a body to Italy; and in a body took possession of so much of that country as was afterwards known by the name of the ancient Etruria. We say that this tradition offers a satisfactory solution of the problem, and of the most remarkable circumstances connected with it; those at least which discriminate it most from every other of the same kind. There can be no doubt that half of the entire nation of the ancient Mæonians would be competent to people so much of Italy as was first occupied by the Etrurians; even though that should be estimated at a third of its whole extent. There can be no question too that the Mæonians of Asia Minor at the time of this migration must have been an highly refined and cultivated people; inferior to none of their neighbours or contemporaries in arts and science and military prowess. The Lydians are the first of the nations which make a figure in ancient history; and the Lydian empire, though probably confined within the limits of Asia Minor, was as old as the Assyrian and much older than the Babylonian. And though it was not so old as this migration to Italy, yet neither was it so much later, but that we might fairly contend that the nation, which so soon after became the mistress of Asia, must already have taken the lead of its contemporaries when it sent out this colony to Italy.

We take it for granted that our readers are familiar with the account of this emigration which is given by Herodotus[1]. We admit that there is no tradition nor testimony to the same effect, known of at present and older than this of Herodotus. We should be ready also to admit, were it necessary, that later testimony which deposes to the same effect may possibly be resolvable into this of Herodotus, as the first and oldest of all. But that ought to be no ground of discredit of the fact; for Herodotus' single testimony would be competent to establish it. If we go further than this, and proceed to examine and criticise the circumstances of his account; in

[1] i. 94.

the first place we ought to be prepared to find something extraordinary in them: for the migration of half an entire nation from their homes at once was not an ordinary event, nor likely to be the effect of ordinary causes. But whether they were to be pronounced improbable or not must depend upon other considerations; among which the chief should be the final end of the event itself—the effect which might be seen to have resulted from it—the purpose which it might possibly serve in the providential control and direction of human affairs. And it appears to us that this is exactly the light in which the migration in question from Asia to Italy ought to be regarded; viz. as a dispensation of Providence, preparatory in its order of time, and preliminary, to the ultimate rise and formation of the Roman empire, in the same country and in its proper order of time, also. For such is the connection between these two things, and such the subserviency of one to the other, or such the influence of one on the other, that we may safely venture to say if there had been no ancient Etruria in Italy there would have been no Romulus, no Rome; and if we are bound on every principle of right reason and sound philosophy, as well as of piety and religion, to believe that the rise and formation of the Roman character and Roman empire must have made part of the special and providential administration of things from the first, we are bound also to believe that the rise and formation of the Etrurian character and the Etrurian empire, before the Roman and preparatory to the Roman, made part of it also.

The unanimity of testimony and belief on this point, with one exception only, that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, has been already adverted to. No historian, no chronologer, no geographer, no poet, no general writer of antiquity to whom we could appeal at present, appears to have had any but one opinion on this subject. The Grecian authorities on this point, later than Herodotus, are open to the supposition of having possibly been influenced by the testimony of Herodotus; but it would be absurd to resolve the tradition and belief of the natives of Italy into the authority of Herodotus: as if they could have known nothing of their own origin, their own antiquity, and their own history, except from Herodotus. And yet there was no difference in that respect between the native historians of Italy, and the Greek; and in Italy itself the general tradition of the Asiatic or Lydian origin of the Etrurians was confirmed and substantiated, and constantly kept in people's memories, by various local recollections connected with particular cities and places on the spot[2]; and in the case of individuals by genealogies and family records; of which that of Mæcenas in the time of Augustus must be familiar to all our readers[3]. According to the Scholiast on Horace he derived his pedigree from Cæcina, one of the ancient kings of Etruria; and Silius Italicus traces his family ultimately to the royal stock of the ancient Mæonia or Lydia itself[4].

> Oppetis et Tyrio super inguina fixe verutro
> Mæcenas, cui Mæonia venerabile terra
> Et sceptris olim celebratum nomen Etruscis.

[2] See the testimonies, p. 563. [3] Supra, p. 563. [4] Punica, x. 39.

Now to this general belief of antiquity, both in and out of Italy, concerning the origin of the Etrurians, so attested and so substantiated, there is nothing to oppose but the single opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dionysius certainly dissented from the common opinion on this point which derived the Etrurians in Italy of his time and of former times from the ancient Lydians. What has he then to offer in its stead? or how does he attempt to account for their origin on any other principle? He has positively nothing to propose as a substitute for the common belief. He is obliged to rest in the conclusion that the Etrurians never came into Italy at all; that they had always existed there; that they were autochthones or indigenous: which if it means any thing must mean that, if they did not some time or other spring out of their own soil, they were as old as the country itself; in other words they were eternal. Now it is agreed upon all hands at present that the Etrurians did certainly some time or other come into Italy from abroad; though it may not be agreed upon all hands that they came from Lydia. That Dionysius then must have come to a wrong conclusion on this question at last no one would hesitate at present to say; and this is only one instance among many which might be mentioned of the absurdities into which even men of judgment and men of sense are liable to fall on questions of fact, as soon as they abandon the only safe and secure ground of history and testimony.

It is due however to Dionysius to acknowledge that he urges some reasons against the common account; which no doubt appeared to him sufficient to justify his dissent from it: and we are bound in justice to him to consider them. He objects to the common opinion which derived the Tyrrhenians or Etrurians of Italy of his time from the Lydians of Asia Minor of his own time too, first that the gods of the one were not the same with those of the other; that is their religion, the objects of the national worship, and the rites and ceremonies peculiar to them. With respect to the *fact* of this distinction we should be willing to take it for granted on the authority of Dionysius; and yet the objection founded upon it would be entitled to no weight nor consideration whatsoever. It was not known to Dionysius that every thing characteristic of the Lydians in this respect was later in its origin among them than the migration of their countrymen to Italy. But the truth is that the cosmogony, the mythology, the theology, the objects of the national worship, and the characteristic rites and ceremonies, among the Lydians were borrowed from the Phrygians; and among the Phrygians they first came into being along with the correction of the calendar by Midas B. C. 1301. The Lydians could not have corrected their calendar on the same principle, nor solemnized and commemorated it by the adoption of similar institutions, before B. C. 1181 at the earliest: and it might not be done *de facto* before B. C. 1061. But in any case the migration of their countrymen to Italy was older than B. C. 1181, though not so old as B. C. 1301. They carried with them no doubt the religion of the Mæonia or Lydia of their own time; but that was something very different from the religion of the Lydia of aftertimes.

He objects in like manner next that the manners and customs of the

Etrurians were different from those of the Lydians; and on this point it is to be wished that he had gone a little more into particulars, instead of being content to state the objection in a general and superficial manner. For it is really difficult to believe that the Tyrrhenians of Dionysius' time differed more in these respects from the Lydians of his time; than these Lydians themselves differed from their ancestors. The Asiatic origin and extraction of the Tyrrhenians or Etrurians of Italy has been inferred in modern times from nothing so confidently as from their habits and dispositions and modes of life; from their amusements, their music, their plays and spectacles, their luxuries, their pomp and splendour, their taste for the arts and refinements of life. The Lydians of former times appear to have been an high spirited, a gallant and martial people; and there is no reason to believe that the Tyrrhenians did not bring with them into Italy their full share of these common good qualities and characteristics of their nation; and did not long continue to retain and to display them there. In other respects the Tyrrhenian character seems to have run through much the same course of degeneracy and depravation in Italy, as the Lydian in Asia; only that Herodotus attributes the beginning of this change for the worse in the Lydians to the policy of the Persians[5], purposely adopted in order to enervate and emasculate the manly and independent spirit of the people; whereas in Italy it seems to have been the effect of circumstances, and of the loss of their former rank and position by the Etrurians under the dominion of the Romans. But whatsoever was the cause of the effect, the change in the national character of the Tyrrhenians in Dionysius' time was complete; and they could no longer be considered the same people. And yet the effect of this change, it might be supposed, could have been only to assimilate them still more closely to the degenerate Lydians of his time too. For, if testimony is to be believed[6], it is difficult to conceive in what respect the Tyrrhenians of his time could have differed from the most effeminate Asiatics of his time; or what nation, under the sun, could have carried the love of ease and pleasure, and sensual indulgence of every kind, further than they did.

Thirdly, Dionysius objects to the community of origin in this instance the difference of languages: that the language of the Tyrrhenians of Italy and the language of the Lydians of Asia were different. And here too we may very properly allow that the matter of fact was such as is thus asserted; though even that at present must be taken on credit: for though some little may perhaps be known even at present of the Tyrrhenian of Dionysius' time, nothing whatsoever is known of the Lydian. But admit the fact of this distinction as we may, that the language of the Tyrrhenians of Italy and the language of the Lydians of Asia in Dionysius' time were not the same, what would that prove of the language of either 1200 years and upwards before his time? Would the lapse of 1200 years produce no change in the character of a language? or what example could be alleged of a language which continued to be used, to be a spoken and living language, among the same people for 1200 years and more, and yet exhibited

[5] i. 155–157. [6] Diodorus, v. 40. Athenæus, iv. 38: xii. 14.

no marks of change? It is well known that nothing is so susceptible of change as language; nor so constantly liable to be affected by causes, which must produce a change in it, as language. In the course of these 1200 years between the migration of the Tyrrhenians to Italy and the time of Dionysius nothing could have continued stationary, neither in Asia Minor nor in Italy; much less language, the most sensitive to impressions *ab extra* of all things. It must have been absolutely precarious to assume that the Tyrrhenian or the Lydian of Dionysius' time was any criterion of the Tyrrhenian or the Lydian of the time of the migration. But if so, the difference actually existing between them in his time could be no proof of any original difference. The agreement of the languages indeed in Dionysius' time, notwithstanding the many causes of change to which they had been exposed meanwhile, would have been a strong and decisive argument of their identity from the first: but even their disagreement at last, as the effect of so many concurrent causes and sources of discrepancy which must have operated in the intermediate time, would not prove that they might not have been once the same.

Lastly, to the authority of Herodotus on this question of Lydian antiquity he opposes that of Xanthus the Lydian historian; as if his testimony on this point was contradictory to that of Herodotus. *Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς, ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰ καί τις ἄλλος ἔμπειρος ὢν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτὴς ἂν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθεὶς, οὔτε Τυρρηνὸν ὠνόμακεν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς δυνάστην Λυδῶν, οὔτε ἀποικίαν Μηϊόνων εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατασχοῦσαν ἐπίσταται, Τυρρηνίας τε μνήμην ὡς Λυδῶν ἀποικήσεως ταπεινοτέρωι ἄλλων μεμνημένος οὐδεμίαν πεποίηται. Ἄτυος δὲ παῖδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρυβον, τούτους δὲ μερισαμένους τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἦρξαν ἐπ' ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε· Ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ δὲ Τορύβου Τόρυβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι συλῶσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς*[7]. It suited the purpose of Dionysius' argument in this instance to cry up the authority of Xanthus, especially on a point connected with the ancient history of his own country. But we may well question whether he was really a better authority than Herodotus, even on a point of Lydian antiquity; for, though they might be contemporaries for more or less of their lives, Herodotus was in strictness the older of the two[8]: and he had as good an opportunity of making inquiries into Lydian history in Lydia itself as Xanthus; and it is clear from his account of the migration[9] that he must have collected it on the spot, and must have given it as he had heard it from the Lydians themselves.

It is manifest however that to a certain extent there is no difference in this instance between Herodotus and Xanthus; and if there is ultimately a difference between them, which cannot otherwise be explained, we shall see reasons as we proceed for deferring to the authority of Herodotus, rather than to that of Xanthus. For i. Xanthus in this passage speaks of two

7 i. xxviii.

8 See our Dissertations on the Principles and Arrangements of an Harmony of the Gospels, ii. 105, 106. Diss. xvi.

9 i. 94.

sons of Atys, king of Lydia; one of which he calls Lydus, and the other Torybus. Herodotus[9] recognises Atys the king of Lydia too, and one son of his whom he calls Tyrsenus: and though he does not mention any other son of his in this account, called Lydus, yet if we refer to i. 7 and vii. 74 we shall see that he recognises Lydus also as the son of Atys. And this Lydus of Herodotus must be the same person as the Lydus of Xanthus; not only because his Lydus was the son of Atys as well as the Lydus of Xanthus, but because his Lydus gave name to the nation of the Lydians as the Lydus of Xanthus also did. It follows that both recognise an Atys, king of Lydia, who must have been the same in each; and both recognise two sons of this Atys, and both agree in the name of one of them, Lydus, and both in the fact that this Lydus gave his name to the nation of the Lydians ever after him. And though they do not agree in the name of the other son, they do agree that this son also gave his own name to another half or division of the Lydians; and they both agree that he too was the son of Atys and the brother of Lydus: and therefore they must mean the same person, though one calls him Τυρσηνὸς and the other calls him Τόρυβος; and they must mean the same half or division of the subjects of Atys, which each of them says received a new name from this other son of his, though one of them calls that name ever after Τυρσηνοὶ, and the other Τόρυβοι. And this being the case, the question of the difference between Herodotus and Xanthus would seem to be reducible to this issue; whether this other son of Atys was really called Τυρσηνὸς or Τόρυβος, and whether his subjects were really called Τυρσηνοὶ or Τόρυβοι. And that question it might be supposed would be soon answered, and in favour of Herodotus; because such a nation and such a name as that of the Τυρσηνοὶ or Τυρρηνοὶ is known both to history and to geography: but such a name and such a nation as the Τόρυβοι is absolutely unknown to each.

It is evident then that, if there was any real difference between the account of Herodotus and that of Xanthus, the former ought to be considered the more credible of the two. It is difficult however to believe that they could agree in so many circumstantial particulars down to this point, and yet begin to differ in reality at this point. It would be much more reasonable *a priori* to conjecture that the difference between them might after all be only apparent and accidental; and might admit of some explanation. But here again it will no doubt be objected that, according to Herodotus, the Tyrseni under Tyrsenus quitted Asia and settled in Umbria; the Torybi, according to Xanthus, never left Asia. We acknowledge that such is the representation of the fact given by Dionysius; and that he must probably have understood Xanthus to that effect. But if he has quoted from Xanthus in the preceding passage all that he actually said in reference to these Torybi, we can judge of its meaning for ourselves; and it must be clear from it that it does not warrant any such representation. On this one point in the history of these Torybi, whether they stayed at home or went abroad, it is neutral; it affirms nothing either one way

[9] Loc. cit.

or the other. All that it does say is That these Torybi were one half or division of a more ancient nation (by which he meant no doubt the Mæonians) which received that name when the other half received that of Lydians; That one of these divisions was as actual as the other; That the language of these Torybi differed but slightly from that of the Lydi: and he gives us to understand that these Torybi were still existing somewhere or other even in his time as much as the Lydi; otherwise he could not have said That they still continued to borrow words one from the other, or (as he himself expresses it) one language to *rob* the other: i. e. to enrich itself with fresh words at the expense of the other. But he does not say that these Torybi remained in Asia as well as the Lydi; and it would be a great objection to its being supposed that he could have said that of them, or even have intended to say it, that on that principle these Torybi should have had an home and a place in Asia ever after as much as the Lydi. They ought to have been found living in Asia ever after next to the Lydi. They ought to have been mixed up in history ever after with the Lydi. But so far is that from being the case that, except in this fragment of Xanthus, these Torybi were never known or heard of. The Mæonians older than the Lydi are known in history; the Lydi and the Tyrseni are both known in history. But these Torybi are absolutely unknown. We wonder that this very obvious difficulty did not occur to so sharpsighted a critic as Dionysius; and that it did not lead him to inquire what had become of these Torybi; or make him doubt whether he had rightly understood Xanthus' account of them.

Let us then proceed to examine a little more narrowly the meaning of these two terms Τυρσηνοὶ and Τόρυβοι respectively. It is a remarkable circumstance that though the Etrurians are never called by the Greeks by any name but that of Τυρσηνοὶ or Τυρρηνοὶ, nor by the Romans by any but that of Etrusci, Thusci, or Tusci; they do not appear to have called themselves by any of these names. Dionysius tells us[10] that the name by which they called themselves was Ρασένα; and that seems to be authenticated as a genuine Etruscan name by the analogous one of Πορσένα; which is undoubtedly Etruscan. And Dionysius is confirmed in this statement by their own monuments and inscriptions; on which, as we are informed[11], this name of Rasena as the name of the nation is often to be met with, though only in the form of R S N: i. e. of the consonants which enter into the word without any vowels.

Dionysius tells us also[10] that they gave themselves this name Ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου—Ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινός. Herodotus tells us[12] in like manner that the Τυρσηνοὶ who settled in Italy took their name from their leader also. The state of the case then is this. The Rasena of Dionysius were so called from their principal leader: the Tyrseni of Herodotus were so called from their leader too. From which we cannot but draw this inference; that, if the Rasena of Dionysius were the ancient Etrurians and the Tyrseni of Herodotus were the ancient Etrurians also, the name of Ra-

10 i. 30.

11 Mrs. Hamilton Gray's History of ancient Etruria, ch. i. p. 6.

12 i. 94.

sena must be the same at bottom as the name of Tyrseni: and *vice versa*, that of Tyrseni as that of Rasena. And it is manifest that if we could detach the first syllable from the name of Ra-sena, and the first syllable from that of Tyr-seni, all that remained of the one would be identical with all that remained of the other; for Sena or Σένα and Seni or Σηνὸς would be only accidentally different. The radical letters either in Σένα or Σηνὸς would be simply S N, and the same in each. The oriental languages are notoriously monosyllabic, especially the oldest of them; and, though their alphabets have signs or characters for the consonants, in many instances they have none for the vowels: and these are left to be supplied in the actual pronunciation. In the ancient Lydian for instance there can be little question that the proper and vernacular form of the name of Ανδὸς was Lud, or simply L D: out of which the Greeks made Ανδὸς, inserting the long *υ*, and adding the *ος*. In like manner the radical characters of another genuine and vernacular name in that language might be simply S and N or S N: out of which the Greeks would be at liberty in pronunciation to form either ΣΕΝ or ΣΗΝ, ΣΕΝΑ or ΣΗΝΟΣ. The name of Porsena, which as we have observed is undoubtedly a genuine Etruscan name, and of high antiquity, seems to have been properly written merely in the characters P R S N; and whether the long *e* or the short *e* was to be supplied between the two last consonants must have been a doubtful point, and so far optional. Virgil it is well known has Porsenna[13]; which shews that he considered the vowel to be short: and Silius Italicus has Porsĕna also twice[14]. Yet in Greek writers it occurs as Πορσήνας. And when Dionysius first mentions Lar Porsena in the course of his history it is as Βασιλεὺς Κλουσινῶν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ Λάρος ὄνομα Πορσῖνος ἐπίκλησιν[15]; from which we must infer that he also lengthened the second syllable, and considered that it was to be filled up by either the long ι or the long ε in Greek. It must therefore have been allowable to read two such characters in the Etruscan as those of S and N, either as ΣΕΝ or as ΣΗΝ in Greek, either as ΣΕΝΑ or as ΣΗΝΟΣ.

Now if the Etrurians, as Dionysius tells us, really called themselves Ῥασένα after one of their leaders, and this word Ῥασένα is really divisible into Ῥα and Σένα; what could Ῥα have denoted in such a compound but *people*, and what could Σένα have denoted but the *name* of the leader*? and what could both have denoted in conjunction but *the people of Sena?* It is clear then that on this principle we may set this part of the word altogether aside, as having nothing to do with the proper name of the leader; and may confine ourselves solely to that which appears to have really expressed his name, the Sena, the Σην or Σηνός.

13 Æn. viii. 646.

14 Punica, viii. 388 and 477. Pliny, H. N. ii. 54: xxxiv. 39. 331. reads the name Porsenna. xxxvi. 19. § 4. 686. in the description of his monument at Clusium after Varro has it Porsena.

15 v. 21. Plutarch, Poplicola, xvi. styles him Κλάρας Πορσήνας. Parallela, ii. viii: he calls him Πορσίνας.

* In the old Egyptian indeed Ara appears to have been the word for king: see our Fasti Catholici, iv. 315: 446: and that is confirmed by the word Pharaoh, which seems to have meant only The king, Phe-Ara. It is possible therefore that Ῥα might be the Lydian for king; and Ῥα-σένα might mean the King Sena or King of the Sena.

With regard to the name of Τυρσηνοὶ in Herodotus, if that too is a compound word, and one of its elements is Σηνοὶ, it is manifest that the proper name of the chief who gave his name to the Rasena of Dionysius must have entered into it; for between ΣΕΝΑ and ΣΗΝΟΙ there could have been no real difference. But with regard to the other element, which enters into it along with ΣΗΝΟΙ; we observe that, if the whole word had stood originally in the form of Τυρσο-σηνοὶ, it must infallibly in the course of time, and from the natural tendency of pronunciation in such cases, have come to be contracted into that of Τυρσηνοί. Now this name of Τυρσο-σηνοὶ, so expressed, would have explained itself. It never could have been understood to mean any thing but the *Tower-Seni*, the Seni who lived Ἐν τύρσοις.

Here then we are bound to take into consideration another statement of Dionysius' [16], to which sufficient attention has never been paid on this question, but which must now begin to appear to have a meaning, and to have been founded in the matter of fact; viz. that this name of Τυρσηνοὶ or Τυρρηνοὶ, the only name which was ever given to the Etrurians by the Greeks, and the only name by which, for a long time, they were ever known among the Greeks, was actually given them Διὰ τὰς ἐν τύρσεσιν οἰκήσεις: and that consequently, if it had any meaning and any significancy so applied from the first, it must have been that of the people who lived in Towers; and that, if these people were always the Sena of Dionysius, it could never *de facto* have denoted any thing more or less than Τυρσο-σηνοὶ, the Tower-Seni.

With regard then to this characteristic of the nation, which appeared to the Greeks so remarkable and yet so common among them, that they could find nothing more distinctive or more generally applicable to them, from which to derive their name itself; we extract the following passage from Mrs. Hamilton Gray's History of Etruria, which will throw some light upon it [17]: "Throughout Etruria Proper, there is one style for every great city; and indeed for every city, great or small, which was ever founded by Turchun or according to his laws.' They are all upon a height, all surrounded by walls, which are built of immense blocks of stone, cut in parallelograms, and laid together without cement. Sometimes in alternate courses; * * and sometimes with one course lengthways, and the next endways, all of prodigious thickness and strength; with square towers at certain distances, usually about fifty yards apart; with lofty gates, either arched or square, and with a citadel and a temple." And according to this lady also [18] this style and character of the architecture of such cities is not unfrequent in Asia Minor also; so that it might have been brought by the Rasena, or Tyrseni, into Italy even from their mother country.

Τύρσος, says Hesychius, τὸ ἐν ὕψει οἰκοδόμημα: from which it appears that the Greek language did not restrict the word τύρσος or τύρσις to the sense of the Latin *turris*, or the English *tower* or *turret*, which is only a

16 i. 30. 17 Chapter vi. vol. i. 132. 18 Ibid. 135, 136.

part of an elevated building, but extended it to every building in the complex, situated on an eminence; and one general and indiscriminate characteristic of the Etrurian settlements in Italy it seems was this, that they were all without exception constructed on rising ground; that is, they were τύρσοι, in the comprehensive sense above explained. Now Dionysius tells us that buildings of this description were called by the same name among the Tyrrhenians as among the Greeks: Τύρσεις γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς αἱ ἐντείχιοι καὶ στεγαναὶ οἰκήσεις ὀνομάζονται ὥσπερ παρὰ Ἕλλησιν [19]. It may very well be questioned however whether there could have been any such word and in any such sense among them as among the Greeks, in the form of Τύρσις or Τύρσος, Τύρρις or Τύρρος; and not rather simply in that of Tur or Tor. If there was such a word as Tur or Tor (TR) in the old Tyrrhenian or Etruscan, it must have been common to the ancient Mæonian or Lydian; and forasmuch as the Torybi or Τόρυβοι of Xanthus, if they ever had a real existence, must undoubtedly have been Mæonian in their origin, and undoubtedly the same with the Τυρσνοὶ, or Tyrsenians of Herodotus, we propose it as a conjecture, not destitute of antecedent probability, (and yet the only one which in our opinion is calculated to reconcile his testimony to that of Herodotus on a point concerning which it is almost incredible that there could ever have been any real difference between them,) that the name which he himself gave to his Τόρυβοι, and by which he intended to characterise and describe them most properly, was Τυρόβιοι, or Τυρρόβιοι: and that Τόρυβοι is an accidental corruption of this name; and not the original and authentic one which was given them by Xanthus himself. The meaning of this name Τυρόβιοι or Τυρρόβιοι, it is evident, would be substantially the same as that of Τυρσοσηνοί. Both would denote the people that lived in *Towers;* and both would be taken from the same external and sensible characteristic of their habits and mode of life. Xanthus was nearly 800 years younger than the migration. He must have heard of the Tyrrheni of Italy, who had been famous in history long before his time. He was probably aware of the meaning of their name; and we will take the liberty of supposing, notwithstanding the scepticism of Dionysius on that point, that he knew of their Lydian extraction too: and it might appear to him indifferent whether he should call them Τυρσηνοὶ or Τυρρόβιοι, since both names must have meant the same thing both in themselves and in their application; and yet he might prefer the latter, because it would seem to be the more intelligible of the two, and to express plainly and at once, to the apprehension of Greeks in particular, what could not have been collected from the other without further explanations *.

[19] i. 27.

* This explanation of the name in Xanthus is strikingly confirmed by the fact that Τόρρηβος occurs in Stephanus, as the name of a city of Lydia. Τόρρηβος πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Τορρήβου τοῦ Ἄτυος. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Τορρήβιοι, καὶ θηλυκὸν Τορρηβίς. This Lydian city of Τόρρηβος is just as unknown to history as the nation of the Τόρυβοι in Xanthus. It furnishes us however with another form of the traditionary name of these Τόρυβοι, viz. that of Τορρήβιοι: which comes still nearer to the form of Τυρόβιοι or Τυρρόβιοι. The authority to which Stephanus seems to have referred in this instance was that of Nicolaus of Damascus, ἐν τετάρτῳ.

Be this however as it may; it is from this old and original national characteristic of the Tyrseni or Tyrrheni, the site and appearance of the buildings in which they lived, that we must derive the Roman name of the country, Etruria, and the Roman name of the people of the country, Etrusci, Thusci, and Tusci; but never Etruri or Etrurii. Let us examine these names in detail, beginning with that of Thuscus or Tuscus. The derivation of this term from the Greek Θυοσκόος is so common in Roman writers of all kinds, that it might be supposed there could be no doubt concerning it; and it comes to us recommended by names of great authority. Yet we do not scruple to say that, in our opinion, it is purely imaginary; and founded at bottom on a mere verbal resemblance, an agreement of sound, and nothing more. It was easy to contract Θυοσκόος into Θυσκόος, and that into Thuscus and Tuscus. But we are persuaded that each of these names for one and the same people, and each of them familiarly given to them by the Romans, Etruscus, Thuscus, and Tuscus, are ultimately one and the same. Etruscus occurs in the form of Ethruscus also; and if these two had always been found in the form of Thruscus and Truscus, what difficulty would there have been in deriving Thuscus from the one and Tuscus from the other? or which of the learned would not always have been of opinion that Thuscus was only an accidental distinction from Thruscus, and Tuscus only accidentally different from Truscus? And though we are bound to admit that, so far as we know, neither Thruscus nor Truscus is actually to be found in use at present; yet the learned grammarian and etymologist Eustathius does seem to have met with Truscus some where or other: for in his scholia on Dionysius Periegetes[20],

Τυρρηνοὶ μὲν πρῶτ—

he explains it by Τροῦσκοι not Ἐτροῦσκοι: Τυρρηνοὶ οἱ καὶ Τροῦσκοι λεγόμενοι καὶ Τοῦσκοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

Now with respect to such a form of the word as Τροῦσκοι, and in particular as Θροῦσκοι, let us suppose the word Τύρσος in Greek to be combined with the word οἶκος in Greek, in order to characterize those who lived Ἐν τύρσοις. It becomes Τύρσοικοι; and as applied to the people who lived Ἐν τύρσοις it would be simply analogous to Μοσύνοικοι, applied to the people who lived Ἐν μοσύναις: an actual people of antiquity and actually called by that name, as every scholar is aware. The tendency of pronunciation, especially in the mouths of the common people, is to slur over, to blend together, to contract, every thing which in pronunciation admits of being slurred over or contracted. Τύρσοικοι then would be contracted into Τύρσκοι or Τῦρσκοι; and Τῦρσκοι, both for the sake of euphony, and by virtue of a simple metathesis of the letter ρ, (to which that letter in particular was peculiarly liable, and which has been exemplified in the case of that letter in a thousand instances of the same thing,) would become Τρῦσκοι, or, more in accordance with the rule and analogy of Greek pronunciation where the letter T was followed by the letter P,

20 Vers. 347.

Θρῦσκοι: between which and Τροῦσκοι or Θροῦσκοι there would be only an accidental difference. In this manner the derivation of Θροῦσκος or Τροῦσκος in Greek at least, as the *nomen gentile* of the Etrurians, and from the same characteristic distinction at bottom, (that of their living in *towers,*) from which their name of Tyrseni or Tyrrheni also was derived, would easily be explained.

With respect to the Latin form of this name Etruscus; it is very observable that though Etruria is the only Latin name for the country which the Greeks called Tyrrhenia, and Etrusci is the only Latin name for the people of the country; yet the latter could not, according to any analogy, be derived from the former. Etruria as the name of the country could never have given birth to Etrusci as the *nomen gentile* of the people of the country. The *nomen gentile* of Iberia is Iberi, of Hispania is Hispani, of Gallia is Galli, and so forth; and on that principle the *nomen gentile* of Etruria should have been Etruri: yet no such nomen as that as far as we know occurs any where*. On the contrary, if Etrusci is a legitimate form of the *nomen gentile,* Etruscia should have been the analogous form of the name of the country; yet Etruscia too occurs nowhere. We must infer then from these distinctions that both Etruria and Etrusci passed to the Roman language from some other, most probably the Greek; and that they were entirely independent of each other; and that neither of them was derived from the other.

Now since Τύρρις is an actual form of Τύρσις in Greek, it is allowable to suppose such an adjective, derived from that substantive, as Τύρριος; and such an epithet, derived from that adjective, applied to the country of the Tyrrhenians, and intended to point out its most characteristic peculiarity, as Ἡ Τυρρία sc. γῆ, the *Land of Towers,* the *Tower Land.* And this, by the same natural and common transposition of the letter *r,* to which we have alluded, would become ἡ Τρυρία, or more agreeably to the Greek idiom of pronunciation in such cases, ἡ Θρυρία. And these terms written in Latin characters would be simply one Hetruria and the other Hethruria. Now it is very observable that Hetruria is of actual occurrence in Latin as well as Etruria; and Ethruria as well as Hetruria [21]. And though Etruria is the more common, and so far more classical, form of that word at present, yet Hetruria is an actual form of it also, and of good authority; and very probably the more ancient form of the two, and originally the more correct. It is observable that in Servius' Commentary on Virgil *Hetruria* occurs in his notes where *Etruria* is read at present in the text; as if Virgil's orthography of the word was Hetruria, not Etruria. And indeed Georgic. ii. 533 Sic fortis Hetruria crevit seems to be the genuine reading of that verse in particular, even at present; though in most editions it is Etruria. The name of the country then having in this manner come to be naturalised in Latin, and in the form of He-truria, or of E-truria, the *nomen gentile,* even if Trusci or Thrusci originally, yet from

* Except in Servius, ad Virgil. Æn. xi. 598 Etruscique duces: quidam sane *Etrurique* legunt ab *Etruria,* trans Tyberim enim *Etruriam* dicebant, homines *Etruros,* quos nunc *Etruscos.*

21 Vide Forcellini Lex.

analogy would assume the E, either with or without the rough breathing; and become both E-trusci, and E-thrusci, He-trusci and He-thrusci: as in fact it is seen to have become.

To conclude then with briefly considering the probable date of this migration of the Tyrrhenians to Italy.

i. The ancient name of Mæonia for the country and that of Mæon or Mæones for the people of the country occur repeatedly in the genuine remains of Homer; the name of Lydia or Lydi, of Tyrsenia or Tyrseni, occurs neither in the Iliad nor in the Odyssey. A later Greek historian like Herodotus, or geographer like Strabo, would not have hesitated to infer from this distinction that these latter names were either totally unknown as yet in the times of which Homer wrote, or were still so recent that they could not with propriety be recognized by him as well known names and distinctions. And that might well be the case, if the division of the Mæones in question into the Lydi and the Tyrseni was really not much more than one generation older than the war of Troy; the beginning of which according to Homer himself was twenty years earlier than the capture of Troy. The Tyrseni are recognized in the hymn to Dionysus[22], ascribed to Homer. But these hymns are many centuries younger than Homer. It is extremely probable that Homer had heard of the Umbrians of Italy, and knew *them* to be older than the war of Troy; as indeed they were by an hundred years or more: and that he meant these Umbrians of Italy by his Cimmerians. For Homer's Cimmerians must have been a people of Italy. He supposes Ulysses to be sent to them by Circe from her own abode, which was in Italy; and to come back to Circe from them again: and to be only one day in sailing to the country of the Cimmerii, and one day in returning from it. He had probably too heard of them as the Men of the Flood or of Rain; and possibly that might be the reason why he described them accordingly as Children of Mist and Vapours, Men of Rain too: living and dwelling in *clouds* and *rain*—

Ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι[23].

On the other hand the name of the Τυρσηνοὶ and as that of a people of Italy occurs in Hesiod. But Hesiod too was some centuries younger than Homer; and yet in Hesiod himself it occurs only as that of the subjects of Agrius and Latinus the sons of Ulysses and Circe—

Οἳ δή τοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων
πάσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον[24].

That is, Hesiod must have believed the Tyrseni of Italy to have been as old in that country as the return of Ulysses from Troy; but not, (that we know of,) earlier. He is the oldest of the Greeks in whose remains this name and in this sense at present occurs; and it would be superfluous to trace it through the poets or other writers later than him.

ii. The Greeks of later times had a tradition that the Argonauts under Jason fought with the Tyrseni by sea[25]; that is, the Tyrseni were as old

22 vi. 8. 23 Odyss. Λ. 25. 24 Theogonia, 1014, 1015. 25 Athenæus, vii. 47.

in Italy as the Argonautic expedition, a generation at least before the earliest date of the war of Troy: for the sons of the Argonauts fought at Troy. This incident is not in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius; yet according to him too[26] the Tyrseni were already in possession of Italy when the Argo sailed down the Po.

iii. According to some of the Greeks[27] Tyrrhenus the leader of this colony to Italy was the son of Hercules and Omphale, queen of Lydia; that is, it was not more than one generation later than the time of Hercules. If the Hercules of the Greeks was a real historical character, he could not have been much younger than Pelops; and the age of Pelops is critically determined by his institution of the Olympic games, and by his correction of the Primitive calendar which accompanied it, B. C. 1260 *. The best authenticated fact in the personal history of Hercules is *this*, that the Olympic games were celebrated under his auspices as the funeral solemnities in honour of Pelops: and these must have been the games of the fifth cycle B. C. 1244.

iv. Among the Romans Velleius Paterculus[28] dates this migration some time between the capture of Troy and the return of the Heraclidæ; that is B. C. 1181 and B. C. 1101. Eusebius in his Chron. Arm. Lat.[29] dates the empire of the Tyrrhenians by sea Ad Ann. Abrah. 847; 393 years before Ann. Abrah. 1240 his date of the first Olympiad, B. C. 776: consequently B. C. 1169. Both these dates are too late; though both may be very excusable. But, as every one is aware who has read the Æneid, the Tyrseni, Tyrrheni, or Etrurians, according to Virgil, were already settled in Italy, and were already formed into the same federal union there, by which they were ever afterwards distinguished, before the arrival of Æneas from Troy. We consider this account to represent the genuine Italian tradition on that point. No native Italian writer was better informed on these subjects than Virgil: none was less capable of falling into such an anachronism as that of making the Tyrrhenians older in Italy than the coming of Æneas, if they were really younger.

v. The dynasty of the Heraclidæ in Lydia, which preceded the dynasty of the Mermnadæ founded by Gyges, lasted, according to Herodotus[30], 505 years. He calls the first of this dynasty Agron; and makes him the fourth in descent from Hercules: which would suppose him 90 or 100 years younger than Hercules at least. Without calling in question this fact that Agron might actually be the fourth in descent from Hercules, the necessity of the case nevertheless seems to require that the 505 years assigned to this dynasty should be supposed to go back to the time of Lydus, the son of Atys, under whom Lydia first received that name. And the reign of Gyges being dated B. C. 716, 505 years back from that date bring us to B. C. 1221; which on this principle must have been either the begin-

26 iv. 596—666. 850. 856.

27 Dionysius Hal. i. 28.

* Cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 55. from which it appears that according to the tradition of the people of Sardis, that is of the Lydians themselves, the colony under Pelops to Greece, and that under Tyrrhenus to Italy, were synchronous. It is extremely probable that the former was occasioned by the same causes as the latter; but that it was also somewhat the earlier of the two.

28 i. 1.

29 Part ii. 137.

30 i. 7.

ning or the end of the reign of Lydus, who gave its name to Lydia. If so, the date of the Tyrrhenian migration to Italy was either B. C. 1221 also, or not much earlier.

It would thus appear that both tradition and testimony, both mythology, poetry, and history, concurred in assigning such a date to this event as must necessarily fix it to some time about the middle of the thirteenth century before the Christian æra: and there are yet many scattered notices and statements of antiquity, both Greek and Roman, which if collected and brought together would be seen to conspire to the same effect. Let us therefore, in the last place, and as a final and decisive confirmation of every other description of testimony to this point, and from every other quarter, appeal to that of the Etrurians themselves. The proper Etrurian testimony to their own origin and to their own antiquity in Italy is the decursus of their own sæcula. We have already pointed out the remarkable fact which holds good in this decursus; viz. that though the *numerical* succession of sæcula was attached to B. C. 860 the *fatal* succession was attached to B. C. 1220: the decursus which measured and limited the duration of the Nomen Etruscum in Italy was deduced from B. C. 1220. We can draw no inference from this fact but one; viz. that B. C. 1220, or some other year, very little earlier or very little later than B. C. 1220, was really the beginning of that name in Italy, and consequently was the date of the actual arrival of the colony from Asia in that country. It is clear at least that this must have been the belief of the first author of the doctrine of sæcula; and that first author was no less an authority than the Etruscan Tages. Tages could not have been ignorant of the beginning of his own people; and if *he* fixed it to B.C. 1220 we must conclude that such was its true date. But indeed, whosoever it was that personated Tages in this instance, and broached this doctrine in his name, there is no reason to suppose that he might not be well informed on this point. The distance of time between B. C. 1220 and B. C. 860 was only 360 years; and, if nothing else could have served to perpetuate the true date of the arrival of the Etrurians in Italy for that length of time, the Primitive calendar was competent to do so: as we shewed more at large before[31]. We may conclude then, with every presumption in favour of the truth of the conclusion which at this distance of time from the event could be expected, that the actual date of the migration was either this year B. C. 1220, or some other very little earlier.

We may venture perhaps, with the testimony of the event before our eyes, to say that Italy in the purpose and intention of Providence was always designed to be the cradle of the Roman people and of the Roman empire; and that it must have entered into the plan and œconomy of the course of things, with a view to such a final result as that, that no nation should be permitted to settle there which the event should not prove to have been instrumental to the formation of such a character, and of such a people, as that of the Romans. The Umbri, the Sabini, the Tyrrhenians, the Prisci Latini, the Arcadians under Evander, all exercised such an influ-

[31] Supra, 405 sqq.

ence, and contributed to such an effect. They were each in their proper order of time the founders of Rome and of the Roman people, almost as properly as the Trojans under Æneas; and besides these we read of none else in history who actually settled in Italy sufficiently early to have had any connection with the first beginning or the subsequent progress and development of the Roman empire. Italy was isolated by its geographical position from the rest of the world almost as completely as if it had been an island; for it was surrounded by the sea on every other side, and was accessible from the main land only in the direction of Gaul: and to prevent any approach from that quarter, before the proper time, nature had thrown across it the almost insuperable barrier of the Alps; which no human foot in all probability traversed, until the Gauls, not more than two or three centuries before the capture of the city, found their way over it. The first settlers in Italy therefore came by sea; at a time too when the recollection of the deluge, and of the escape of the human family in the ark, and of the double origin of the existing race of men, partly from the antediluvian and partly from the postdiluvian world, was still retained among mankind; for that as we observed elsewhere[32] is the best explanation of the oldest coins of Italy, and of their characteristic devices, a ship on one side, and an human figure with two faces on the other.

The scene of the wanderings of Ulysses described in the Odyssey of Homer, as every one knows, is chiefly the coast of Italy; and that of Sicily: and who can read that description and not come to the conclusion that at the time to which this story belongs Italy must have been a totally desert and uninhabited country, or might very excusably be supposed to have been so? What room could there have been for Homer's fictions on any other supposition? for his Circes, his Sirens, his Læstrygons, his Cyclopses, his Scylla and Charybdis? He had much too nice and intuitive a sense of propriety to imagine any thing of that kind which was not to be justified or excused by the actual state of the case at the time. It is clear that he considered the whole of this region and of this vicinity to be the proper locality in these times not of history but of fable; to be a fair and legitimate field for a poetic imagination, on which to disport itself at will, and to delineate any picture or invent any creation of its own without the least violation of decorum.

We conclude then that before the arrival of the Umbrians in Italy in all probability it was still desert and uninhabited, and had been so from the time of the deluge itself, and of the second beginning of things. The Aborigines of Latin tradition, and the Pelasgi of Greek, whether in Italy or any where else, in our opinion, represent no people that ever had an actual existence in the Postdiluvian world; and these are names which ought to be banished entirely from history at present. And Italy having lain so long in the condition which we are supposing, totally unoccupied, unreclaimed, and uncultivated; it is nothing incredible that, in the time of the first comers into it from abroad, it was full of swamps and marshes, and possibly in many parts actually under water; which would be one

[32] Vol. i. 348 note.

SECTION III.—*On the* Tages *of the Etrurian Mythology. Testimonies.*

At Nymphas tetigit nova res, et Amazone natus
Non aliter stupuit quam cum Tyrrhenus arator
Fatalem glebam mediis aspexit in arvis
Sponte sua primum nulloque agitante moveri,
Sumere mox hominis terræque amittere formam
Oraque venturis aperire recentia fatis.
Indigenæ dixere Tagen: qui primus Etruscam
Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros[p].

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ii. Sed quid plura? ortum videamus haruspicinæ: sic facillime quid habeat auctoritatis judicabimus. Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi cum terra araretur et sulcus altius esset impressus exstitisse repente, et eum affatus esse qui arabat. is autem Tages, ut in Libris est Etruscorum,

reason among others, (and probably the principal reason,) why the first cities built within it should have been founded on hills or rising grounds:

Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis.
Georgica, ii. 156.

It is very observable that, as Varro tells us[33], the Sabines in particular gave the name of Tebæ or Thebæ to all such eminences in their country; that is in reality, the name of *arks*[33]: for such in effect they would appear to be; the only places of security, and fit for habitation, where every thing else was more or less covered with water. It explains too the reason why those monuments of the labours of the earliest settlers in Italy, (such as the Etrurians in particular,) which astonish the antiquaries of Italy at this very time most by their magnitude, their solidity, their durability, are nevertheless chiefly of one kind; and such as the circumstances of the case would require, in order to render the land available for the support of the settlers in it. They appear to have been such as the formation of drains; the lowering of lakes; tunnellings under ground or through rocks; the enlargement of the beds of some rivers, the contraction of those of others: all indeed on a prodigious scale, and calculated to give us the highest idea of the mechanical power and skill and other resources of those who contrived and executed them; yet all directed to one object, that of subduing, reducing, controlling the element of water, and, instead of a plague, or an inconvenience, rendering it one of the most useful and serviceable in every possible way.

33 Cf. our Fasti Catholici, iv. 245.

p Ovid. Metam. xv. 552.

puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia. ejus adspectu cum obstupuisset bubulcus, clamoremque majorem cum admiratione edidisset; concursum esse factum, totamque brevi tempore in eum locum Etruriam convenisse: tum illum plura locutum multis audientibus, qui omnia ejus verba exceperint litterisque mandaverint. omnem autem orationem fuisse eam qua haruspicinæ disciplina contineretur. eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis. hæc accepimus ab ipsis: hæc scripta conservant: hunc fontem habent disciplinæ[q]— iii. Tages nomine Genii filius nepos Jovis puer dicitur disciplinam aruspicini dedisse duodecim populis Etruriæ[r]— iv. Necnon in agro Tarquiniensi puer dicitur divinitus exaratus nomine Tages, qui disciplinam cecinerit extispicii; quam Lucumones tum Etruriæ potentes exscripserunt[s]— v. Extis item pecudum attenti fatidicis in species converti suetis innumeras accidentia sciunt. cujus disciplinæ Tages nomine quidam monstrator est: ut fabulantur, in Etruriæ partibus emersisse subito visus e terra[t]—vi. Cum in Tyrrhenia quæ etiam Tuscia dicta est quidam arator justum opus indies redderet, presso vomere glebam opinione sua ponderosiorem excitavit. cujus dum miratione premeretur, animadvertit eam in figuram pueri esse transformatam qui Hetruscorum lingua Trages vocatus nomine futurorum scientiam invenit[u]— vii. Tages sulcis emicuit et ritum statim gentis superumque monstravit[w]— viii. Aruspicinam artem primus Etruscis tradidisse dicitur quidam Tages. hic ex (leg. sex) horis aruspicinam dictavit, et postea non apparuit. nam dicitur fabulose, arante quodam rustico, subito hunc ex glebis exsiluisse et aruspicinam dictasse qua die et mortuus est. quos libros Romani ex Etrusca lingua in propriam mutaverunt[x]—

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ix. Hoc est igniferi naturam fulminis ipsam
Perspicere et qua vi faciat rem quamque videre:

[q] Cicero, De Divinatione, ii. 22, 50: 23.
[r] Festus, xviii. 557. 10 Tages.
[s] Censorinus, De Die, iv. ad fin.
[t] Ammianus Marc. xxi. 1. p. 251.
[u] Lactantius, Schol. in Ovid. Metam. Supra. Arg. Fab. xlvii.
[w] Marcianus Capella, ii. 39: cf. vi. 204.
[x] Isidore, Origines, viii. 9. 68 C. De Magis.

Non Tyrrhena retro* volventem carmina frustra
Indicia obcultæ divom perquirere mentis[y].

Sed conditor artis
Finxerit ista Tages[z].

Hæc ne ruricolæ paterentur monstra, salutis
Ipsa novas artes varia experientia rerum
Et labor ostendit miseris, ususque magister.
Tradidit agricolis ventos sedare furentes
Et tempestatem Thuscis avertere sacris.
Hinc mala Robigo virides ne torreat herbas
Sanguine lactentis catuli placatur et extis.
Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli
Tyrrhenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris[a].
Utque Jovis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon
Sæpe suas sedes præcinxit vitibus albis[b].

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x. Quid est igitur quod observatum sit in fulgure? cœlum in xvi partes diviserunt Etrusci &c.[e] — Prodigia, portenta, ad Etruscos et haruspices, si senatus jusserit, deferunto: Etruriæque principes disciplinam docento. quibus divis creverint, procuranto: iidemque fulgura atque obstita pianto[d] — Antequam Tages Thuscus oras contingeret luminis quisquam hominum sciebat . . . an fulminum casibus aut extorum aliquid significaretur in venis[e]? — Est enim in libro qui inscribitur Terræ ruris (juris?) Etruriæ scriptum vocibus Tagæ, Eum qui genus a perjuris duceret fato extorrem et profugum esse debere[f] — Thusci autem a frequentia sacrificii dicti sunt, hoc est *ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν*. constat namque illic a Tage aruspicinam repertam[g]—Sed sciendum, secundum Aruspicinæ libros et Sacra Acherontia quæ Tages composuisse dicitur, fata decem annis quadam ratione differri[h].

* This implies that the books of Tages were written from right to left; so as to require to be read backwards.

[y] Lucretius, vi. 378–381.
[z] Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 636. Cf. ad i. 584: also Servius, ad Æn. ii. 781.
[a] Cf. Palladius, De Re Rustica, i. xxxv. 16.
[b] Columella, x. De Hortorum Cultu, 337.
[c] Cicero, De Divinatione, ii. 18, 42. Cf. i. 2, 3: 42, 93.
[d] Cicero, De Legibus, ii. 9, 21: cf. Diodorus Sic. v. 40.
[e] Arnobius, ii. 92.
[f] Servius, ad Æneid, i. 2.
[g] Ibid. ii. 781.
[h] Ibid. viii. 398. Cf. Arnobius, ii. 87: Fulgentius, Expos. Serm. Antiq. Præsegmina: Mythologicon, 182.

xi. Ἐπειδή τε ἡμῖν, τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας φημὶ, Τάγης ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ πράγματος γέγονεν, ἀκόλουθον τοῖς αὐτοῦ ῥήμασι χρήσασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῇ τούτων ἐννοίᾳ. τοῖς γὰρ ἀρχαιοτέροις ὀνόμασιν ἐκεῖνα συγκείμενα δυσπαρακολούθητά πώς ἐστι καὶ οὐ σφόδρα σαφῆ * * * λοιποῖς Τάρχοντί τε τῷ θυοσκόπῳ καὶ Ταρκύτῳ τῷ τελεστῇ καὶ Καπίτωνι ἱερεῖ, ὥστε ἐκ τῶν πᾶσι τούτοις εἰρημένων γλαφυράν τινα διαπλέξαι τοῦ πράγματος ἁρμονίαν. δεῖ τοίνυν ἀφηγήσασθαι πρῶτον τίς τε οὗτος ὁ Τάγης καὶ τίνες οἱ λοιποὶ, καὶ ὅπως γράμμασιν ἐνεπιστεύθη, παρὰ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τὰ τοιαῦτα[k].

Τάρχων ταύτην ἔχων τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀνὴρ γέγονε μὲν θυοσκόπος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσενήνεκται εἷς τῶν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Λυδοῦ διδαχθέντων. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Θούσκων γράμμασι ταῦτα δηλοῦται, οὕπω τηνικαῦτα τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος ἐπιφανέντος. ἦν δὲ ἀλλοῖός τις ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τύπος καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως καθημαξευμένος ἡμῖν· ἦ γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀπορρήτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρων οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνον. φησὶ τοίνυν ὁ Τάρχων ἐπὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος, (ὅπερ εἶναί τινες Τάγητος ὑποπτεύουσιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖ κατά τινα διαλογικὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐρωτᾷ μὲν δῆθεν ὁ Τάρχων ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης, ὡς προσκαρτερῶν ἑκάστοτε τοῖς ἱεροῖς,) ὡς τυχὸν συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ κατά τινα χρόνον ἀροτριῶντι θαυμάσιόν τι, οἷον οὐδὲ ἀκήκοέ τις ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ γενόμενον. ἀναδοθῆναι γὰρ τοῦ αὔλακος παιδίον ἄρτι μὲν τεχθῆναι δοκοῦν ὀδόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γνωρισμάτων ἀπροσδεές. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ παιδίον ὁ Τάγης, ὃν δὴ καὶ χθόνιον Ἑρμῆν εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔδοξεν, ὥσπερ καὶ Πρόκλος φησὶν ὁ διάδοχος . . . . Τάρχων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, (γέγονε γὰρ δὴ καὶ νεώτερος ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰνείου στρατευσάμενος χρόνων,) τὸ παιδίον, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐναποθέμενος τόποις, ἠξίου τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ αἰτουμένου τυχὼν βιβλίον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συνέγραψεν, ἐν ᾧ πυνθάνεται μὲν ὁ Τάρχων τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ταύτῃ τῇ συνήθει φωνῇ ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις τε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν γε ἐμμένων (lege ἐκ μόνων) τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. πλὴν ἄλλ' ὅσον μοι γέγονε δυνατὸν ἔκ τε τῶν πεύσεων ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι τούτους (ταύτας) ἡρμήνευσαν, Καπίτωνος τέ φημι καὶ Φωντηίου καὶ Ἀπουληίου Βικελλίου τε καὶ Λαβεῶνος καὶ Φιγούλου Πλινίου τε τοῦ φυσικοῦ*, πειράσομαι ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς διελθεῖν[l].

* Among these authors Labeo is mentioned by Fulgentius, Expositio

[k] Joannes Lydus, De Ostentis, cap. 2. 275. l. 1.

[l] Ibid. cap. 3.

SECTION IV.—*Observations on the preceding Testimonies.*

It appears from the preceding accounts that the whole of the Disciplina Etrusca, the doctrine contained in their books by whatsoever name they were called[m], professed to be a revelation of Tages'; i. e. to be founded on what had been delivered and taught in the first instance by him. It seems to be agreed too, according to these testimonies, that Tages appeared and taught his peculiar doctrines first in the neighbourhood of Tarquinii in Etruria; and that the birth-place of the Disciplina Etrusca, in this sense of the teaching of Tages, among the Twelve principal cities of Etruria must have been Tarquinii.

It appears too to have been agreed that Tages was seen first *in agro Tarquiniensi* in the form and likeness of a child; discovered by some one, as he was plowing and turning up the soil, under the ground. This circumstance of the fable was no doubt as significant as any; and its meaning will probably appear by and by. It was part of the fable relating to Tages, even as first conceived, that he should be represented as born of the ground, as *terræ filius*, as having no father or mother but the earth; and therefore as turned up in this manner, when the fatal moment of his birth was arrived, under the plough-share itself, in the shape of a new-born child: who nevertheless beneath the external form and appearance of a child should conceal the understanding and wisdom, and more than the understanding and wisdom, of a man.

Again, from the account which Isidore in particular appears to have met with of this discovery of Tages it must be

sermonum antiquorum p. 169 in *Manales Lapides:* Labeo qui disciplinas Etruscas Tagetis et Bacidis quindecim voluminibus explanavit ita scribit: *Fibræ jocinoris sandaracei coloris cum fuerint manales tunc verrere opus est petras:* hoc est quas antiqui solebant in modum cylindrorum per limites trahere pro pluviæ immutanda inopia. Cf. Festus, xi. 220. 4 Manalem lapidem.

[m] Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 35, 72. calls them Haruspicini, Fulgurales, Tonitruales. The Libri Rituales are quoted by Censorinus, De Die, xi. xvii: the Libri Fatales, xiv. The Libri De Fulguratura, by Servius, ad Æn. i. 42: the Libri Augurales, ad Æn. ix. 20: the Libri Augurum, ad Æn. iii. 537: iv. 45: viii. 95: the Libri Fatales, ii. 140.

supposed that, having delivered his revelations in the first instance, (the subject of which the same account restricts to the Res Aruspicina merely,) at the utmost in six hours only; he disappeared, and was afterwards nowhere seen. But in this representation Isidore is singular; and opposed to older and better authorities. According to Cicero the appearance of Tages was followed by a general resort of all the Etrurians to him, and by the delivery in public of his peculiar doctrines in the hearing of them all; and also by a formal commitment of his teaching to writing: which Censorinus says was done by command of the xii Lucumones. And for this account Cicero appeals to the books of the Etrurians themselves. Tages then must have continued among the Etrurians, or must have been represented to have done so, long after his first appearance.

The most authentic among the preceding accounts of this manifestation of Tages is probably that of Lydus; which professes to have been taken from the original account of the discovery of Tages by the discoverer himself. According to this too, Tages was found in the territory of Tarquinii; and the name of the person who found him was Tarcho of Tarquinii. Tarcho appears to have been an old and genuine Etrurian name. In the Æneid of Virgil the captain of the host of the Etrurians which joined Æneas against Turnus and Mezentius is called Tarcho also; and could Virgil have given him a more proper Etrurian name than that no doubt he would have done so. This Tarcho of Tarquinii too was a diviner or soothsayer (*θυοσκόπος*) himself; who professed to have been a disciple of Tyrrhenus the Lydian, before he became the disciple of Tages*. And it was apparently for this reason that Lydus supposed him an older person than his namesake, Tarcho, the contemporary of Æneas; whom he calls a younger Tarcho: and even that might have been the case, if

According to Strabo, v. 2. the founder of Tarquinii himself had the name of Tarko (*Τάρκων*) and was a contemporary of Tyrrhenus the Lydian. He mentions a traditionary circumstance of the personal history of this Tarcho, that he was born with a grey head, by way of token or presage of the wisdom and understanding which were to distinguish him from a child: *Διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων σύνεσιν πολιὸν γεγενῆσθαι* (lege *γεγεννῆσθαι*). This seems to have been borrowed from the fable of Tages.

the Lydian settlement in Italy was an earlier event than the capture of Troy and the coming of Æneas into Italy. Tages however, according to this account of his finder himself, did not disappear directly after he had first appeared; but was taken as soon as he was discovered, and deposited in one of the temples of Etruria. And this temple, or the rest of the temples of Etruria in common, was ever after his abode. Here he held his first colloquy with his discoverer; and here he delivered the first of his oracles and responses: and here, it is plainly implied, he must ever after have continued to be present, and to be accessible to all who wished to consult him.

The particular circumstance mentioned by Censorinus, which seems to have been derived from the same source as the account of Cicero also, (that is, from the books of the Etrurians themselves,) viz. that the oracles of Tages as first delivered were committed to writing at the time by direction of the twelve Lucumones, is a very important one. It is a necessary inference from it that the Etrurians had been already settled under their peculiar confederation of twelve cities and twelve Lucumones, before Tages was seen or heard of. It follows that he never could have been proposed or regarded among them as their Founder in any sense; nor as their Legislator properly so called: but only as their Teacher and Instructor in a particular branch of Theology; in a peculiar department of the intercourse between Gods and men; and on a particular kind of subjects, involving the knowledge of the will of the Gods or of the decrees of destiny: i. e. the doctrine or science for which the Etrurians were afterwards so famous among the ancients; the science of soothsaying and divination; the science of omens and prodigies; the meaning or interpretation of portenta, ostenta, monstra, auguria, exta, fulgura, tonitrua, fulmina, and the like; and their procuration also.

With respect then to the time of the appearance of Tages; if there is any thing in the preceding accounts which is calculated to throw light upon it, it is these two facts, to which we have just adverted: First, That the Etrurians had long been settled in Italy, and according to that form and kind of constitution or commonwealth which is said to have been

most proper to and most characteristic of them in Italy, before he appeared among them. Secondly, that according to the original account of his appearance itself, the Lydians under Tyrrhenus had been settled in Italy before he appeared. We are not bound to believe the statement of the author of this account of the finding of Tages in his own behalf, that he was really a contemporary or disciple or follower of Tyrrhenus the Lydian; no more than that he was actually the discoverer of Tages, and in the way in which he pretended to have found him. But we may fairly argue from his own account that even *he* did not consider the discovery of Tages to be so old an event as the settlement of the Etrurians in Italy; and that his Tages according even to his own representation was a younger person than Tyrrhenus the Lydian. It follows that the time of the first appearance of Tages must have been later than the date of the migration of the Lydians to Italy; that is, as we have already determined, later than the 12th or 13th century before the Vulgar Æra.

And to these two arguments of the time of the pretended discovery of Tages, according to the account of the finder himself, we may add another, taken from his own account also; viz. That every thing which passed between this Tarcho and Tages, subsequently to his discovery, passed in the form of a dialogue, in which questions were put by Tarcho and answers were returned by Tages: a dialogue however so far peculiar and different from every thing else of the same kind, that the questions were put in *one* language and the answers to them were returned in *another*. The questions of Tarcho, according to Lydus, were put in a language intelligible even to Lydus himself, which he calls the vulgar or common Italian of his time; the answers were returned in an unknown tongue, and had been committed to writing in an unknown character, which he had very great difficulty in making out, even with the help of the translations made by others, to which he refers. It is probable that by this unknown character and unknown language he means the old Etruscan; and that might very well appear unintelligible to Lydus, and to any other person of his time. It is very conceivable too that if Tages must speak at all, and speak oracularly and *ex cathedra*, in a pretended dialogue with an

Etruscan, he must speak in the old Etruscan language. But why must not Tarcho, who was an Etruscan himself, and as old as Tages, and the other party in this dialogue also, on the same principle speak in the old Etruscan too? What language could one of the common people of Etruria, like this Tarcho, be supposed to speak while Etruria had a language of its own, but the common language of Etruria? And what possible agreement could there be between the common language of Etruria in this Tarcho's time, and the common dialect of Italy, (which must have meant the vernacular Latin,) of John Lydus' time? or how could even the common Latin of Tarcho's time, (such Latin as we must suppose to have been spoken at that time at Alba Longa, and among the Prisci Latini,) have been as intelligible to Lydus as the common Latin of Italy in his own time? It must be admitted therefore that this circumstance, viz. that one of the parties in this dialogue, (the first which takes place after the appearance of Tages, and contains his first revelations,) talks in a language intelligible even to Lydus so long after the supposed time of the dialogue itself, the other in a language totally unknown to him, is a very suspicious circumstance. It is sufficient to discredit the truth of the character personated by Tarcho, as the contemporary of Tages; and therefore the truth of the time which he assigns to the appearance of Tages himself. And since even he did not venture to make Tages older than the Lydian migration to Italy; this may very well be supposed to imply that he knew him in reality to be much younger.

In the absence then of any clue to the age of Tages from positive and trustworthy testimony of a different kind, we must have recourse to such facts as have come to our knowledge, concerning the doctrine and system of which he was the reputed author; and concerning those parts of this system on which our own inquiries, and the conclusions to which they have led, have already cast so much light. Now these are the Etruscan Phœnix cycle and the Etruscan Sphere; and the Etruscan doctrine of Brontology. We have discovered that the true epoch of each of these things was B. C. 1434—1433; but that it was purposely set back to that point of time from some other of much later date; most

probably B. C. 794, or some time between B. C. 794 and B. C. 154. We have seen reason however to conclude that there were parts of the system peculiar to the Etruscans, which were borrowed from the Egyptians; and therefore must have been grafted upon the original doctrines of Tages, and consequently though part of the system also, and as much Tagetic as the rest from the time when they came to be incorporated with it, could not have been older than the time when they first passed to the Etruscans from the Egyptians. The Hebdomadal cycle under Planetary names was of that kind; and as that was not older even in Egypt than B. C. 798, it could not be so old in Etruria: yet there can be no question that after a time the Planetary names of the Hebdomadal feriæ were as much Tagetic, and as characteristic of the system attributed to Tages, even in Etruria, as any thing else.

The most remarkable case of this kind however is that of the Sphere; every thing peculiar to which and characteristic of the doctrine of the Etrurians, though professedly attributed to Tages, and a part of his system, was really derived either from the Egyptians or from the Chaldeans. We have alleged some striking proofs of that fact already. We may produce another in the Etrurian doctrine of the Dii Consentes and Complices; a doctrine as much Tagetic as any thing formally attributed to Tages and received among his disciples: and perhaps one of the most esoteric of the Tagetic doctrines themselves.

The best account of these Dii Consentes of the Etrurians has been given by Arnobius, after Varro; and it will be sufficient for our purpose to quote that: Varro qui sunt introrsus atque in intimis penetralibus cœli deos esse censet quos loquimur, (he was speaking previously of the Dii Penates, and of what was denoted by *them*,) nec eorum numerum nec nomina sciri. hos *Consentes* et *Complices*. Etrusci aiunt et nominant, quod una oriantur et occidant una, sex mares et totidem feminas, nominibus ignotis et miserationis parcissimæ. sed eos summi Jovis consiliarios, ac principes, existimari[n].

[n] iii. p. 123. Cf. Augustin, De Civitate, iv. 23. According to Varro, De Re Rustica, i. i. § 4, gilded images of these xii Dii Consentes, six as masculine, six as feminine, were set up in the Forum Romanum.

We cannot subscribe to the opinion of those learned men who explain this name of Consentes after the analogy of Præsens or Absens, in Latin, from Præsum or Absum; as if it were the participle of *consum*, and meant the same thing in Latin as συνόντες would do in Greek: but we entirely agree with those who derive it from the obsolete theme *conso*, in the sense of *to advise* or *to counsel*, *consilium dare;* the same verb to which we adverted before as the probable root of *Consus*, the name of the god so called by Romulus, and even of the well known Roman name of office, *consul*[o].

The characteristic distinction of these Dii Consentes and Complices then, according to Arnobius after Varro, was that they rose and they set together; and that six of them were masculine and six were feminine: and this is so clear a description of the signs of the ecliptic or signs of the sphere that it is surprising that learned men should not long since have divined from it that these gods themselves, so called and so distinguished, could have been neither more nor less than impersonations of the signs. The signs of the ecliptic or sphere do necessarily rise and set together; a given sign and its opposite one; a given degree of any one sign and the same degree of the opposite one. The signs of the ecliptic too or of the sphere in the astrological system of antiquity were distinguished into male and female. Six of them were masculine and six of them were feminine[p]. But the most remarkable coincidence is that the proper name of these signs of the ecliptic or sphere, personified and treated as divine, in the astrological system of antiquity also was that of Θεοὶ Βουλαῖοι[q]. And what were these Θεοὶ Βουλαῖοι but those Dii Consentes, or gods of counsel too? It is clear that this name of the Dii Consentes in the Etrurian sphere is the literal version of the Θεοὶ Βουλαῖοι of the astrological sphere; and therefore that it must have come to the Etrurians from the Chaldeans. In the astrological system too these Θεοὶ Βουλαῖοι, considered as the representatives of the twelve signs, would be regarded as supreme. Their power and jurisdiction

[o] Page 547: 550 note.

[p] See our Fasti Catholici, Diss. xv. ch. viii. sect. v. iii. 472: cf. Ibid. Diss. xiv. ch. iii. sect. ix. iii. 108. Ibid. vol. iv. 668. Appendix, ch. v.

[q] Fasti Catholici, Diss. xv. ch. viii. sect. iv. iii. 470.

must have been paramount to those of any other principle. Every thing else must have been supposed to give an account to these, and to be subordinate to these; but these to nothing but themselves[r]. And what would that too be but the Etruscan notion and description of these unseen and unknown but most powerful principles; *nominibus ignotis et miserationis parcissimæ,* which they associated with Jupiter himself, and made his counsellors, under this name of *Consentes et Complices?*

It is evident then, from this case of the sphere and from its characteristic peculiarities among them, that the Etrurians did not scruple to incorporate in the system of Tages and to attribute to Tages much which they really derived from other quarters, and which was really younger than Tages. Their doctrine of sæcula however appears to have been properly their own. We find nothing like it any where in the ancient world besides. And as there can be no question that this also was represented as something which had been first taught them by Tages, we are entirely of opinion that the most probable date of the first supposed appearance of Tages among them is that of the introduction of this doctrine; and consequently that of the fifth Nundinal Type, the second Type proper to the Etrurians. For this doctrine could not be older than the *actual* decursus of sæcula; and if *that* was attached to the epoch of this Type, March 25 B.C. 860, the doctrine which accompanied it must have taken its rise at the same time. And forasmuch as Tages, it is agreed, appeared first at Tarquinii in Etruria; it follows that this *second* Nundinal Type peculiar to the Etrurians which came into being along with him, and very probably under his auspices, and in his name, must be called the Tarquinian: just as the first of the same kind for a similar reason was to be called the Vulsinian.

With regard to the name of Tages, we have seen no attempt to explain it any where. We are strongly inclined to suspect that if it could be traced back to its origin it would be found to have come into Italy from the North of Europe. There is no reason why we should not suppose that the simple form of this name of Tages might have been *Tag;*

[r] Fasti Catholici, Diss. xv. ch. viii. sect. iii. iii. 467.

and *Tag* in the oldest languages of the North was the name for *Day*[s]. It is far from improbable in our opinion that the actual root of the Etruscan or Latin Tages was this word *Tag* for *Day*; and that Tages himself in the original Etruscan conception of his nature and person was the impersonation of *Day*. It is a very significant circumstance in that point of view that according to the fable itself he was discovered under ground, and in the shape of a new-born child; especially when we take along with it the universal tradition and belief that the first day was the offspring of night, that Night was older than Day, and that Day must some time or other have been born of Night. It is a curious coincidence too that if Tages was really discovered, and in the way which the fable supposed, the day of his birth March 25 B. C. 860 might be said to be the Natale Mundi; being the epoch of the sphere of Mazzaroth. It is another curious coincidence also that in the Hebdomadal cycle this day B. C. 860 was the Feria 4[a], and in the Planetary cycle was the day of Hermes; and Tages himself in this Etrurian representation of him appeared to the Greeks to be only the counterpart of their Hermes*.

* The derivation of the Latin Saturnus from the Sater or Seater of the North, which we proposed supra[l], and this of the Etruscan Tages from the Northern Tag the name for Day, upon etymological principles appear to be unexceptionable. The only difficulty connected with it in either instance, which is likely to occur to an unprejudiced mind, we apprehend to be that of assigning a probable and satisfactory explanation of the way in which names and ideas, like these, borrowed from the inmost recesses of the North of Europe, might yet have come to the knowledge of the ancient Etrurians, and at so remote a period in their history. This difficulty is removed, and the desired explanation is supplied, if we can establish the fact of a stated and regular intercourse, (and at a very early period too,) between the ancient Etrurians and the most northernly even of the inhabitants of the North of Europe themselves. And the fact of that intercourse is established by the fact of the trade in *amber*, (succinum in Latin and ἤλεκτρον in Greek,) which from a remote point of time must have been carried on between the Etrurians and these inhabitants of the North. Amber, Electrum or Succinum, it is well known, in the general belief and according to the common representation of the Greeks, who connected its first appearance in Italy with the fable of Phaëthon and the daughters of the Sun, was a production of Italy and of the banks of the

[s] Cf. our Fasti Catholici, Diss. vi. ch. ii. sect. v. and vii: i. 422. 437, 438. Ibid. Diss. iv. ch. ii. sect. viii. i. 198.

[l] Vol. i. 375.

SECTION V.—*On the Secular Period of* 110 *Equable years; and why it was substituted for that of* 120 *years.*

Whatsoever might be the actual length of the interval of time denoted by the *sæculum*, the proper sense of the word

Po, the Eridanus of the Greeks; that is of the country of the ancient Etrurians: and yet amber neither is at present nor ever was a natural production either of that part of Italy or of any other. How then shall we explain this common belief and tradition of the Greeks, except by the fact that, though amber was not the natural production of the country which bordered on the Po, yet the Etrurians who occupied that country were possessed of this natural substance? and not only had it themselves, but were able to supply it to others; and therefore must have carried on a stated and regular intercourse with those regions and nations in which and among which it was to be found.

Now it is agreed that amber, as a natural production, and as known to the ancients, was found only on the shore of the Sinus Codanus of antiquity, the modern Baltic sea[2]; and in those islands there, which from the name of the substance itself in their language the Greeks called the Electrides insulæ, the Romans, from the name of glass in the languages of the North and from the resemblance of amber to glass, called Glessariæ. Pliny's account of this natural substance, and where it was found, is as follows[3].

Certum est gigni in insulis septentrionalis oceani; et a Germanis appellari *Glessum;* itaque et a nostris unam insularum ob id Glessariam appellatam, Germanico Cæsare ibi classibus rem gerente, Austraviam a barbaris dictam*... famam rei fecere proximæ Pannoniæ, id accipientes circa mare Adriaticum...sexcentis fere m. pass. a Carnunto Pannoniæ abest litus id Germaniæ ex quo invehitur, percognitum nuper. vidit enim eques Romanus missus ad id comparandum a Juliano curante gladiatorium munus Neronis principis, qui hæc commercia et litora peragravit. Thus we see that, according to Pliny, the regular course of the trade in amber, between Italy and the quarter where it was produced, lay through Pannonia; and that the distance from Carnuntum in Pannonia to the Electrides insulæ themselves was not more than 600 Roman miles. And Pannonia was so contiguous to Rhætia, that if the Rhæti too, and the rest of the Gentes Alpinæ, according to Livy[4], were colonies of the Etrurians, we may easily believe that those who carried on this trade and through Pannonia were the Etrurians.

According to Tacitus, these amber islands belonged to the Æstyi; and

2 D'Anville, i. 273.

3 H. N. xxxvii. 11. 2. p. 33.

* Cf. iv. 27. 188: xxiii inde insulæ Romanorum armis cognitæ. earum nobilissimæ...item Glessaria a succino militiæ appellata, a barbaris Austrania, præterque Actania—iv. 30. 200: Et ab adverso (sc. Britanniæ) in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur.

4 v. 33.

itself in the Latin language appears to have been that of the utmost extent of human life. The longest possible term of that kind at a given time, did it only admit of being determined, was the *justa mensura* of the *sæculum*. It is manifest therefore that at different periods of human existence the measure of the *sæculum* so defined and so understood must have been different also. The *sæculum* of the antediluvian world could have fallen little short of a thousand years; that of the postdiluvian little short of five hundred years.

The standard of human life however, having been gradually lowered in the course of the interval between the deluge and the Exodus from Egypt, just about the time of the Exodus seems to have reached the term of 120 years; and to have long continued stationary at that point. It is capable of proof at least that, at and about the date of the Exodus, the measure of one generation in repeated instances must have been forty years; and the measure of human life in repeated instances must have been 120 years. Nor is there any thing improbable *a priori* in supposing that this might still be more or less the case at the date of the introduction of the first of the Nundinal corrections of ancient Italy, B. C. 1340; nor that the interval which is seen to have existed *de facto* between the first of these Types and the next to it, down even to the fifth, B. C. 860, (the interval assumed on the first principles of the correction itself, this particular period of 120 equable years,) might not have been derived ultimately from

it was by them that this precious substance was supplied to the merchant. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Æstyorum gentes alluuntur; quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior . . . . sed et mare scrutantur, et soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt[5]. In the opinion of D'Anville the country of the Æstyi made part of the modern Livonia; and their name is still retained in that of Estonia, a part of Livonia[6]. The Angli and Saxones of antiquity too were so near to these Æstyi and to this market of the trade in amber, that if the Etrurians knew any thing of the Æstyi they could not fail to have known something of the Angli and Saxones also. And thus it would be very possible to account for the introduction even of the most genuine Anglo-Saxon term itself into Italy through the Etrurians; and by means of this intercourse between Etruria and these quarters, produced by the trade in amber.

[5] Germania, 45. [6] i. 274.

the traditionary standard of human life, 120 equable years also: a standard which actually held good on a very general scale not long before the date of the first of those Types, and might still do so in particular instances.

Sæculum spatium annorum centum vocarunt: dictum a sene; quod longissimum spatium senescendorum hominum id putarunt[y]—Καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἑκατὸν ἔτη εἶναι τὸν τέλειον τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πλείστους ἢ ὀλίγῳ ἀποδέοντας ζῶντας ὁρῶμεν ἢ ὀλίγῳ ὑπεραίροντας[z]—Ἄνθρωπον ζήσαντα τέλειον βίον θέλοντες δηλῶσαι κορώνην ἀποθανοῦσαν ζωγραφοῦσιν. αὕτη γὰρ ζῇ ἑκατὸν ἔτη κατ' Αἰγυπτίους[a]—Sed mihi tarda gelu[b]: Notandum dicta sæcula etiam in uno homine secundum eos qui dicunt sæculum triginta annos habere: nam alii volunt centum et decem; alii mille annis putant sæculum contineri—Magnus ab integro[c]: Et sæculum quidam centum annorum definiunt: quidam centum decem: Horatius, (Carmen Sæculare, 21,)

Certus undenos decies per orbes—

Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi[d]: Tribus enim humana vita continetur. natura, cui ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est: fato, cui nonaginta anni hoc est tres Saturni cursus exitium creant, nisi forte aliarum stellarum benignitas etiam tertium ejus superet cursum: fortuna, id est casu, qui ad omnia pertinet quæ extrinsecus sunt; ut ad ruinam, incendia, naufragia, venena—Doctissimi mathematicorum centum et viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos judicant[e]—Epigenes in centum duodecim annis longissimam vitam constituit; Berosus autem in centum sedecim: alii ad centum viginti annos produci posse, quidam etiam ultra, crediderunt[f]—Epigenes cxii annos impleri negavit posse: Berosus excedi cxvii[g]—Vultis Faunus Latinus et Picus annis vixerint vicenis atque centenis? ultra enim negatur posse hominis vita produci[h]—Nunc vero qui ad centesimum (annum) perveniunt, quod fit sæpissime, mille certe ac ducentis mensibus vivunt. et auctores idonei tradunt ad cxx annos perveniri solere[i]—Præterea fieri potest

y Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 54.
z Artemidorus, Oneirocritica, ii. 75.
a Horapollo, ii. 89.
b Æneid, viii. 508. and Servius in loc.
c Eclog. iv. 5.
d Æneid, iv. 653.
e Historiæ, Aug. SS. Claudius, 2.
f Censorinus, De Die Natali, xvii.
g Pliny, H. N. vii. 50. 128.
h Arnobius, Adv. Gentes, ii. 94.
i Lactantius, ii. 12.

quod refert Varro, quodque Dioscorides astrologus scripsit, Alexandrjæ inter eos qui mortuos solent conservare constare hominem plus centum annis vivere non posse. id cor humanum declarare eorum qui integri perierunt sine corporis tabe: eo quod id multis annis pendendo omnis ætatis incrementa et deminutiones observent. et anniculi (cor) pendere duas drachmas, bimi quatuor; et sic in annos singulos usque ad quinquaginta accedere binas: ab iis centum drachmis ab anno quinquagesimo item decedere in unoquoque binas: ex quo perspicuum fit centesimo anno redire ad anni primi pondus, nec longius vitam posse produci[k].

Now between these two extreme limits of the utmost length of human existence, 120 years and 100 years, the period of 110 years is exactly a mean; as much less than the one as greater than the other. And that, whensoever this period was assumed, it was so in this capacity as the proper measure of human life in the abstract, may be inferred from the fact that this was the period prescribed by the Sibylline books as the proper period of the Ludi Sæculares; but for *this* reason, that it was also the proper measure of the utmost extent of human existence. We learn that fact from Zosimus[l]; who recognizes it in this capacity: we learn it from Phlegon De Longævis also; who has quoted the original oracle of the Sibyll in reference to this point[m].

Τὴν δὲ γενεὰν Σίβυλλα ἱστορεῖ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, περὶ τῶν αἰωνίων θεῶν ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι Σεκουλάρια καλοῦσι. τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων αὐτῶν καὶ κοινωνῶν μὴ ἐμμενόντων ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀλλὰ πυκνὰ μεταβαλλομένων κ', τ. λ. ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐχρησμῴδησεν ἐπιτελεσθεισῶν τῶν θεωριῶν τούτων ὑποταγήσεσθαι τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας Λατίνους. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ χρησμοὶ οἵδε·

> Ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἂν μήκιστος ἵκῃ χρόνος ἀνθρώποισι
> Ζωῆς, εἰς ἐτέων ἑκατὸν δέκα κύκλον ὁδεύσας,
> Μεμνῆσθαι Ῥωμαῖε κ', τ. λ.

It is clear that 110 years are here supposed to be the longest possible measure of human life; and therefore to be the longest measure of the existence of one and the same gene-

[k] Censorinus, xvii.

[l] Lib. ii. 67 ad princip. Oxonii, 1679.

[m] iv. 125, 126 Meursii, 1620: cf. Zosimus, ii. 67: 75.

ration or race (γενεὰ) of men: and on both accounts to be the proper cycle or period of these particular games called secular. For these games were understood to be celebrated, at the proper time, in honour of the *Manes* of the dead; and of the sovereign of the nether world, by whatsoever name he was to be called, whether that of Pluto, as among the Greeks, or that of Dispater, as among the Romans: and every direction regarding the ritual and ceremony of these games was accommodated to that relation, and prescribed accordingly. The proper time for the secular celebration of these games in honour of the Manes, of the King of the Manes, of the *lower* world not of the *upper*, of the *dead* and not of the *living*, was supposed to be critically then come when the last survivor, the only remaining representative, of a preexisting race of men, like all before him, had gone down to this lower world; had ceased to be seen among the living and was himself now numbered among the dead. And it is clearly assumed in the preceding oracle that, though this consummation too might be delayed 110 years, it could not be so any longer. The last survivor of a preexisting race might possibly live 110 years; but even he could live no longer. This particular period therefore is recognized in the above directions as the proper cycle of the secular games, because it was the proper period, the *justa mensura*, of human existence also.

It is very observable that even in the preceding oracle the period in question is alluded to as something already known; already defined and prescribed in its proper capacity, and for its proper use and purpose. It is clear that the Sibyll was not defining and making known this period for the first time, as the proper measure of human life; but was recognizing and assuming it, as something already defined and laid down in that capacity. This period therefore, in that capacity and with that reference and in that relation, was older than this oracle of the Sibyll; and even than the Sibyll herself. The Sibyll herself derived it from something else; which we may very well presume was the decursus of Etruscan sæcula: particularly as even the earliest date assignable to the appearance of the Sibyll, as we hope to see by and by, is not earlier than the fourth secular period of the Etruscans. It

would be the heigth of absurdity under such circumstances to suppose that the Etruscans could have borrowed this period from the Sibyll, and not rather the Sibyll from the Etruscans.

We may argue then that, if the Sibyll proposed this period as the utmost measure of human life, and of the continued existence of any one and the same race of men, it must have been assumed and proposed in that capacity by the Etrurians also. And this fact being admitted, it seems to be only a just and reasonable inference from it that they must have fixed on this period itself as the proper measure of their *sæculum*, because their *sæculum* was this *justa mensura* of human existence too; or was intended to be so: and that they must have fixed upon this, in preference to the term of 120 years and in preference to that of 100 years, as an exact mean between the two; and therefore as equally opposed to a standard of excess like the former, and to a standard of defect like the latter.

SECTION VI.—*On the correction of the Lunar standard of the Nundinal Period of* 120 *years; and on the standard assumed in the Period of* 110 *years.*

It has been already shewn[n] that, according to the mean lunar standard of the Period of 43 824 days, 1484 mean lunations, perpetually, the lunar character of the first such Period would recur at the epoch of the fifth; i. e. if the lunar character of the first was the lunar 17th or Nundinal *πανσέληνον*, that of the fifth would be the same, the lunar 17th or Nundinal *πανσέληνον* also. It has been seen too from actual calculation[o] that this was the case at the epoch of the fifth Period of this kind, the fifth Nundinal Type; and that the first of Thoth, at that time, March 25 at midnight B. C. 860, was again the lunar 17th or Nundinal *πανσέληνον*, or might easily be supposed to have been so.

It may very well appear extraordinary that such should have been the case with so excessive a lunar standard as that of this Period, 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 38·167 sec.; and it must also be admitted that, though such was the case *de facto* at that particular point of time, it was nevertheless *per accidens*: and

[n] Page 351. [o] Diss. ii. ch. iii. sect. iv. Vol. i. p. 148.

that it could not have happened unless true lunar time in constant conjunction with equable, and at this period of the history of both, had been liable to a constant recession in terms of equable; in proportion to the length of the time for which both were supposed to have gone on together. It has been shewn in our former work[p] that a given lunar date in constant conjunction with a given equable one must follow the law of a given Julian one in comparison with a given equable one also; and that, if it continues the same with itself perpetually, it must fall back on the equable date of origination, in the contrary order of the proper equable notation, at the rate of one day for every one of our Julian or our Nabonassarian periods.

Let us therefore assume that mean lunar time of the standard of the Nundinal Period of 1484 lunations, 43 824 days, set out on the first of the equable Thoth at midnight B. C. 1340, and from the point of the mean full moon. The sum of mean time in 1484 mean lunar months of the standard of our own Fasti[q] is 43 823 d. 9 h. 19 m. 8·936 2 sec.: the sum contained in 120 equable years is 43 800 days. The defect of the latter on the former consequently is 23 d. 9 h. 19 m. 8·936 2 sec. every 120 years. The mean lunar time of the epoch, that of the first Period B. C. 1340, in the mean lunar standard of our Tables would be expressed by 44 d. 7 h. 6 m. 3·830 sec.[r] (one month and an half of our standard); and, if we may assume for the present that the mean lunar standard of the Nundinal Period itself from the first was the same with that of our Tables, the following scheme will shew in what manner equable solar time would recede in equable lunar time of this standard through successive Periods of 120 equable years, from B. C. 1340 to B. C. 860.

[p] Fasti Catholici, Diss. xiii. ch. iii. sect. vi. ii. 523.

[q] Supra, Page 343.

[r] Introduction to the Tables of the Fasti Catholici, Appendix, lxxvi. Table xxv.

Recession of Equable solar time on the Period of 1484 *mean lunar months of the standard of the Fasti Catholici, from* B. C. 1340 *to* B. C. 860.

			d.	h.	m.	s.	
Period i.	B. C. 1340		44	7	6	3·830	Thoth 1 at mid.
			−23	9	19	8·936	
.. ii.	..	1220	20	21	46	54·894	Epag. 5 ..
			+29	12	44	2·553	
			50	10	30	57·447	
			−23	9	19	8·936	
.. iii.	..	1100	27	1	11	48·511	Epag. 4 ..
			−23	9	19	8·936	
.. iv.	..	980	3	15	52	39·575	Epag. 3 ..
			+29	12	44	2·553	
			33	4	36	42·128	
			−23	9	19	8·936	
Period v.	B. C. 860		9	19	17	33·192	Epag. 2 ..

It would thus appear that B. C. 860 at the ingress of the fifth Period the Lunar character of the epoch would be 9 d. 19 h. 17 m. 33·192 sec. coinciding with Epagomenè 2 at midnight, Æra Cyclica 3146. But this evidently requires correction to accommodate it to the assumed standard of the Period; which as we have seen[s] contained 14 h. 40 m. 51·063 8 sec. or 52 851·063 8 sec. of mean time more than the same number of lunations of the mean standard of our Fasti. And this in four Periods in succession would make a difference of 211 404·255 2 sec. i.e. 2 d. 10 h. 43 m. 24·255 2 sec. by which the lunar character at the epoch of Period v, B. C. 860, would be actually greater or more advanced than the above scheme makes it appear to be. We have then,

	d.	h.	m.	s.	
Period v. B. C. 860	9	19	17	33·192	Epag. 2 at mid.
Correction	+ 2	10	43	24·255	
	12	6	0	57·447	Epag. 2 at mid.
Add	+4				+4
	16	6	1	2·447	Thoth 1 at mid.

The true lunar character therefore of Epagomenè 2 at midnight, on the principles of the Period, would be 12 d. 6 h.

[s] Supra, P. 343.

0 m. 57·447 sec.: and therefore that of Thoth 1, 16 d. 6 h. 0 m. 57·447 sec.: and though even this, as the calculation alluded to supra shews[t], would not be strictly correct, at that particular point of time it was nevertheless not much in error; and to the apprehension and judgment of the senses it might appear to be strictly correct. It was at least exactly in accordance with the principle of the lunar reckoning in this Nundinal period of 43 824 days, 1484 lunations, perpetually; which required at this moment the lunar character of the luna 17[a] reckoned from midnight: just as this correction shews it.

A change however being made at this time in the length of the Nundinal Period, from 120 equable years to 110, a corresponding change must be made in the number of integral mean lunations, supposed to enter it also. The number which entered the former being assumed to be 1484, that which must be supposed to enter the latter would be 124 less: that is, 1360. The mean standard of the period before in seconds=2 551 478·167 115·9: and this being multiplied by 1360 gives 3 470 010 307·277 624 sec. or 40 162 d. 3 h. 45 m. 7·277 624 sec. The number of days and nights in 110 equable years was 40 150 exactly. The difference between these two sums is 12 d. 3 h. 45 m. 7·277 624 sec.: and this is only 3 h. 45 m. 7·277 624 sec. more than 12 days exactly. It is manifest therefore that, if this difference could by any means be got rid of, the mean lunar time of this new period of 1360 lunations, and the mean solar time of the equable period of 110 years, might set out together, and proceed ever after in conjunction; but so that the latter would recede on the former just 12 days every period: that is, exactly at half the rate at which it had receded on the mean lunar Period of 1484 lunations, and in the equable Period of 120 years; which was 24 days exactly in every Period.

Now this difference would be got rid of by assuming a less standard of the mean lunation in this Period of 1360 lunar months than had been assumed in that of 1484. This latter was undoubtedly in excess; and it might well be known or suspected to be so, after the experience of 480 years. Now that standard had been obtained by dividing the complex of

[t] P. 599.

43 824 mean solar days and nights by 1484. Let us therefore in like manner divide the complex of 40 162 days and nights by 1360. The quotient is 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 28·235 294 sec. a much more correct standard of the mean lunation than the former of 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 38·167 115 9 sec.; and very little more in excess than the Calippic standard itself of 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 25·531 9 sec.

It is far from improbable therefore that this assumption of a new Nundinal Period, 110 years instead of 120, which now took place, was accompanied also by a correction of the mean lunar standard of the Period, determined in the manner which has thus been pointed out; and a correction which brought it so much nearer to the truth. It would follow that as the new lunar Period of 1360 mean lunar months contained 40 162 days and nights exactly, and the solar period of 110 equable years contained 40 150, and the nominal lunar Period of 132 Nundinal years contained 40 128 perpetually; the second would fall back on the first 12 days every Period, and the third would recede on the second 22 days every Period, and on the first 34, that is two days more than one Nundinal month. It follows that, if the Lunar character of Thoth 1 at the beginning of the first of these Periods was the lunar 17th at midnight; it would be the lunar 5th at midnight at the beginning of the second; and so on: and, if the Lunar character of the first day of the Nundinal year at the beginning of the first of its proper Periods too was the lunar 17th at midnight, at the beginning of the next it would be the lunar 15th at midnight; and so on: receding in every period on the principle of the Nundinal lunar reckoning two days complete perpetually.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the decursus of Etruscan Sæcula.

SECTION I.—*Foundation of Rome at the epoch of the second* Sæculum.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. Period ii. Cycle i. I.

Epoch, Mesore 14 Æra Cyclica 3256
February 4 B. C. 750

Sed licet veritas in obscuro lateat, tamen in unaquaque civitate quæ sint naturalia sæcula Rituales Etruscorum libri videntur docere; in quîs scriptum esse fertur initia sic poni sæculorum. quo die urbes atque civitates constituerentur de his qui eo die nati essent eum qui diutissime vixisset die mortis suæ primi sæculi modulum finire: eoque die qui essent reliqui in civitate de his rursum ejus mortem qui longissimam ætatem egisset finem esse sæculi secundi. sic deinceps tempus reliquorum terminari [u].

Censorinus is speaking here of the natural *sæculum* in contradistinction to the civil one. We learn from this testimony of his some important truths concerning the Etruscan doctrine on this point; which are either expressly stated in it or by necessary inference deducible from it. First that the proper duration of this natural sæculum was that of some γενεὰ, γένος, race and community of men. Secondly that the proper duration of this race or community in the complex was the life of the longest liver among those of whom it consisted. Thirdly that the proper epoch of this duration, the point from which it was properly to be reckoned, was that of the rise, the coming into existence, of the community itself; and consequently that of the foundation of some city, the citizens of which in common ever after composed this community. Fourthly that the actual measure of the first secular period

[u] Censorinus, De Die, xvii. p. 92.

in the existence of such a community was the actual term of the natural life of the longest liver among those of its members who should have been born on the day of the foundation in question; that is, strictly speaking at the very same time when the community itself first came into actual existence.

These various truths, such as we have thus stated them, may be said to be literally contained in this passage of Censorinus. In what follows, with regard to the measure of the second secular period in the continued existence of the same community which he is here tracing through successive periods of this kind; there is an omission, and a want of distinctness, in the text of Censorinus, which is perhaps to be explained by the fact that he did not take the preceding statement from the Ritual books of the Etrurians for himself, but from some other quarter where he had found it quoted, and possibly incorrectly quoted; at least not with sufficient circumstantiality. It must be evident however that, if the *first* secular period in the existence of a given community was determined by so peculiar a rule as that of the life of the longest liver among all those who were born on the day when it came into being, the day of the foundation of its proper city; then, from the analogy of such a rule in the first instance, and from the reason of the thing, the proper measure of the *second* secular period in the continued existence of this same community must be the life of the longest liver among those who should be born on the day of the death of the last survivor of the preceding sæculum: and so on in proportion perpetually; the beginning of one sæculum, as the proper natural period of one race or generation in the same complex of a given community of citizens, being thus determined by the end of another; and in every instance being measured itself by the natural term of the life of the longest liver among all who were thus born on the confines of two such periods: i. e. as one was just expiring and the next was just beginning; by whose birth at that moment the continuity of races or generations in the complex of the same community, even when the last of a preceding race was disappearing, was still kept up.

These inferences we say are all deducible from the pre-

ceding testimony of Censorinus, as either actually or virtually contained in it. It is clear that according to the Etrurian doctrine on this point the natural sæculum (the proper duration of human existence in the abstract) must have been dated from the first rise of some community; and that its proper measure must have been the natural life of the longest survivor among those who should have been born on the day of the foundation of its proper city. It is clear too that this proper measure of its first natural sæculum under such circumstances must also have been that of the proper existence of the first of its γένη or γενεαί. For what could this be so properly as the complex of those who were born on the day of the foundation; and consequently were strictly ὁμήλικες of the city itself? When therefore the last even of these had ceased to exist; then but not until then there was an end of the first of its γένη: and consequently of the first of its natural sæcula. On the same principle, none could so properly represent its second γένος or γενεὰ as the complex of those who should be born on the day when even the last of the preceding generation had ceased to exist; and nothing could so properly constitute the natural term of its second secular period as the life of the longest liver among these also. We have no doubt that this was in reality the Etruscan theory and the Etruscan doctrine on this point; and that this is what Censorinus intended to say, when he went on to explain the doctrine of the second sæculum analogously to that of the first, whether he has actually expressed himself accordingly or not. It requires only to be stated to command the assent of every unprejudiced reader by its own probability and its own consistency. We must suppose that, according to this theory and this doctrine, among the members even of the same community a fresh race came into existence with every sæculum; one critically at the end of another: and that this went on every where, and under all circumstances more or less alike, but not perpetually; only for a certain length of time, longer or shorter in particular instances, according to the different destinies of different communities: and in their own particular instance, that of the Etruscan community, limited to *ten* such γένη and to *ten* such secular periods, at the utmost.

We learn therefore from this doctrine, so explained by Censorinus, that the foundation of a city, the rise of the first of its proper γένη or γενεαὶ, the people or community most truly so called of such a city in the complex, and the beginning of a secular period, were indissolubly associated one with another. They must be synchronous and simultaneous; or rather they were one and the same thing under a different name, and in a different relation to any thing else. Let us then here take into account *three* facts; each of which has been ascertained and determined on grounds altogether independent of this testimony of Censorinus or of this doctrine of sæcula: i. That the proper epoch of the vth Nundinal Type was B. C. 860; ii. That the proper measure of the secular period of the Etruscans was 110 years; iii. That the epoch or date of the Foundation of Rome was B. C. 750: i. e. just one secular period of 110 years from the epoch of the fifth Nundinal correction. Was it accident therefore or design which produced this coincidence? And what but design could produce so remarkable a coincidence as *this*, that the Foundation of Rome, a city now coming into being for the first time, and the rise of its proper community, now coming into being along with it, should both have fallen out critically 110 years, *one secular period* of the Etruscans, after B. C. 860? What can be inferred from such a fact as that, except that B. C. 750 was *de facto* the epoch of a secular period of that kind also, whether the first of its kind or not; and that this time was purposely chosen for the Foundation of Rome, in order that Rome might come into existence just as one of those fatal periods, indissolubly associated with the coming into being and the continuance in being of *cities*, was in the act of ending, and another was in the act of beginning?

It may be objected indeed to this reasoning that the proper epoch of the second Etruscan secular period must have been that of the second Nundinal Period of 110 equable years, February 4 B. C. 750; but that the epoch of the foundation of Rome was April 24 B. C. 750. This is very true in itself; and yet it is no difficulty on the present question. The succession of periods proper to the Etruscans, and reckoned perpetually from *their* proper epoch of March 25 B. C. 860, and the succession of periods proper to the Romans,

which Romulus was proposing to bring into being, and was attaching to the date of the foundation of Rome, might be, or rather must be, very different things; because the Nomen Romanum and the Nomen Etruscum must be very different things also. The Nomen Romanum could bear date only from the foundation of Rome. It must come into existence along with its proper city. But even then it must be distinct from the Nomen Etruscum which had long been in existence. The second secular period of the Nomen Etruscum could bear date only from the epoch of its second Nundinal Period, Feb. 4 or Feb. 26 B. C. 750; but the first secular period of the Nomen Romanum must bear date only from the day of the foundation of Rome, whatsoever that might be. It is clear that Romulus was borrowing from the Etruscans nothing but the proper measure of the period, 110 years; nor recognizing even in this period, as so measured, any thing but its fatal connection with the destiny and the duration of cities. He was not free to adopt a different measure of the period; but he was free to reckon it from any epoch which he pleased, if it was only that of the foundation of Rome. He attached the epoch of his Nundinal calendar to that of the Etruscan of the time being, the proper epoch of Type v, at the beginning of its second period of 110 years; but he attached the date of the foundation to a day 79 days later. He must have had his reasons for doing so; and in all probability those reasons are best explained by the nature and character of the day itself. For that day was April 24; and April 24 was the traditionary date of the Natale Mundi itself. What day then could seem to be more fit for the foundation of Rome, and for the decursus of its proper sæcula, than *this* of the beginning of things and of the beginning of time itself? In our opinion, these two facts, each of them otherwise determined, that Rome was actually founded on April 24 B. C. 750, and just at the close of one secular period of 110 years, according to the Etruscans, and the beginning of another, ought by themselves to be considered decisive that a correct and authentic tradition of the Natale Mundi had been preserved in Italy down to the time of the foundation of Rome; and was both known to and believed by Romulus himself.

We shall materially strengthen this conclusion that Rome was purposely founded at the end of one of these secular periods of the Etruscans and the beginning of another, if we can shew that the entire order and ceremony of the foundation itself, as it appears to have been handed down traditionally, was borrowed from the Etruscan ritual. It will not be consistent nor credible that every other rule and direction of that ritual in such cases should have been scrupulously and punctually observed in this instance; and yet that the most important coincidence of all to their full force and effect, the beginning of a new secular period concurrently with them, should have been purposely overlooked. It could not have happened at every time that the foundation of Rome might have taken place critically between two such periods as these. It might be accident too humanly speaking, (though it is more truly and more becomingly to be called Providence,) which so ordered the course of previous events that this critical opportunity should be presenting itself in B. C. 750; and at this particular period in the lifetime of Romulus, when those things had just taken place which led in their consequences to the foundation of Rome. Such an opportunity was of all others that which under different circumstances must have been most to be desired. It was impossible that such an opportunity would be neglected, or rather would not be eagerly embraced, wheresoever this doctrine of sæcula, and of their fatal connection with cities and communities, (especially those which were just coming into being,) was implicitly received and universally believed.

Now that particular rules and directions were prescribed by the Etruscan ritual for the foundation of cities, and in the name of Tages too, we learn from the following testimonies. Rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri in quibus perscriptum est quo ritu condantur urbes; aræ ædes sacrentur; qua sanctitate muri; quo jure portæ; quomodo tribus curiæ centuriæ distribuantur, exercitus constituantur ordinentur, ceteraque ejusmodi ad bellum et pacem pertinentia[w]—Miratur portas[x]: Miratur non simpliciter dictum volunt: quoniam prudentes Etruscæ disciplinæ aiunt apud conditores

[w] Festus, xvi. 450. 19 Rituales. Cf. Vitruvius, De Architectura, i. 7.

[x] Æneid. i. 422.; and Servius, in loc.

Etruscarum urbium non putatas justas urbes fuisse in quibus non tres portæ essent, dedicatæ et votivæ: et tot templa, Jovis Junonis et Minervæ—Primigenius sulcus dicitur qui in nova urbe condenda tauro et vacca imprimitur, quod genus jumenti velut exercitum adhibebatur [y]—Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multa: id est juncteis bubus tauro et vacca interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum. hoc faciebant religionis caussa, die auspicato, ut fossa et muro essent (oppida sc.) munita [z]—Et quod urbs cum condita est tauro et vacca qui essent muri et portæ definitum [a] *—Sed Carminii curiosissimi et docti verba ponam, qui in libro de Italia secundo sic ait: Prius itaque et Tuscos æneo vomere uti cum conderentur urbes solitos in Tageticis eorum sacris invenio [b].

It is asserted by some of the ancients that Romulus and Remus, though born clandestinely and brought up secretly, received a liberal education, and were taught all the learning and the accomplishments of the time. Plerique tamen conscio et alimenta præbente Numitore nutritos aiunt, quod Ilia ex Marte se peperisse eos adseveraret; ac secreto litteris omni deniquë liberali disciplina Gabiis institutos atque excultos fuisse: atque ita in musicis primam pueritiam traduxisse, cum inter æquales omnes præstarent corporis proceritate et forma, nominatos alterum Romulum Remum alterum [c]. So also the Auctor De Origine urbis Romæ [d]: Cum vero pueri liberalis disciplinæ capaces facti essent; Gabiis Græcarum Latinarumque litterarum ediscendarum gratia commoratos, Numitore avo clam omnia subministrante. It is true that Gabii was a Latin city, (between Rome and Prænestе,) not an Etruscan one: but that would be no reason why Romulus might not have been brought up in the learning of the Etrurians even there. Livy observes of a much later period: Habeo auctores vulgo tum Romanos

* The Bull and the Cow, yoked together on such occasions as these, but on no other, were probably types of the marriage union, to which the increase of cities, whensoever founded, must be due.

y Festus, xlv 372. 10 Primigenius. Cf. Festus, xx. 596. 11 Urvat or Uruat.

z Varro, De Lingua Lat. iv. 40. Cf. Varro, De Ling. Lat. iv. 40.

a Ibid. De Re Rustica, ii. i. § 10. Cf. Columella, vi. Præfatio, § 7.

b Macrobius, Saturnalia, v. 19. 135.

c Festus, xvi. 456. 9 Romæ. Cf. Plutarch, Romulus, vi.

d P. 22. l. 12.

pueros sicut nunc Græcis ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos[e]: and that custom might be older than the Foundation, and one of the rules of life and of the domestic usages of the Prisci Latini themselves. The actions of Romulus are not those of an uneducated and an ignorant peasant; like the reputed son of Faustulus: much less of a barbarian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus discovered in his laws and institutions the pregnant seeds of the future greatness of Rome itself; and a wisdom and foresight equal to those of the most sagacious legislators among the Greeks. And yet he was only 19 years old at the foundation of Rome, and only 54 years old at his death *.

Τὴν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν, observes Dionysius[f], πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων Τυρρηνίδα πόλιν εἶναι ὑπέλαβον. Rome indeed was not an Etruscan colony; but the Etruscan ritual in the foundation of cities was scrupulously observed in the ceremonies of the foundation of Rome: and the first Roman

* It is a curious thing and singularly contrasted with the favourite line of argument of our modern historical sceptics, which represents the age of Romulus as the age of fable, (or what in its own cant language it terms *myth*,) not of true and authentic history, that Cicero, De Republica, ii. is found insisting on this very circumstance of the state of letters and science, and of the progress which both had made, in his time, as the principal reason why nothing howsoever incredible which had been handed down concerning him as matter of fact could really have been fabulous, or have gained any credit as fable in his time any more than in his own. Atque hoc eo magis est in Romulo admirandum, quod ceteri qui dii ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur minus eruditis hominum sæculis fuerunt; ut fingendi proclivis esset ratio, cum imperiti facile ad credendum impellerentur. Romuli autem ætatem minus his sexcentis annis jam inveteratis litteris atque doctrinis omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato fuisse cernimus. nam si, id quod Græcorum investigatur annalibus, Roma condita est secundo anno Olympiadis septimæ, in id sæculum Romuli cecidit ætas cum jam plena Græcia poetarum et musicorum esset, minorque fabulis nisi de veteribus rebus haberetur fides. He then goes on to prove from chronology that Lycurgus was 108 years older than the first Olympiad, and Homer 30 years at least older than Lycurgus: after which he observes, Ex quo intelligi potest permultis annis ante Homerum fuisse quam Romulum; ut jam doctis hominibus ac temporibus ipsis eruditis ad fingendum vix quisquam esset locus. antiquitas enim recepit fabulas, fictas etiam nonnunquam incondite; hæc ætas autem jam exculta, præsertim eludens omne quod fieri non potest, respuit.

[e] ix. 36. [f] i. 29.

constitution borrowed so many of its peculiarities from the Etruscans also that the first Romans might very well pass in the estimation of those who were aware of these facts for a colony of the Etrurians. To come however to the recorded accounts of the Foundation. i. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐμποδὼν ἦν τῷ κτίσματι προειπὼν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐν ᾗ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρεσάμενος ἔμελλε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἔργων ποιήσασθαι, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὅσα εἰς θυσίας καὶ ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ λεὼ χρησίμως ἕξειν ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἦκεν ὁ συγκείμενος χρόνος, αὐτός τε προθύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας κατὰ δύναμιν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶν, ὄρνιθας μὲν πρῶτον ἀετοὺς (αἰσίους?) λαμβάνει· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πυρκαϊὰς πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν γενέσθαι κελεύσας ἐξάγει τὸν λεὼν τὰς φλόγας ὑπερθρώσκοντα* τῆς ὁσιώσεως τῶν μιασμάτων ἕνεκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκ λογισμοῦ θεοῖς φίλον ᾤετο πεπράχθαι καλέσας ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον περιγράφει τετράγωνον σχῆμα† τῷ λόφῳ, βοὸς ἄρρενος ἅμα θηλείᾳ ζευχθέντος ὑπ' ἄροτρον ἑλκύσας αὔλακα διηνεκῆ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑποδέξεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος· ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο τῆς περιαρόσεως τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἰκισμοῖς πόλεων παραμένει. ἐργασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν βοῶν ἑκατέρους ἱερεύσας ἄλλων τε πολλῶν θυμάτων καταρξάμενος ἐφίστησι τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν λεώ§— ii. Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ῥεμονίᾳ θάψας τὸν Ῥῶμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερὴς, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος, ἐξ ἧς ἀφῖκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν ἔβαλλον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνεμίγνυον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον ὀνόματι Μοῦνδον. εἶτα ὥσπερ κύκλου κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρῳ χαλκῆν ὕννιν ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἄρρενα καὶ θηλείαν αὐτὸς μὲν· ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὔλακα βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέρμασι· τῶν δ' ἑπομένων ἔργον ἐστὶν ἃς ἀνίστησι βώλους τὸ ἄροτρον καταστρέφειν εἴσω, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔξω περιορᾷν ἐκτρεπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφορίζουσι, καὶ καλεῖ-

* If this circumstance was derived from tradition, it is a decisive argument of the day, the Palilia. Vol. i. 291.

† The Roma Quadrata: the original Roma: cf. Festus, xv. 404. 6 Quadrata. Solinus, Polyhistor, i. 17. Dionys. ii. 66.

§ Dionysius, i. 88.

ται κατὰ συγκοπὴν πωμήριον, οἷον ὄπισθεν τεῖχος ἢ μετὰ τεῖχος. ὅπου δὲ πύλην ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὕννιν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον ὑπερθέντες διάλειμμα ποιοῦσιν· ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι. τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱερὰς νομίζοντας οὐκ ἂν ἄνευ δεισιδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων καὶ τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν[h]—iii. Τῇ πρὸ δέκα μιᾶς καλανδῶν Μαΐων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὴν Ῥωμὴν ἐπόλισε, πάντας τοὺς πλησιοχώρους συγκαλεσάμενος ἐντειλάμενός τε αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας βῶλον ἐπικομίσασθαι, ταύτῃ πάσης χώρας δεσπόσαι τὴν Ῥώμην οἰωνισάμενος. αὐτός τε ἱερατικὴν σάλπιγγα ἀναλαβών, (λίτουον δ' αὐτὴν πατρίως Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος καλεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς λιτῆς[i],) ἐξεφώνησε τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα πάσης ἱερατικῆς τελετῆς ἡγησάμενος . . : μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγορεύσει τῆς πόλεως τελετὴν ζεύξας ταῦρον μετὰ δαμάλεως περιῆλθε τὸ τεῖχος, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πεδίου πλευρὰν ζεύξας τὴν δὲ θηλείαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέρος, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας τοῖς ἔξω γίνεσθαι φοβεροὺς τὰς δὲ θηλείας τοῖς ἔνδον γονίμους. καὶ λαβὼν βῶλον ἐκ τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως μερῶν σὺν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπικομιζομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠκόντιζε, ταύτῃ οἰωνισάμενος διὰ παντὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπαυξηθῆναι συνδόσεως[k].

Section II.—*On the date of the appearance of the Cumæan* Sibyll *in the reign of* Tarquinius Superbus.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. Period iv. Cycle i. 1.
Epoch, Paüni 30 Nab. 217. Oct. 29 B. C. 531.

i. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου βασιλείας πάνυ θαυμαστὸν εὐτύχημα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάρξαι πόλει . . . γυνή τις ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν τύραννον οὐκ ἐπιχωρία, βίβλους ἐννέα μεστὰς Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἀπεμπολῆσαι θέλουσα. οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τῆς αἰτηθείσης τιμῆς πρίασθαι τὰς βίβλους, ἀπελθοῦσα τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν κατέκαυσε· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὰς λοιπὰς ἐνέγκασα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπώλει τιμῆς. δόξασα δ' ἄφρων τις εἶναι καὶ γελασθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμὴν αἰτεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἣν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν πλειόνων ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν ἀπελθοῦσα πάλιν τὰς

[h] Plutarch, Romulus, xi. Cf. Quæst. Romanæ, xxvii.

[i] Cf. Valerius Max. i. viii. 11 De Miraculis. Dionysius, xiv. 5. A. Gellius, v. 8. Servius, ad Æneid. vii. 187. Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 17, 30. Kalendar. Prænest. ad x Kal. Apriles. Plutarch, Romulus, xxii: Camillus, xxxii. Livy, i. 18.

[k] Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 50. 85. 3.

ἡμσείας τῶν ἀπολειπομένων κατέκαυσε, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τρεῖς ἐνέγκασα τὸ ἴσον ἤτει χρυσίον. θαυμάσας δὲ τὸ βούλευμα τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Ταρκύνιος τοὺς οἰωνοσκόπους μετεπέμψατο, καὶ διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα τί χρὴ πράττειν ἤρετο. κἀκεῖνοι διὰ σημείων τινῶν μαθόντες ὅτι θεόπεμπτον ἀγαθὸν ἀπεστράφη, καὶ μεγάλην συμφορὰν ἀποφαίνοντες τὸ μὴ πάσας αὐτὸν τὰς βίβλους πρίασθαι, ἐκέλευσαν ἀπαριθμῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὅσον ἤτει, καὶ τοὺς περιόντας τῶν χρησμῶν λαβεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν γυνὴ τὰς βίβλους δοῦσα καὶ φράσασα τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη[l]— ii. Inter omnes vero convenit Sibyllam ad Tarquinium Superbum tres libros adtulisse, ex quibus igni duo cremati ab ipsa, tertius cum Capitolio Syllanis temporibus[m] — iii. In antiquis annalibus memoria super libris Sibyllinis hæc prodita est. anus hospita atque incognita ad Tarquinium Superbum regem adiit, novem libros ferens, quos esse dicebat divina oracula: eos velle venundare. Tarquinius pretium percunctatus est: mulier nimium immensum poposcit: rex quasi anus ætate desiperet derisit. tum illa foculum coram cum igni adposuit, et tris libros ex novem deussit: et ecquid reliquos sex eodem pretio emere vellet regem interrogavit: sed enim Tarquinius id multo risit magis, dixitque anum jam procul dubio delirare. mulier ibidem statim tris libros alios exussit: atque id ipsum denuo placide interrogavit, an tris reliquos eodem pretio emat. Tarquinius ore jam serio atque attentiore animo fit, eam constantiam confidentiamque non insuper habendam intelligit. libros tris reliquos mercatur nihilo minore pretio quam quod erat petitum pro omnibus. sed eam mulierem tunc a Tarquinio degressam postea nusquam loci visam constitit. libri tres in sacrarium conditi Sibyllini adpellati. ad eos quasi ad oraculum xvviri adeunt quum dii immortales publice consulendi sunt[n]—iv. Sed constat regnante Tarquinio quandam mulierem nomine Amaltheam obtulisse ei novem libros in quibus erant fata et remedia Romana; et pro his poposcisse tercentum Philippeos, qui aurei tunc pretiosi erant. quæ contempta alia die tribus incensis cum sex reversa est, et tantundem proposcit, ac denuo contempta est. item tertio aliis tribus incensis cum tribus tantum reversa est et accepit quantum postulaverat pro novem; hac ipsa re commoto rege quod pretium non

l Dionysius Hal. iv. 62. m Pliny, H. N. xiii. 27. 743. n A. Gellius, i. 19.

mutabat. tunc mulierem subito non apparuisse. qui libri in templo Apollinis servabantur[o]—v. M. Varro, quo nemo unquam doctior ne apud Græcos quidem nedum apud Latinos, in libris rerum divinarum quos ad C. Cæsarem pontificem maximum scripsit, cum de quindecimviris loqueretur, Sibyllinos libros ait non fuisse unius Sibyllæ, sed adpellari uno nomine Sibyllinos quod omnes feminæ vates Sibyllæ sunt a veteribus nuncupatæ . . . . ceterum Sibyllas decem numero fuisse . . . . quartam Cumæam in Italia quam Nævius in libris belli Punici Piso in annalibus nominat . . . . septimam Cumanam nomine Amalthæam, quæ ab aliis Demophile vel Herophile nominatur: eamque novem libros adtulisse ad regem Tarquinium Priscum, ac pro eis trecentos Philippeos postulasse; regemque aspernatum pretii magnitudinem derisisse mulieris insaniam: illam in conspectu regis tres combussisse; ac pro reliquis idem pretium postulasse: Tarquinium multo magis mulierem insanire putasse. quæ denuo tribus aliis exustis cum in eodem pretio perseveraret; motum esse regem, a cresiduos trecentis aureis emisse: quorum postea numerus sit auctus Capitolio refecto; quod ex omnibus civitatibus et Italicis et Græcis et præcipue Erythræis coacti adlatique sunt Romam cujuscunque Sibyllæ nomine fuerunt . . . . harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina et feruntur et habentur præterquam Cumææ; cujus libri a Romanis occuluntur, nec eos ab ullo nisi a quindecimviris inspici fas est[p]—vi. Deinde constituta ab Ascanio Longa Alba, Fidenæ, Antium; Nola a Tyriis; ab Eubœensibus Cumæ. ibidem Sibyllæ sacellum est; sed ejus quæ rebus Romanis quinquagesima Olympiade interfuit, cujusque librum ad Cornelium usque Sullam pontifices nostri consulebant: tunc enim una cum Capitolio igni absumtus est. nam priores duo Tarquinio Superbo parcius pretium obferente quam postulabatur ipsa exusserat[q].

The above testimonies, all but that of Lactantius, date the appearance of this Sibyll in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. He only (cf. Suidas in Σίβυλλα) dates it in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus; and he professes to have taken *his*

[o] Servius, ad Æneid, vi. 72: cf. ad 36.
[p] Lactantius, i. 6: cf. Servius, ad Æn. iii. 445.
[q] Solinus, ii. § 16: cf. Suidas, in Σίβυλλα: Ἡροφίλα.

account of it from Varro. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus also professes to have taken his account of it from Varro, and from the same work of Varro's; summing it up in these words: Λέγω δὲ ἃ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἱστόρηκεν ἐν τῇ θεολογικῇ πραγματείᾳ: and there can be no doubt that Dionysius supposed this appearance to have taken place in the reign of the younger Tarquin. We must therefore conclude that the text of Lactantius labours under some corruption; of Priscum for Superbum. Pliny the elder too dates the appearance of the above Sibyll in the reign of the second Tarquin; yet he recognizes some other Sibyll in the time of Tarquinius Priscus[r]: and there were many Sibylls of antiquity, some much older than others. The above story is connected only with the Sibyll of Cumæ in Italy; whom Lactantius designated as the fourth in the order of time, and the Sibyll of Cuma in Asia Minor as the seventh: though in all probability the latter was much the older of the two, and ought more probably to have been reckoned the fourth.

This appearance then of the Cumæan Sibyll, and this account of what passed between her and the Roman king, being thus restricted to the reign of Tarquinius Superbus; it is observable that Solinus dates the time of this Sibyll Olympiad 50: which would correspond to B. C. 580–576, and its last year would fall in the first of Servius Tullius. Yet he too dates this transaction between her and the reigning king at Rome in the time of Tarquinius Superbus. To make him consistent with himself we must correct his text, and read Olympiad 60 (B. C. 540–536) instead of 50; which would come much nearer to the actual beginning of the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, B. C. 533–532.

There was probably an historical foundation for the story which is related in each of these accounts; though not for all its circumstances. No one however can doubt that the woman who personated the character of the Sibyll on this occasion must have been an impostor; who nevertheless had concerted her scheme beforehand, and acted her part in it with consummate address. It is first of all to be observed that the fourth secular period of the Etruscans began October 29 B. C. 531, in the *third* year of Tarquinius

[r] H. N. xxxiv. 11. 214.

Superbus; and that coincidence was competent to suggest to her the first idea of the scheme itself. With regard to the number of books which she offered to the king, the preceding accounts do not agree. But it seems to be admitted that, if she offered *nine* at first, she destroyed *six;* and if she offered *three* she destroyed *two:* and *six* would be to *nine* exactly in the same proportion as *two* to *three.* It appears to us that the truth will be most correctly stated by combining these accounts; and by supposing that the number of books actually offered by the Sibyll was *three,* as Pliny in particular and Solinus represent it to have been: but that they contained altogether an account of *nine* secular periods. And in these two facts taken together we have probably the whole explanation of this ancient tradition respecting the Sibyll and her books.

It should be remembered that Rome too had its secular periods; the decursus of which was not different from that of the Etrurian, only the number. Rome itself had been founded at the end of the first Etruscan sæculum and at the beginning of the second. The *first* of the Roman sæcula then properly so called was the *second* of the Etruscan; but in other respects they were the same. The number of the Etruscan sæculā however being limited to ten; that of the Roman, on the same principle, would be nine. Two of these had elapsed before the appearance of the Sibyll, if that took place critically at the end of the third, and at the beginning of the fourth, Etruscan period, B. C. 531. If these books of the Sibyll therefore contained the *fata* or destinies of Rome through each of its secular periods; it is manifest that a certain portion of them had already become obsolete, before her appearance on this occasion: that portion viz. which related to the first two sæcula. We shall account for her conduct, or for the conduct traditionally attributed to her, if we suppose that these two sæcula constituted the subject-matter of that part of her whole collection which she was said to have destroyed. Those parts of her collection could very well be spared. They were already antiquated and out of date. They related to the *fata* of Rome which had been accomplished, and were now matter of history, and no longer subjects of prediction. The only valuable part of her collec-

tion was what remained; relating to the destinies of Rome still to come, and still unfulfilled. She might well afford to part with the preceding; and yet ask the same price for the remainder as for the whole. We think then that the observation on this story which we premised at the outset was just. This Sybill was a cunning impostor; who had very ingeniously arranged with herself her plan of proceeding, and very skilfully carried it into execution. It is most probable too that the number of books which she actually offered at first was *three;* but that they contained the history of *nine* sæcula: on which last circumstance the tradition that they were nine in number was founded. And should it be objected that the third book on this principle must have contained *seven* sæcula, and the first two only *two* between them; it should be remembered that the subject of the first two books, whatsoever it might pretend to be, was in reality history, and could have related only to the past; but that of the third must have been prophecy, or the future. Now every one must admit that history is not only a much more certain but a much more copious subject to write about than prophecy. This Sibyll might easily fill two volumes with her pretended predictions of the past, even for no more than two centuries before; but would not find it so easy and practicable a thing to fill even one with the prophetical history of six or seven centuries to come.

These oracles of the Sibyll, which the Romans treasured up with so much care, appear to have been written in hexameter verse, and in Greek: the language of Cumæ, to which the Sibyll herself belonged, being no doubt Greek.

> Te duce Romanos nunquam frustrata Sibylla est,
> Abdita quæ senis fata canit pedibus[s].

They are never quoted in any language but Greek, nor in any form in Greek except that of Greek hexameter verse. They were committed in the first instance to the care of Duumviri; and tradition among the Romans preserved the name of one of these first Duumviri, M. Aquillius[t]: as that too of the first person among the Romans who was subjected

[s] Tibullus, ii. v. 15.

[t] Dionysius, iv. 62. Valerius Max. i. 1. 13 De Religione, who calls him M. Tullius: Zonaras, vii. 11. 331 C. Schol. ad Lycophron. 1278–1280.

to the punishment, peculiar to parricide; that of being sewn up in a sack and thrown into the sea: and for alleged unfaithfulness also in this very trust. They were afterwards committed to the keeping of Decemviri, instead of Duumviri[u]: and from the time of the dictatorship of Sulla to Quindecimviri: and they remained ever after nominally in the custody of Quindecimviri, though the number of these keepers was ultimately increased to sixty. Varro, Fragmenta Lib. iv.[w] Qui erant de Quindecimviris sacrorum, qui librorum Sibyllinorum curam habuerunt, a Sylla dictatore instituti; cum antea duumviri et postea decemviri eos libros custodivissent—Sciendum tamen primum duos librorum fuisse custodes: inde decem: inde quindecim usque ad tempora Syllana: post crevit numerus; nam et sexaginta fuerunt: sed remansit et in his quindecimvirorum vocabulum[x]—Οὗτοι διέμειναν οἱ χρησμοὶ μέχρι τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ κληθέντος πολέμου, κείμενοι κατὰ γῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου Διὸς ἐν λιθίνῃ λάρνακι ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δέκα φυλαττόμενοι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐμπρησθέντος τοῦ ναοῦ . . . . σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οὗτοι διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐκ πολλῶν εἰσι συμφόρητοι τῶν τόπων· οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων κομισθέντες· οἱ δ' ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς ἀποσταλέντων πρεσβευτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιγραφήν[y]· οἱ δ' ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν μεταγραφέντες· ἐν οἷς εὑρίσκονταί τινες ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις, ἐλέγχονται δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀκροστιχίσι[z]. Suetonius tells us[a] that Augustus, after he became Pontifex Maximus (March 7 B. C. 12), collected together and burnt more than 2000 Libri Fatidici, Greek and Latin; retaining none but the Sibylline carefully revised. And Dio records of him U. C. 736 B. C. 18[b]: Καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐξιτηλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἱερέας αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐκγράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν.

It does not appear that after the conflagration of the

[u] Livy, vi. 37, 38–42. U. C. 387 B. C. 367. Cf. x. 8.

[w] P. 216. Cf. Livy, Epitome, lxxxix.

[x] Servius, ad Æneid, vi. 73: cf. ad iii. 332.

[y] Cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 12: Lactantius, i. 6, who mentions the names of these legati, after Fenestella, and the year of their mission, U. C. 678 B. C. 76.

[z] Dionysius Hal. iv. 62.

[a] Augustus, xxxi. 1.

[b] liv. 17. Cf. 12: 18.

Capitol before alluded to these oracles were kept there again. They were deposited from that time forward in the temple of the Palatine Apollo; where was also a public library formed by the emperor Augustus. The old Scholiast on Horace, ad

Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo [c]—

observes: Palatinus autem Apollo dictus est a monte Palatino, ubi Cæsar in bibliotheca sibi statuam posuerat habitu ac statu Apollinis: ubi et libri Sibyllini erant. This temple too was burnt down on the night of the xiv Kal. Apriles, March 19, A. D. 363: and Ammianus Marcellinus tells us the Sibylline oracles had a narrow escape at that time[d]: Ubi ni multiplex juvisset auxilium etiam Cumæa carmina consumserat magnitudo flammarum. They were still in existence according to Claudian[e], and still consulted, A. D. 403 or 412.

SECTION III.—i. *Coincidence of the* viiith *Secular Period with the* Bellum Marsicum.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. Period viii. Cycle i. I.

Epoch, Pharmuthi 2 Nab. 657. April 14 B. C. 91.

i. Ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλα τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ ἐμφύλιος Ῥωμαίων ἀνήφθη πόλεμος. ἐπισημῆναι δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν φυρὰν Λίβιός φησι καὶ Διόδωρος, ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος ὀξὺν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ δέους γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντεις μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφήνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀκτὼ γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἀφορίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. τῆς γοῦν προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἑτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὃ (ὡς) δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι γεγόνασι, κ', τ. λ.[f]—ii. Τότε δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα μικρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐπτόητο τὴν

[c] Epp. i. iii. 17: cf. Suetonius, Augustus, xxxi. 1: Tac. Ann. vi. 12: Servius, ad Æn. vi. 321. See the date of the dedication of the Palatine Apollo supra, Nundinal cycle, xxxvi. p. 109.

[d] xxiii. 3.

[e] xxvi. De Bello Gotthico, 231.

[f] Suidas, Σύλλας. Cf. Diodorus, Fragm. Lib. xxxvii.

γνώμην πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον . . . ὡς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς προεσήμηνε . . . τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ἐξ ἀνεφέλου καὶ διαίθρου τοῦ περιέχοντος ἦχησε φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ὀξὺν ἀποτείνουσα καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον, ὥστε πάντας ἔκφρονας γενέσθαι καὶ καταπτῆξαι τὸ μέγεθος. Τυρρηνῶν δ' οἱ λόγιοι μεταβολὴν ἑτέρου γένους ἀπεφαίνοντο καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ὀκτὼ τὰ σύμπαντα γένη διαφέροντα καὶ τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι δ' ἀλλήλων, ἑκάστῳ δ' ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνων ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. καὶ ὅταν αὕτη σχῇ τέλος ἑτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς πεφροντικόσι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν εὐθὺς ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι γεγόνασι, καὶ θεοῖς ἧττον ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν πρότερον μέλοντες. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα φασὶν ἐν τῇ τῶν γενῶν ἀμείψει λαμβάνειν μεγάλας καινοτομίας, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ποτὲ μὲν αὔξεσθαι τῇ τιμῇ καὶ κατατυγχάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσι, καθαρὰ καὶ φανερὰ σημεῖα τοῦ δαιμονίου προπέμποντος· αὖθις δ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ γένει ταπεινὰ πράττειν, αὐτοσχέδιον οὖσαν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ἀμυδρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὀργάνων τοῦ μέλλοντος ἅπτομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ λογιώτατοι Τυρρηνῶν καὶ πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι δοκοῦντες ἐμυθολόγουν[g]—iii. Ὅπλων τε καὶ σαλπίγγων ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι διαφόρως ἔδοξεν ἦχος, ὅπερ λέγεται συμβῆναι κατὰ τὴν Κίμβρων ἐπιδρομὴν, καὶ ἡνίκα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἐκείνοις πάθεσι τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν διεταράττετο[h].

In the sequel of the passage which we quoted from Censorinus[i], relating to the measure of the natural secular period, he went on to say that, according to the Etruscan doctrine also, as the exact end of one such period and the exact beginning of another could not be discerned nor determined by men for themselves, the gods interposed at the proper time, in order to make it known by means of some sign or token; something different from usual, yet open to observation, and capable of being judged of by the senses. Sed ea quod ignorarent homines, portenta mitti divinitus quibus admonerentur unumquodque sæculum esse finitum. hæc portenta Etrusci pro haruspicii disciplinæque suæ peritia diligenter observata in libris retulerunt. quare in Tuscis historiis, quæ octavo eorum sæculo scriptæ sunt ut Varro testatur, et quot numero sæcula

[g] Plutarch, Sulla, vii.
[h] Lydus, De Ostentis, 6. 280. 13.
[i] Supra, p. 604.

ei genti data sint et transactorum singula quanta fuerint quibusve ostentis eorum exitus designati sint continetur.

We learn then from this testimony that the end of one sæculum and the beginning of another, and with it the end of one race or of one state of things and the beginning of another, was expected to be notified by some extraordinary but sensible phenomenon. We learnt also from the preceding testimonies that such an extraordinary portent coincided or was supposed to have coincided with the consular year of Sulla, U. C. 666 B. C. 88; and with the beginning of the civil war of Sulla and Marius, either in that year or in the next, the consular year of Octavius and Cinna, U. C. 667 B. C. 87[k]: a portent construed at the time as an intimation that the viith race or viith sæculum was then coming to an end, and that the viiith was beginning.

Now the eighth Etruscan sæculum, as our Table shews, did actually enter Pharmuthi 2 Nab. 657, April 14 B.C. 91, only three years before B. C. 88. And though that was not the date of the Bellum Octavianum, as it was called, it was that of another memorable war, not to be distinguished in its nature and character from a civil war too, and ultimately the source even of this of Octavius, and of that of Sulla and Marius; the Bellum Sociale or Marsicum[l]. This war also appears to have been ushered in by remarkable signs and portents[m] of other kinds; and apparently according to Dio[n] even by the very same which in the preceding accounts are said to have ushered in the civil war of Sulla and Marius, as if they did in reality precede that rather than the other: on which principle, the true end of a preexisting state of things and the true beginning of another must have been this date of the Bellum Sociale, and not that of the Bellum Octavianum. And such must have been Dio's opinion at least; for he founds on the fact of the occurrence of these portents and at this time the very same inference respecting the succession of γένη, as intimated thereby and at that time, which

[k] Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 5, 14: iii. 32, 80: De Divinatione, i. 2, 4.

[l] See supra, p. 418.

[m] Cf. Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 44, 99: ii. 25, 54. Obsequens, De Prodigiis, cxiv. Pliny, H. N. ii. 85. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 23.

[n] Fragmenta, SS. Deperditorum Vaticana Collectio, ii. 548. 67.

appears in the preceding statements in connection with the civil war of Sulla and Marius.

There was however so little difference between the dates of these two events, the Bellum Sociale B. C. 91 and the Bellum Civile B. C. 88 or 87, and so little difference in their nature, that the same signs which ushered in or notified the first of the two might very well be considered to have prognosticated the latter also. Nor in either case can it admit of any reasonable question that the ultimate foundation of the supposed coincidence of such signs with this time, (the ultimate ground at least of the construction which was put on any thing remarkable and different from usual which might have occurred at this very time,) must have been the fact which is brought to light by the true decursus of the secular period of the Etruscans from the first until now; viz. that the *seventh* period of that kind did actually come to an end and the *eighth* did actually begin in the very year, and almost on the very day[o], when the Bellum Sociale broke out. At this juncture of time, according to the received doctrine on that point, a change of races, or in the existing constitution and order of things, was necessarily to be expected; and for the same reason, some intimation *ab extra*, some notification from the gods, which could admit of no other construction except that such a consummation and such a revolution was at hand. And that something of this kind is actually found upon record in the general history of these times, and something which is critically determined to these few years, from B. C. 91–87, within which the end of the viith secular period of the Etruscans and the beginning of the viiith are necessarily comprehended, is a very strong confirmation of the scheme of the decursus of those periods from B. C. 860 to B. C. 91 previously, which is exhibited in our Table.

It is another remarkable confirmation of this decursus that the same epoch of the end of the seventh and of the beginning of the eighth of these periods appears to have been selected for that of the compilation of what Censorinus in the passage last quoted called the Tuscæ Historiæ. These histories according to Varro were written or compiled in the viiith period, yet before his own time; and Varro as we hope

[o] Supra, p. 418.

to shew hereafter was born B. C. 116, 25 years before the end of the viith period; and died 88 years afterwards, B. C. 28, 63 years after the beginning of the viiith. Between these extreme limits therefore must these Tuscan histories have been composed; yet not before the close of the seventh period: for they gave an account of the length of every period before the date of their own composition, and of that of the seventh among the rest. Their actual date therefore must have been some time between B. C. 91 and B. C. 28.

The length of these seven periods, which had thus preceded the time of their own composition, according to these histories was 781 years. Itaque scriptum est quatuor prima sæcula annorum fuisse centum et quinque; quintum centum viginti trium; sextum undeviginti et centum; septimum totidem; octavum tum demum agi; nonum et decimum supercsse: quibus transactis finem fore nominis Etruscip. The reason of the thing requires that the first part of this statement, that which relates to the first four periods, should be understood of the length of each individually, not of that of all in conjunction; that is, that each of these was 105 years in length, not that all four together were so. We have then,

The first four periods	420 years.
The fifth	123
The sixth	119
The seventh	119
The first seven periods	781 years.

And the common epoch of all the seven being supposed to have been B. C. 860, on this principle the common date of their termination must have been B. C. 79. And this too is a remarkable date. It is only three years later than the close of the civil war of Sulla and Marius; which was decided by the battle under the walls of Rome, on the Kalends of November U. C. 672, October 24 B. C. 82: and it is the last of the years of the *autocracy* of Sulla who died himself early B. C. 78. It is therefore exceedingly probable that these Tuscan histories, compiled *in* the *eighth* period yet before the time of Varro, were actually compiled some time B. C. 91—the proper beginning of the *eighth* regular period from the epoch, B. C. 860—and B. C. 79, its epoch according to the

[p] Censorinus, loco cit.

preceding computation; so that all the seven preceding periods might terminate in B. C. 79; after the civil wars, and the confusion and disorder which had so long prevailed; and with the beginning of a new æra dated from the dictatorship of Sulla, and the changes of every kind made by him in the constitution and government at Rome.

There is no reason why we should not suppose that the authors of these Tuscan histories were very well aware of the true length of their own secular period; and consequently that the sum total of seven such periods must have been 770 years, not 781. But it is very conceivable also that, as they professed to draw a distinction between the *natural* sæculum of this kind and the *civil* or *abstract* standard of the same thing, they might purposely affect a certain degree of mystery, and a certain degree of indefiniteness, with respect to the actual length of each; as if it must sometimes exceed and sometimes fall short of the proper standard: but simply in order that the close of the whole, the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth, might thus appear to coincide critically with the epoch selected for the termination of these histories also, B. C. 79; the fittest which could have been pitched upon, as that of a new æra and decursus of things. A sum total of 781 years in seven periods is at the rate of 111 years, and about 7 months to each—very little more than the legitimate length, 110 years.

ii. *Of the Secular Period of Vulcatius*, B. C. 44.

> Daphni quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?
> Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum;
> Astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
> Duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem [q].

The appearance of a comet in the year of the death of Julius Cæsar is a well attested fact; as we may possibly have occasion to shew hereafter. Servius' commentary on the preceding passage contains among other things the following statement: Sed Vulcatius aruspex in concione dixit cometen esse; qui significaret exitum noni sæculi et ingressum decimi; sed quod invitis diis secreta rerum pronuntiaret, statim se esse moriturum: et nondum finita oratione in ipsa

[q] Virgil, Eclogæ, ix. 46.

concione concidit. hoc etiam Augustus in libro secundo de memoria vitæ suæ complexus est. The comet in question appeared not only in the year of the death of Cæsar, B. C. 44, but also at the time when Octavianus Cæsar (afterwards Augustus) was celebrating Ludi funebres to his memory. Such then must also have been the date of this incident relating to Vulcatius; if the comet to which he alluded was this comet of B. C. 44.

There is however a somewhat similar story in Appian; which he dates B. C. 43, the year after the death of Julius Cæsar, and about the time of the confederacy of the triumvirs, Antony, Cæsar, and Lepidus, which was entered into near the end of November in that year: *Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα· ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύοντο ὁμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι σύμβολον ἀηδὲς, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν πόλει ζῶον. βοῦς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγξατο. καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἵδρου· τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἵδρου. ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὁρωμένων ἠκούετο. ἀμφί τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῆ σημεῖα πολλὰ, καὶ λιθώδεις ἐγίγνοντο ὑετοὶ, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θύτας καὶ μάντεις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπὼν καὶ δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἕως ἀπέθανεν*[r].

The same prodigies and on the same occasion appear to be alluded to by Tibullus.

Hæc cecinit vates et te sibi Phœbe vocavit,
Jactabat fusa sed caput ante coma.

Hæ tore dixerunt belli mala signa cometen,
Multus ut in terras deplueretque lapis.
Atque tubas atque arma ferunt strepitantia cœlo
Audita, et lucis præcinuisse fugam.
Ipsum etiam solem defectum lumine vidit
Jungere pallentes nubilus annus equos.
Et simulacra deûm lacrymas fudisse tepentes,
Fataque vocales præcinuisse boves[s].

The historian Dio notices the comet of B. C. 44[t]: and yet he mentions another the next year also[u], B. C. 43; besides

[r] B. Civ. iv. 4. [s] ii. v. 65. [t] xlv. 6, 7. [u] xlv. 17: cf. 15.

omens and portents evidently the same in general as those enumerated by Appian: Αὔλου τε δὴ Ἰρτίου καὶ Γαΐου Οὐϊουΐου ὑπατεύσαντος (U. C. 711 B. C. 43).....κεραυνοὶ.....παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον.....πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις λαμπὰς ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς διέδραμε, καί τις ἀστὴρ καινὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὤφθη· τό τε φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλαττοῦσθαί τε καὶ σβέννυσθαι, τότε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλοις φαντάζεσθαι, ἐδόκει.....καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκίᾳ μάλιστα συστρεφόμενοι ὠρύοντο [u], κ', τ. λ.

It may be doubtful therefore whether the incident related by Servius of the death of the Haruspex whom he calls Vulcatius happened B. C. 44 or B. C. 43; for, though it happened at the time of the appearance of a comet, there was a comet in each of those years. It must be doubtful too whether this incident related of Vulcatius is the same with that which Appian records of the Tyrrhenian Haruspex, B. C. 43. And yet it is on every account most probable that each of these persons and these events was distinct from the other. There is nothing in Appian's account about the end of one sæculum and the beginning of another, as there is in Servius'; and *his* Haruspex dies by his own act, and by a voluntary death, *Servius'* is supposed to be struck dead by the gods, as a punishment for betraying a secret which they intended to be kept concealed. And, (what is most to the point,) for the fact relating to Vulcatius Servius appeals also to the testimony of Augustus himself, in his own Memoirs, and in connection too with the games in honour of Julius Cæsar which he certainly celebrated B. C. 44.

It is not of much consequence indeed whether this incident in particular happened B. C. 44 or B. C. 43. The only important circumstance is that, according to Servius' account of it, one of these years was the end of the *ninth* Etruscan sæculum and the beginning of the *tenth*; and to that point it makes little difference which of the two it was. It is clear however that if the eighth period was only just beginning B. C. 91; the tenth could not be beginning B. C. 44 or 43: so that, in reading the ixth and xth period instead of the viiith and ixth, the text of Servius must be incorrect; or he himself must have laboured under some misapprehension of

[u] Ibid. loc. cit. Cf. also Virgil, Georg. i. 466—488.

the truth. It is clear too that to have supposed the viiith period to be still current B.C. 44 would have been no mistake: The error of Vulcatius (if the fact related of him is true) consisted in *this;* That he took the middle of the current period for the end: for B.C. 44 was the 4th year of the xth cycle of the viiith period in question.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* viii. *Cycle* x.

Year 1	March	25	midn.	B.C. 46
— 2	Jan.	23	—	— 45
— 3	Nov.	22	—	— 45
— 4	Sept.	22	—	— 44

The games of Cæsar Octavianus in honour of his father celebrated this year began to be celebrated on the feast day of Venus Genitrix, vi Kal. October, September 26 Roman, September 24 Julian, B.C. 44. They began therefore only two days after the Nundinal epoch of Period viii. cycle x. 4. September 22. They were celebrated for seven days; and the last of the seven would be September 30, the second Nundinal day of this year itself. Whether these coincidences had any thing to do with the mistake of Vulcatius in confounding the middle of the current period with the end, we cannot undertake to say. But in any case, if the incident related of him had a foundation in truth, it must have happened some time between September 24 and September 30, in the first Nundinal cycle of this same year.

The most interesting circumstance connected with this incident relating to Vulcatius is *this;* that it appears to have suggested the idea of Virgil's fourth eclogue, entitled Pollio.

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas[w].

For this last age of the Cumæan Sibyll could denote nothing but the ninth or the tenth; the ninth in the decursus of sæcula peculiar to the city of Rome, the tenth in that of the Etruscan in general. It is clear from the strain of this eclogue throughout that it must have anticipated such a change in the existing system and order of things as, according to the theory of this decursus and to the doctrine relating to it, was expected to signalise the end of one and the begin-

[w] Eclog. iv. 4.

ning of another; or rather, as in this instance, the consummation and close of the whole: when, if the course of things was to continue at all, it must be by beginning and proceeding anew, in the same way in which it had done from the first until then. In other words the consummation of the last in the existing order of sæcula must usher in the return of the decursus of sæcula themselves to its first principles; and a succession of the same phenomena both moral and physical in the same order over again: a second golden age in nature, a second heroic age among men; and so on.

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo redeunt Saturnia regna,
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto[x].

Tu modo nascenti puero quo ferrea primum
Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo
Casta fave Lucina! tuus jam regnat Apollo[y].

Alter erit tum Typhys et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella;
Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles[z].

Talia sæcla suis dixerunt currite fusis
Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcæ.
Adgredere o! magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores
Cara Deûm soboles magnum Jovis incrementum.
Adspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum
Terrasque tractusque maris cœlumque profundum.
Adspice venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo[a].

And all this in the consular year of Asinius Pollio.

Teque adeo decus hoc ævi te consule inibit
Pollio! et incipient magni procedere menses. v. 11.

Now Pollio was consul U. C. 714 B. C. 40, only four years and three or four months after the incident relating to Vulcatius; which, if it really happened in B. C. 44, would doubtless give occasion to a very general belief that the ninth and possibly the last of the secular periods was at hand, or come: sufficient at least to suggest the idea of a poetical effusion of this kind, anticipating from such a coincidence a speedy return of the golden and of the heroic age; and out of compli-

[x] iv. 4. [y] Ibid. 8. [z] Ibid. 34. [a] Ibid. 46.

ment to Pollio, the friend and patron of the author, dating it in the year of his consulship itself.

We cannot account for the proper argument of this eclogue, nor explain the first conception of such an idea as that of this poem and at this time, by the cycle of the secular games among the Romans. The consular year of Pollio, U. C. 714 B. C. 40, is no where upon record as one of the years of those games; neither as celebrated after the interval of 100 years, nor as celebrated after that of 110. Zosimus indeed affirms the fact that such games were celebrated U. C. 605: and again, at the distance of 110 years, U. C. 715, in the consular year of Censorinus and Sabinus[b]: in the former of which assertions he has the support of other and better authority than his own, but in the latter, he is singular; nor can there be any doubt that he was mistaken. And yet even that date would have been a year too late for the consulship of Pollio, U. C. 714, and consequently for the date of this eclogue of Virgil's; which must have been written either the year before that, or at the latest in that year itself.

iii. *Assumed age of the City of Rome, U. C. 772 A. D.* 19.

Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Ἰουνίου Λουκίου τε Νωρβανοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων...λόγιόν τέ τι ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ τῆς πόλεως χρόνῳ προσῆκον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ παρόντα ᾀδόμενον, οὐχ ἡσυχῇ σφᾶς ἐκίνει· ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι·

Τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν
Ῥωμαίους ἔμφυλος ὀλεῖ στάσις ἀ * Συβαρῖτις
ἀφροσύνα—

Ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτά τε τὰ ἔπη ὡς καὶ ψευδῆ ὄντα διέβαλε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα τὰ μαντείαν τινὰ ἔχοντα ἐπεσκέψατο· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε[c].

This consular year was that of U. C. 772 A. D. 19. It is a singular coincidence that it was the very last year of the viiith Etruscan sæculum; which expired February 23 A. D. 20, as our Table shews. Dio mentions[c] that one of the consuls of the year, (Norbanus,) who was fond of playing on the trumpet, on the very day of his entering upon office, early in the

* Read ἢ (*or, vel*) cf. lxii. 18.

[b] ii. p. 72. [c] Lib. lvii. 18.

morning of the Kalends of January, frightened the whole city of Rome by amusing himself in that way and blowing a louder blast than usual. How shall we account for this, if it was not that people still remembered that this viiith sæculum itself had been ushered in in the same way; viz. by the sudden sound of a trumpet: and that they knew it was now about to expire, and that possibly something of the kind was to be expected again at this time?

For the same reason, the authors of the prediction above alluded to, whosoever they were, must have purposely chosen this time for putting it into circulation, and giving it credit. It was published at a time when some change and some revolution for better or for worse was to be expected. Dio indeed says it had nothing to do with the true age of the city at the time; which then numbered only 772 years at the utmost, not 900. But the Sibyll, in whose name the prediction was put forth, reckoned from an epoch of which Dio was not aware; and the only one from which she could with propriety reckon in a case of this kind: viz. that of the decursus of sæcula themselves, B. C. 860; and very probably in equable years so dated too. B.C. 860 answered to Æra Cyclica 3147: A.D. 19 ex Kal. Jan. to Æra Cyclica 4025. From the one to the other in annual equable time the interval was just 878 years: and this might truly be represented as a period *approaching* to 900 years.

Τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.

It is evident at least that it was not proposed even in such terms as the age of the city at the time; but merely as a certain period or complex of time absolutely. The recollection of this oracle, supposed to have been first delivered under Tiberius, was revived (owing to the event of the burning of Rome) under Nero[d]; and that being U. C. 817 A. D. 64, 45 years later than U. C. 772 A. D. 19, the term of 900 years was little more in defect at that time than in excess at this.

[d] Dio, lxii. 18.

SECTION IV.—*Nundinal Calendar, Type* v. *Period* ix. *Cycle* i. 1.

Epoch, Phamenoth 10 Nab. 767. February 24 A. D. 20.

i. *Date of the Burning of Rome under Nero.*

Speaking of the burning of Rome in the reign of Nero, U. C. 817 A. D. 64, Tacitus has a remarkable observation[e]: Fuere qui adnotarent xiv Kalendas Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverant. alii eo usque cura progressi sunt ut totidem annos mensesque et dies inter utraque incendia numerent. That the Roman and calendar date of this conflagration under Nero was nominally the same with the traditionary date of the burning of the city by the Gauls, and *vice versa*, has been seen[f]. But the true year of the latter event was B. C. 389; 361 years after the Foundation: that of the former was A.D. 64, 452 years after the former. It is difficult therefore at first sight to discover on what this peculiar calculation could have been founded; or in what manner so extraordinary a result as this of the same interval to a day from the Foundation to the burning by the Gauls, and from the burning by the Gauls to that in the time of Nero, could have been obtained. It cannot be explained by supposed differences in the date of the Foundation, and in the date of the capture of the city by the Gauls, respectively; by none at least which could be admissible. These dates might differ by a few years, more or less, one in comparison of another; but they could not possibly differ by 90 or 100 years in excess or in defect of each other.

It is manifest therefore that if this calculation admits of any rational and consistent explanation it must be in all probability by going back to the epoch of the decursus of sæcula. If the conflagration in the time of the Gauls happened B. C. 389, it was an event of Period v. Cycle vii: and if this under Nero happened A. D. 64, it was one of Period ix. Cycle 9: and there would be, even at first sight, an interval of *four* periods complete from the epoch of the decursus to the first conflagration and from the first conflagration to the second. And if something may be allowed to con-

[e] Ann. xv. 41: cf. xv. 33.

[f] Diss. viii. ch. i. sect. iv. supra, p. 151.

jecture in a case like this, we are entirely of opinion that the calculation referred to by Tacitus is to be explained on the following principle.

First, the epoch of the decursus of sæcula being B. C. 860 and the date of the burning of the city under Nero being A. D. 64, the entire interval from the one to the other was 923 years; and the middle year of this interval would be critically B. C. 398. This therefore was assumed as the date of the capture and destruction of the city by the Gauls. And though even that was nine years earlier than the truth, it was an allowable assumption; and there might be actual historical dates of the capture which justified it. Secondly, it was assumed that the decursus of secular periods themselves bore date from the first of March perpetually: and that was actually the Julian date of the current Nundinal year, Type v, B. C. 398.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* v. *Cycle* v.

Year 1	August 31	Midnight.	B. C.	401
.. 2	July 1	..	..	400
.. 3	May 1	..	..	399
.. 4	March 1	..	..	398

On this principle, there would be 462 years 140 days between March 1 B. C. 860 and July 19 B. C. 398; and there would be 461 years 140 days between March 1 B. C. 398 and July 19 A. D. 64.

ii. *Age of Juvenal.*

Nona ætas agitur pejoraque sæcula ferri
Temporibus; quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
Nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo [g].

This observation of Juvenal's proves that he considered himself to be living in the *ninth* secular period; the limits of which being A. D. 20 and A. D. 130, that would strictly be the case. We had occasion to consider the question of the time of Juvenal in one of our former works [h]; and we determined it entirely agreeably to this hypothesis. In

[g] Juvenal, xiii. 28.

[h] Dissertations on the Principles, etc. Vol. ii. 74, 75. notes, cf. p. 122.

this very satire a note of time occurs[i] which implies that it was sixty years later than A. D. 59; but not more: that is, that it was written A. D. 119, in the *hundredth* year of the ninth period itself.

SECTION V.—*Nundinal Calendar; Type* v. *Period* x. *Cycle* i. 1.

Epoch, Mecheir 18 Nab. 877 January 5 A. D. 130
To Tybi 26 .. 987 November 17 .. 239

Testimony of Censorinus, and close of the Etruscan Sæcula.

It appeared from Censorinus[k] that the historical books of the Etruscans were compiled in the eighth period; that two more periods had yet to run, and that then there would be an end of the Nomen Etruscum: Octavum tum demum agi; nonum et decimum superesse: quibus transactis finem fore nominis Etrusci. It is a singular coincidence that his own work which contains this statement should have been written between June 25 A. D. 238 and January 1 A. D. 239[l]; and that the tenth of these secular periods should have come to an end November 17 A. D. 239 also. The last secular period therefore was actually still current when he was writing; but it was even then almost as good as at an end.

The entire decursus of secular periods in the scheme of the Etruscans was certainly limited to *ten*. Hence it is that Servius observes on Virgil:

Ultima Cumæi[m]—

Sibyllini, quæ Cumana fuit, et sæcula per metalla divisit: dixit etiam quis quo sæculo imperaret: et solis *ultimum* id est *decimum* voluit. We have however already explained[n] on what principle it was thus restricted; viz. in connection with the Nomen Etruscum, and in order that the close of the decursus even as so connected might coincide with the termination of a great period of 1460 equable years, dated from the first of Thoth Æra Cyclica 2787 June 20 B. C. 1220, the proper equable epoch of the second Nundinal Type.

On this principle too the proper epoch of each of these

[i] Verses 16, 17. [k] Supra, p. 621: 624. iii. 42. [m] Ecloga iv. 1.
[l] Cf. our Fasti Catholici, ii. 461: [n] Supra, p. 405 sqq.

periods must have been considered to have been the first of the equable Thoth, and not the first of the Nundinal Thoth, perpetually. The xith period would have begun Tybi 27 Nab. 987, November 18 A. D. 239. The recession of the Nundinal Thoth on the equable at that time, as our Table shews, amounted to 219 days; and 219 days from Tybi 27 Nab. 987 bring you to Thoth 1 Nab. 988: 219 days from November 18 A. D. 239 bring you to June 24 A. D. 240, the proper Julian date of Thoth 1 Nab. 988 at that time. Four days earlier bring you to Epagomenè 2 Nab. 987, and to June 20 A. D. 240; either of which (the one in the equable Nabonassarian, the other in the Julian, style) was competent to represent still the original epoch of the decursus of sæcula, June 20 B. C. 1220.

It is however to be observed that, according to the doctrine which we have hitherto been endeavouring to explain, the decursus of sæcula being one thing and that of races or generations of men being another; even when this consummation was come and the tenth of these sæcula had reached its close, there is no reason to suppose that the decursus itself might not have been expected to continue and to go on still as before: only not in conjunction with the same race or succession of men perpetually. It was clearly implied in this theory and this doctrine of secular periods that, after the lapse of ten of them in succession, something should come to an end; something should cease to exist. But it does not appear that this was the succession of sæcula, in other words the course of time itself; but that which until then had gone on parallel with it, and had accompanied it *pari passu*: viz. the continued existence of one and the same race and community of men. In the succession of Etruscan sæcula this was and could be none other but the race and community of the Etruscans; the destinies, fortunes, changes and vicissitudes, of the Nomen Etruscum perpetually. At the end of the tenth of these sæcula there should cease to be any longer even such a subject of that kind in conjunction with these same periods. It is very significant consequently that, according to the Etruscan account of their own doctrine, if Censorinus has represented it rightly, even with the consum-

mation of the tenth period it is not said that there would be an end of the decursus of that kind, but simply an end of the Nomen Etruscum: Finem fore Nominis Etrusci. The last representative of the tenth race or generation of the Nomen Etruscum having been gathered to his fathers on the last day of the same period; not one should be born on the same day to continue it any longer. It is equally significant that this consummation was not supposed to have arrived until even this decursus had come round again to the point from which it had virtually set out; the epoch of the proper Sabine type. It is an obvious inference from this fact that the proper origin of the Nomen Etruscum must have borne date from the epoch of this Type.

SECTION VI.—*On the traces of the Nundinal year discoverable in the early history of Rome and of its neighbours.*

It appears to have been the custom in those times of which the early Roman history treats to enter into engagements of peace not for an indefinite but for a limited term of time; to conclude treaties of peace which were in reality armistices, truces, (σπονδαὶ or induciæ,) only of a more than usual length: at the end of which it was understood that the relations of peace, as matter of course, would determine and cease; and unless some fresh composition of the same kind should be entered into would be succeeded by those of war. The mention of engagements of this kind, sometimes for six, sometimes for forty, and sometimes for an hundred years, between Rome and the neighbouring communities occurs repeatedly in the contemporary history; with respect to which, a careful consideration of the chronology of events before and after them leads to the inference that such intervals or terms of years could not have been reckoned by solar or by lunar years of the ordinary length, but must have been so by some other kind of years of a peculiar standard: which, under such circumstances, it is scarcely conceivable could have been any but the ancient Nundinal year. We propose to consider some of the cases of this description which are on record in Roman history.

i. One of the last acts of the reign of Romulus (or at least one

of the last related of it) was to enter into *Inducіæ*, or Σπονδαὶ, with the people of Veii nominally for the term of 100 years[o]: the close of which and the first open rupture with that people appears to have fallen out some time early in the reign of Ancus Marcius. We say the first *open* rupture; because the Veientes do seem to have been implicated in the war of the Fidenates with Tullus Hostilius[p]: and yet even after the destruction of Alba in his reign, when the Sabines were soliciting them to join in the war with the Romans, Livy himself observes[q], Valuit apud Veientes.....pacta cum Romulo induciarum fides. There is no proof of any actual rupture between them and the Romans before the reign of Ancus[r]: and it must be admitted to the credit of these ancient times that, such was the primitive simplicity and honesty of purpose which still characterized them, that engagements and covenants of this kind for ever so long a time appear to have been scrupulously and literally kept.

Dionysius specifies the second[s], the third and the sixth year[t] of Ancus; and in the ninth at the latest[t] the beginning of this war. On this principle though we allow with him[u] 43 years to Numa, and 32 to Tullus[w]; the actual interval from the death of Romulus to the beginning of this war could not have been more than 85 years. Now 100 years of the Nundinal standard=30 400 days; 85 of the Julian= 31 046 d. 6 h.: 83 Julian years=30 315 d. 18 h. It is easy to see then that a term of 100 Nundinal years dated from any time just before the end of the reign of Romulus must have been expiring early in the reign of Ancus. We may perhaps recur to this subject by and by; and be able to determine both the beginning and the end of these 100 years more exactly.

ii. Dionysius mentions a war with the Sabines in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus[x]. In the second year of this war the Sabines concluded a truce with the Romans for six years[y]. It may be proved from the sequel that this must have ex-

[o] Dionysius, ii. 54, 55: Livy, i. 1. Plutarch, Romulus, xxv. Zonaras, vii. 4. 319 B.

[p] Dionysius, iii. 6: 23–31: Livy, i. 26—29.

[q] i. 30.

[r] Ibid. 33. Dionysius, iii. 41.

[s] iii. 38—41.

[t] iv. 6. Cf. iii. 39, 40, 41.

[u] ii. 76. Cf. Livy, i. 21.

[w] iii. 35. Cf. Livy, i. 31. Cf. supra, Page 176.

[x] iii. 55.

[y] Ibid. 57.

pired in *five* years; and therefore could have been reckoned only in Nundinal years, six of which were equal to five equable years.

For i: in the *first* year of this truce mention is made of a war with the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans[z]; then of the spring of the *second* year, and of the close of the summer of that year[z]. After this there is an account of a *three* years' war with the Veientes[a]; the last of these synchronising with the fifth year of the truce, and extending down to harvest or ingathering in that at least. In the year after this, the fourth of the Veientine war, the sixth year strictly speaking of the six years' truce, he dates the decisive battle at Eretum, in which the Etruscans should have been assisted by the Sabines: Αἱ γὰρ ἑξαετεῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρὸς Ταρκύνιον ἀνοχαὶ διελήλυθεσαν ἤδη[b]. It must therefore have been a truce *really* only for *five* years though *nominally* for *six*.

iii. Mention occurs in Dionysius of a truce with Veii for forty years, U. C. 281 B. C. 473; that being the true date of this event[e]: and the first intimation that it was drawing to a close appears U. C. 310 B. C. 444[f]. But there is no proof that the war actually broke out at that time; nor in fact until U. C. 315 B. C. 439[g]. The first mention of hostile proceedings comes in U. C. 317 B. C. 437[h]: though it may be implied that they must have begun somewhat before. Here then is proof of a truce, concluded in B. C. 473, nominally for 40 years, which nevertheless came regularly to an end in B. C. 440, that is in 33 years. Now 40 Nundinal years = 12160 days; 33 Julian = 12053 days 6 hours. So that if reckoned by the Nundinal calendar these 40 years might have expired in the 34th Julian year.

z Dionysius, iii. 57. ii. 54.
a Ibid. 58. b Ibid. 59.
e ix. 36, 37: 5: cf. viii. 92. 90. U. C. 271; B. C. 481: and viii. 17, 18: Livy,
f xi. 53, 54: Livy, iv. 1, 2:
g Livy, iv. 12.
h Ibid. 17.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* iv. *Cycle* xii.

Year 1	October 4	Midnight	B. C.	476
.. 2	August 4	..	..	475
.. 3	June 4	..	..	474
... 4	April 3	..	..	473
.. 5	Feb. 1	..	..	472
.. 6	Dec. 2	..	..	472
Cycle xiii. 1	Oct. 2	Midnight	B. C.	471
.. xix. 1	Sept. 18	..	..	441
.. .. 2	July 19	..	..	440

If this truce then was concluded on or about April 3 B.C. 473 the beginning of Cycle xii. 4, it would expire on or about July 19 B. C. 440 at the beginning of Cycle xix. 2: and it would have lasted just 40 Nundinal years between.

It is a singular fact that the beginning of the war of Servius Tullius with the Etruscans, (which was preceded by the institution of the census and by the adoption of the Etruscan calendar of Type v at Rome,) is supposed by Livy[i] to have coincided with the expiration of certain *induciæ*; and as far as he gives any reason to suppose in consequence of that very circumstance itself. Now it is observable that he also mentioned[k] at the proper time the *induciæ* concluded with Romulus; but not, at the proper time, the fact of their coming to an end in the reign of Ancus. Here on the contrary he mentions the expiration of certain induciæ in the reign of Servius, the beginning of which he has no where mentioned under any preceding reign. For though he has an allusion to the hundredth year (centesimum fere annum[l]) since the death of Romulus in the last year of Tarquinius Priscus, we cannot suppose he could really have made only an hundred years between the very last year of Romulus B. C. 715, and the very first of Servius B. C. 576: an interval of 139 years. It is much more probable that besides the truce of 100 years in the reign of Romulus there was another in the reign of Ancus; the expiration of which would fall out in the reign of Servius. On this principle Livy's credit and con-

[i] ii. 42. [k] i. 15. [l] i. 40.

sistency will be maintained in the only way in which they can be; and it would be true to say, as he does, on the eve of this war of Servius with the Etruscans, Jam enim induciæ exierant: though what *induciæ* he has not explained.

Let us assume that the true date of this war was B.C. 552. On that supposition B.C. 553 was the last year of this hundred years' truce.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* iii. *Cycle* xviii.

Year 1	Nov. 9	Midnight	B. C. 556
.. 2	Sept. 9	..	.. 555
.. 3	July 10	..	.. 554
.. 4	May 9	..	.. 553

The first year of this truce consequently must have been Period iii. Cycle ii. 1 Dec. 15 B. C. 636; from which to Cycle xviii. 4, there would be $16 \times 6 + 3$ or 99 Nundinal years exactly. And according to the received chronology of the reign of Ancus[m], which dates it B. C. 638, this year would be the third of his reign.

We have already referred to this war in the reign of Ancus, and have assumed that it broke out in the eighth or ninth of his reign, as Dionysius seemed to imply. But there is reason even from his own accounts to call that assumption in question. Gellius one of his authorities dated the arrival of L. Tarquinius Priscus at Rome in the first year of Ancus; Licinius Macer another of them dated it in the eighth. The truth may lie between these different accounts; that Tarquin arrived in the first year of Ancus, and that these wars broke out in his second. It may be collected from Livy[n] that the Latin and the Veientine wars were simultaneous, and that both were soon over. Dionysius[o] dates the Veientine war after that with the Latins and with the Sabines; but he implies that it lasted only two years. In our opinion, this Veientine war was really the first waged by Ancus, and in the second and third years of his reign, B. C. 637 and B. C. 636. The others were later, and took up more time.

[m] Supra, p. 176: 435. [n] i. 33. [o] iii. 41.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* iii. *Cycle* i.

Year	1	December	17	Midnight	B. C. 641
..	2	October	17	..	.. 640
..	3	August	17	..	.. 639
..	4	June	17	..	.. 638

And this being assumed as the hundredth year of the truce with Romulus, the first must have been Period ii. Cycle vii. 1 January 22 B. C. 720, only five years 124 days before the death of Romulus.

The last observation which we shall make on these subjects is that, though the Etruscan calendar at this time was Nundinal, yet (as indeed we have already seen reason to conclude [p]) in some instances it appears to have become subsequently a fixed calendar; and this fixed form of the Etruscan calendar in such instances seems to have been borrowed from the Roman. And proofs of this fact too appear in the contemporary history, to a certain extent at least.

i. Mention occurs in Livy [q] of a truce concluded by the Romans with the people of Veii U. C. 330 B. C. 424 for 20 years: which was still in force U. C. 334 B. C. 420 [r], U. C. 340 B. C. 414 [s], and U. C. 348 B. C. 406 [t]; when first we find it observed, Eo anno quum tempus induciarum cum Veienti populo exierat per legatos fecialesque res repeti cœptæ. It does not however appear that this was strictly the year of the expiration of the truce. B. C. 406 Veii was suffering from intestine discord: and the rupture with the Romans was deferred for that time by negotiations on both sides. The war actually broke out two years after, B. C. 404; and an army was led against Veii and siege was laid to it by the tribunes of that year [u]. In the actual date therefore of the war and so far of the expiration of the truce, B. C. 404, the interval of 20 years from B. C. 424 holds good in Julian years.

This case consequently is the reverse of those which we have hitherto been considering; and if those would imply that the calendar of Veii at the time was Nundinal, this would imply that it must now have been something different.

[p] Supra, p. 535. [q] iv. 35. [r] iv. 43. [s] iv. 49. [t] iv. 58. [u] iv. 58: 60: 61.

Consequently that between B. C. 439, the date of the last case of the former kind, and B.C. 424, that of this truce, the people of Veii must either have adopted a different calendar instead of the Nundinal, or have associated a different one with it.

It is probable that this was actually done B. C. 432; when the first period of 120 years from B. C. 552 came to an end, and when the Kalends of January Roman and the first day of the Nundinal calendar for the time being were coinciding.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* iv. *Cycle* xx.

Year 1	Sept.	16	Midnight	B. C. 436
.. 2	July	17	..	.. 435
.. 3	May	17	..	.. 434
.. 4	March	16	..	.. 433
.. 5	Jan.	14	..	.. 432

And this was also the first of January Roman, Cycle i. 17 of the Decemviral correction. It would not follow that the Veientes must have discarded their proper Nundinal Calendar, even though they adopted the Roman this year. It is very observable however that the first cycle of this new calendar agreeably to the strictly Roman reckoning would bear date Dec. 29 B. C. 425; the very year in which this truce of 20 years appears to have been concluded. It is a further argument of the agreement of calendars, the Veientine and the Roman, from this time forward, that B. C. 402, during the siege of Veii, the comitia at Rome and those at Veii appear to have been in course at one and the same time[w].

ii. Again, a 40 years' truce was concluded between the Romans and the people of Tarquinii, (another Etruscan community often mixed up in these transactions of the Romans and the Veientes) U. C. 404 B. C. 350[x]: and the last year of this truce appears to have been current U. C. 443 B. C. 311[y]. This too argues a regular calendar.

[w] Livy, v. 1.

[x] Ibid. vii. 22. 21: cf. v. 16. U. C. 357=358 B. C. 396.

[y] Ibid. ix. 38. 29. 31: cf. Diodorus, xx. 44, 45.

Nundinal Calendar, Type v. *Period* v. *Cycle* xiv.

Year 1	Aug. 11	Midnight	B. C.	356
.. 2	June 11	..	..	355
.. 3	April 11	..	..	354
.. 4	Feb. 9	..	..	353
.. 5	Dec. 9	..	..	353
.. 6	Oct. 9	..	..	352
Cycle xiv. 6.	i Month	Oct. 9.	B. C.	352
.. ..	ii ..	Nov. 10.	..	..
.. ..	iii ..	Dec. 12.	..	..

And this day, Dec. 12 B. C. 352, being also the Kalends of December, U. C. 402 B. C. 352, in the first year of the cycle too, it would have been convenient for the adoption at Tarquinii of a calendar like the Roman, in this year, B. C. 352, if that had not been already done in B. C. 432. That the Nundinal calendar however was still continuing in use in these quarters may be inferred from the fact, also mentioned by Livy, and of this same year, B. C. 352 U. C. 402[z]; that of induciæ for 100 years, granted to the people of Cære, an Etruscan city, and one of the nearest both to Rome and to Tarquinii[a]: for that is almost an infallible argument of a Nundinal calendar. And these induciæ would probably bear date in this instance in the last year of Cycle xiv of Period v, October 9, B. C. 352.

CHAPTER IX.

On the Ludi Sæculares *of the Romans.*

SECTION I.—*Derivation of these Games from the Secular Period of* 110 *years.*

There cannot be any doubt, after what has been shewn at large in the preceding parts of this Dissertation, that the origin of the Ludi Sæculares among the Romans is to be

[z] vii. 20. 19. [a] vii. 19. i. 60: v. 40. Supra, p. 563 note.

traced up to the Etruscan doctrine of Ages and Generations; nor consequently that the proper cycle of these games, in theory at least and in connection with that doctrine, must have been that of the Etruscan sæculum. On the same principle, the proper epoch of these games of the Romans and that of this secular period either were or should have been the same perpetually. In point of fact however the dates of these games do not appear to have ever coincided with those of this period. In point of fact too these secular games of the Romans appear to have been celebrated according to a double rule and a double cycle; one of 100 years, and one of 110 years. We propose to conclude our account of the Nundinal Types of ancient Italy with a general survey of these Ludi Sæculares of the Romans of both kinds; and of the recorded instances of each; and of their proper historical dates: beginning with those which were regulated by the cycle of 110 years.

SECTION II.—*On the accounts of the origin of the Ludi Sæculares.*

The accounts which the Romans themselves have given of the origin of these games, of their peculiar rule, and of the other circumstances of distinction by which they were characterized, contain much which we may well hesitate to believe; yet some things also are mixed up with them which appear to be trustworthy, as having had a foundation in matter of fact, and as having been handed down by an authentic and consistent tradition: of which consequently good use may be made in illustration of those questions which we are proposing to investigate; and in particular of that of the first celebration of these games.

i. Sæculares Ludi Tarquinii Superbi regis in agro sunt primum facti, quem Marti consecravit P. Valerius Poplicola Cos. quod populus Romanus in loco illo antea repertam aram quoque Diti ac Proserpinæ consecraverat in extremo Martii Campi quod Terentium adpellatur, demissam infra terram pedes fere viginti, in qua pro malis avertendis populus Romanus facere sacra solitus erat[b]—Terentum in Campo Martio locum Verrius ait ab eo dicendum fuisse quod terra

[b] Festus, xvii. 471. 11 Sæculares.

ibi per ludos sæculares Ditis patris ita leviter teratur ab equis quadrigariis ut eorum levis mobilitas æquiparet motus rapidos velocis lunæ: quod quam aniliter relatum sit cuivis manifestum est[c].

ii. Et quia ceteri Ludi ipsis adpellationibus unde trahantur apparet non absurdum videtur Sæcularibus initium suum, cujus generis minus certa notitia est, reddere.

Cum ingenti pestilentia urbs agrique vastarentur, Valesius vir locuples rusticæ vitæ, duobus filiis et filia ad desperationem usque medicorum laborantibus, aquam calidam iis a foco petens genibus nixus Lares familiares ut puerorum periculum in ipsius caput transferrent oravit. orta deinde vox est, Habiturum eos salvos si continuo flumine Tiberis devectos Tarentum deportasset, ibique ex Ditispatris et Proserpinæ ara petita calda recreasset.

Eo prædicto magnopere confusus, quod et longa et periculosa navigatio imperabatur; spe tamen dubia præsentem metum vincente, pueros ad ripam Tiberis protinus detulit: habitabat enim in villa sua propter vicum Sabinæ regionis Eretum: ac lintre Ostiam petens nocte concubia ad Martium Campum adpulit. sitientibusque ægris succurrere cupiens, igne in navigio non suppetente, ex gubernatore cognoscit haud procul apparere fumum; et ab eo jussus egredi Terentum (id ei loco nomen est). cupide arrepto calice aquam flumine haustam eo unde fumus erat obortus jam lætior pertulit, divinitus dati remedii quasi vestigia quædam in propinquo nactum se existimans: inque solo magis fumante quam ulla ignis habente reliquias dum tenacius omen adpreliendit, contractis levibus et quæ fors obtulerat nutrimentis, pertinaci spiritu flammam evomuit, calefactamque aquam pueris bibendam dedit. qua pota salutari quiete sopiti diutina vi morbi repente sunt liberati; patrique indicaverunt vidisse se in somniis quos nescio deorum spongia corpora sua pertergere, et præcipere ut ad Ditis patris et Proserpinæ aram, a qua fuerat potio allata, furvæ hostiæ immolarentur, lectisternia ludique nocturni fierent.

Is quod eo loci nullam aram viderat desiderari credens ut a se construeretur aram empturus in urbem pervenit, relictis qui fundamentorum constituendorum gratia terram ad soli-

[c] Festus, xviii. 565. 1 Terentum.

dum foderent. hi domini imperium exsequentes cum ad xx pedum altitudinem humo egesta pervenissent; animadverterunt aram Diti Patri Proserpinæque inscriptam. hoc postquam Valesius nuntiante servo accepit omisso emendæ aræ proposito hostias nigras, quæ antiquitus furvæ dicebantur, Terenti immolavit, ludos et lectisternia continuis tribus noctibus quia totidem filii periculo liberati erant fecit.

Cujus exemplum Valerius Poplicola, qui primus consul fuit, studio succurrendi civibus secutus, apud eamdem aram publice nuncupatis votis cæsisque atris bubus, Diti maribus feminis Proserpinæ, lectisternioque ac ludis trinoctio factis, aram terra ut ante fuerat obruit[d].

iii. This account is repeated by Zosimus[e] substantially to the same effect, though in some things a little more circumstantially. The dream of the children of Valesius is thus represented by him: *Ὄναρ δὲ θεασάμενοι προσαγαγεῖν ἱερεῖα μέλανα Περσεφόνῃ καὶ Ἀιδῃ καὶ τρεῖς ἐπαλλήλους ἄγειν παννυχίδας ᾠδῶν καὶ χορῶν ἀφηγήσαντο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸ ὄναρ, ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου καὶ θεοπρεποῦς ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπισκήψαντος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου, καθ' ὃ καὶ ἀνεῖται τόπος εἰς γυμνάσιον ἵππων.* He tells us that the altar used on these occasions, the Ara Terenti, and at all other times buried under ground at a depth of 20 feet, was first constructed, and first devoted to this purpose of a sacrifice upon it to Pluto and Proserpine, during some war of the Romans and Albans; the foundation of which tradition might perhaps have been the fact to which we adverted on a former occasion[f], that of the expiration of the second secular period and the beginning of the third, B. C. 641, not long after the destruction of Alba. This altar so constructed, so used, and so concealed under ground on that first occasion, he supposes to have remained in that state until it was again discovered on this occasion in the time of Valesius; which may also imply that the traditionary date of this discovery was, or should have been, that of the next secular period B. C. 531, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. *Τοῦτον ὁ Οὐαλέσιος εὑρὼν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὰς παννυχίδας ἐπιτελέσας ἐκλήθη Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος Ταρεντῖνος· τούς τε γὰρ χθονίους θεοὺς Μάνης καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν βαλῆρε. Ταρεντῖνος δὲ*

[d] Valerius Max. ii. iv. De Spectaculis.
[e] Lib. ii. 68–71.
[f] Supra, page 436.

ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τάραντι θυσίας. He also concludes his account with attesting the celebration of games on the same locality and with the same forms by Valerius Poplicola. Χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον λοιμοῦ συμβάντος τῇ πόλει τῷ πρώτῳ μετὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἔτει Πόβλιος Βαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βωμῷ θύσας Ἀιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ μέλαιναν βοῦν καὶ δάμαλιν μέλαιναν ἠλευθέρωσε τῆς νόσου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιγράψας τῷ βωμῷ ταῦτα· Πόβλιος Βαλέριος Ποπλικόλας τὸ πῦρ Ἀρείου πεδίου Ἀιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ καθιέρωσα, καὶ θεωρίας ἦγον Ἀιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας: in which words instead of τὸ πῦρ we ought most probably to read τὸ πέρας: since it appeared from Festus that the spot so consecrated to these ceremonies was actually a corner of the Campus Martius; In extremo Martii Campi.

iv. The ceremonial of the secular games has been particularly described by no author (who has come down to posterity) but Zosimus; and though Zosimus himself wrote in the fifth century, there is no reason why we should not consider his testimony in this respect as authentic and trustworthy as that of a much older writer. He attached so much importance to these games that he would no doubt be at considerable pains to inform himself correctly on every point relating to them. The ceremony then according to him was as follows.

Τοιοῦτος δέ τις ὁ τρόπος ἀναγέγραπται τῆς ἑορτῆς. περιιόντες οἱ κήρυκες εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν συνιέναι πάντας ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ θέαν ἣν οὔτε πρότερον εἶδον οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα θεάσονται[g].

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ θέρους, πρὸ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τοῦ τὴν θεωρίαν ἀχθῆναι, ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον οἱ δεκάπεντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ βήματος καθήμενοι τῷ δήμῳ διανέμουσι τὰ καθάρσια· ταῦτα δέ ἐστι δᾷδες καὶ θεῖον καὶ ἄσφαλτον· δοῦλοι δὲ τούτων οὐ μετέχουσιν ἀλλὰ ἐλεύθεροι μόνοι. συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἔν γε τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι τόποις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὃ ἐν τῷ Αὐεντίνῳ λόφῳ καθίδρυται, σῖτον καὶ κριθὴν ἕκαστος φέρει καὶ κύαμον, καὶ ταῖς Μοίραις ἄγουσι παννυχίδας μετὰ σεμνότητος ἐν νυξίν.

Ἐνστάντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἣν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐπιτελοῦσι πεδίῳ καὶ ταῖς ἴσαις νυξί, καθιεροῦτο τὰ τελούμενα παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Θύμβριδος ἐν τῷ Τάραντι. θύουσι δὲ θεοῖς Διὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι· καὶ

[g] Cf. Herodian, iii. 26. Ovid, Tristia, ii. i. 25, 26.

προσέτι γε Μοίραις καὶ Εἰλειθυίαις καὶ Δήμητρι καὶ Ἄιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ.

Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν θεωριῶν νυκτὶ δευτέρας ὥρας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν παρασκευασθέντων βωμῶν τρεῖς ἄρνας θύει, μετὰ τῶν δεκάπεντε ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς καθαιμάξας ὁλοκαυτοῖ τὰ θύματα. κατασκευασθείσης δὲ σκηνῆς δίχα (leg. δίκην) θεάτρου, φῶτα ἀνάπτεται καὶ πυρά, καὶ ὕμνος ᾄδεται νεωστὶ πεποιημένος, θεωρίαι τε ἱεροπρεπεῖς ἄγονται. κομίζονται δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μισθὸν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν σίτου καὶ κριθῆς καὶ κυάμων. αὗται γὰρ ὡς εἴρηταί μοι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντὶ διανέμονται.

Τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀναβάντες, κἀνταῦθα τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσαγαγόντες, ἐντεῦθέν τε ἐπὶ τὸ κατεσκευασμένον θέατρον ἐλθόντες, τὰς θεωρίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι.

Τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ γυναῖκες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἣν ὁ χρησμὸς ὑπηγόρευσεν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον συνελθοῦσαι λιτανεύουσι τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ὕμνουσιν ὡς θέμις.

Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ τρὶς ἐννέα παῖδες ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ παρθένων τοσούτων, οἱ πάντες ἀμφιθαλεῖς (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς ἔχοντες περιόντας), ὕμνους ᾄδουσι τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ, καὶ παιᾶνας, δι' ὧν αἱ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους σώζονται πόλεις. ἄλλα τε κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγούμενον παρὰ τοῦ θείου τρόπον ἐπράττετο· ὧν ἐπιτελουμένων διέμεινεν ἡ ἀρχὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀλώβητος*.

We learn from this account that these games had a stated season in the natural year, the season of midsummer. This is further implied in the allusion to the *ἀπαρχαὶ τῶν καρπῶν*, distributed on the same occasion, *σίτου καὶ κριθῆς καὶ κυάμων*: for these must be understood of the first fruits of that year's growth, none of which, for the climate of Rome and the circumjacent country, would be ripe before midsummer, or a time approaching to midsummer[h]. The stated date of these

* The above account throws light on the Carmen Sæculare of Horace. For we collect from it that it must have been written for the ceremony of the first night, or for that of the third day.

> Nupta jam dices, Ego Dîs amicum,
> Sæculo festas referente luces,
> Reddidi carmen docilis modorum
> Vatis Horatî. iv. vi. 40.

[h] Vide supra, 140.

ceremonies must have been later at least than the Kalendæ Fabariæ, the Kalends of June in the Roman year: when beans were first ripe and first eaten[i] *. Perhaps on this question of the proper season of these games in the natural year no circumstance in the above description is more significant than the precise time specified for the beginning of their proper ceremonial; i. e. not sunset, but the second hour of the night. In the original oracle of the Sibyll, quoted by both Zosimus and by Phlegon[k], this time is characterized as not only after sunset but the end of daylight; nightfall as such.

> Μεμνῆσθαι τάδε πάντα· θεοῖσι μὲν ἀθανάτοισι
> ῥέζειν ἐν πεδίῳ παρὰ Θύμβριδος ἄπλετον ὕδωρ,
> ὅππη στεινότατον, νὺξ ἡνίκα γαῖαν ἐπέλθῃ
> ἠελίου κρύψαντος ἐὸν φάος, ἔνθα σὺ ῥέζειν
> ἱερὰ κ. τ. λ.

For the parallel or latitude of Rome, and about midsummer, it would require one or two hours after sunset to produce this effect; i. e. to diminish the twilight so perceptibly that the night might be said to have set in. Hence the directions for that climate and for this season of the year, to begin the proper ceremony of these games at or in the second hour of the night.

It follows from this fact too that, although for any other religious or legal purpose at Rome the proper beginning of the Noctidiurnal cycle was midnight, yet for this occasion and for these ceremonies it was sunset; that is, in the celebration of the secular games even among the Romans the Primitive rule of the Noctidiurnal cycle was still strictly taken into account, and followed. We learn also from the above account that the proper duration of these games was three *nights* and three *days*, not three *days* and three *nights*;

* The knowledge of this fact too serves to illustrate the Carmen Sæculare of Horace; particularly the allusion, verse 23.

> Ter die *claro* totiesque *grata*
> Nocte frequenteis.

For it will now be seen that neither of these epithets was without a meaning. The *claro* applied to the *day* denotes the brightness of a midsummer's day, the *grata* applied to *night* the agreeable coolness of a midsummer's night, for the climate of Rome.

[i] Vide Vol. i. 300.

[k] De Longævis, iv. 127.

that each day was reckoned to the preceding night not *vice versa;* and that in the whole of this ceremony the night strictly took precedence of the day; and that its entire duration was a *trinoctium* not a *triduum.* Nor is any circumstance in the ritual of these games better attested than this of their lasting three nights and three days; though no specific direction to that effect appears in the quotation from the Sibyll either in Zosimus or in Phlegon: nor any thing which would imply it, except an allusion to days and nights one after another; i. e. more than one at least, and continuously.

Ἥμασι δ' ἔστω
νυξί τ' ἐπασσυτέρῃσι θεοπροπίους * κατὰ θώκους
παμπληθὴς ἄγυρις—

We explained elsewhere [1] out of what it arose that they were thus appropriated to three days, June 20–23. But the fact of the rule itself is unquestionable.

Ter die claro totiesque grata
Nocte frequenteis [m].

Trina Terentino celebrata trinoctia ludo [n].

The traditionary account of their origin, as we have seen, recognized this term of days from the first. It was so indispensable to the very idea of such games that even the Ludi Sæculares of the emperor Philip, which were purposely celebrated at the Palilia not at midsummer, were nevertheless celebrated for three days, April 21–23 [o].

With regard to the particular locality, appropriated to these ceremonies, it was a part of the Campus Martius, which bordered on the Tiber—as we have seen. Ovid mentions it in his account of the Carmentalia, iii Idus Jan.[p]

Fluminis illa latus cui sunt vada juncta Terenti
Adspicit, et sparsas per loca sola casas [q].

* Zosimus, θεοστέπτους.

[1] Supra, 405 sqq.

[m] Horace, Carmen Sæculare, 23.

[n] Ausonius, Edyll. xi. 336. 34. Gryphus Ternarii Numeri.

[o] Jerome, Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 256. 1. 2: Ad ann. 2261. 2262. Prosper, Chron. 718 E. Cf. Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. ii. 299. Ad Ann. 2262. Ol. 256. 2. who adds that these three days were reckoned strictly from the night.

[p] Fasti, i. 461—538.

[q] Ibid. 501.

Festus called it the Campus Terentius. The Casus rectus of the word was Terentus, not Terentum:

> Hic colat ingenti redeuntia sæcula lustro
> Et quæ Romuleus sacra Terentus habet[r].

And though from the altar buried there, and at such a depth underground, we might at first sight conjecture that the word was derived from Terra and intus; it is much more probable that it was originally a proper name (attested by Terentius and Terentillus, both proper names too, and derivable from it) and originally perhaps that of the owner of the ground. Statius applies to it the epithet of *instaurati* and *longævi*, as renewed or brought to light again only at great intervals of time; once in a century.

> Nec tantum induerint fatis nova sæcula crimen,
> Aut instaurati peccaverit ara Terenti[s].

> Mecum altera sæcula condes,
> Et tibi longævi revocabitur ara Terenti[t].

The foundation of these allusions was the celebration of secular games by Domitian, U. C. 941, not long before: to which Martial also refers along with those of Claudius, U. C. 800, as having both happened in his own lifetime.

> Bis mea Romano spectata est vita Terento[u],
> Et nihil extremos perdidit ante rogos.

These various facts strongly confirm the conclusion to which we have already come; that the proper epoch of these games was that of the second Nundinal Type, June 20; and that their proper duration was three days, from June 20 at evening to June 23 at evening. This Type was the proper Sabine Type; and it is probably not without a meaning that the Valesius, who makes such a figure in the above accounts of the origin of these games, is represented as a Sabine and not as a Roman.

[r] Martial, Epigramm. iv. i. 17. [s] Silvæ, i. iv. 7. [t] Ibid. iv. i. 37.
[u] Epigramm. x. 63. 3.

SECTION III.—*On the date of the first Ludi Sæculares of the Romans.*

With regard then to the question of the first instance of the celebration of games of this kind among the Romans; according to the preceding accounts it must have been soon after the expulsion of the kings, and in one of the consular years of Valerius Poplicola. If this fact rested on the authority of Zosimus only, we might consider it doubtful; but it is asserted by Festus and by Valerius Maximus also: and though it is nowhere on record in the general history of Dionysius or Livy, or in Plutarch's Life of Poplicola, yet it appears from Censorinus that one of the Roman historians, Valerius Antias, at least, did distinctly attest it: Primos enim ludos sæculares exactis regibus post Romam conditam annis ccxlv a Valerio Publicola institutos esse Valerius Antias ait [w]. We cannot hesitate therefore to believe that there was good foundation for this statement.

Publius Valerius Poplicola was consul, according to the Varronian Fasti, U. C. 245 [x], 246, 247, B. C. 509, 508, 507; the true dates of both which are U. C. 246, 247, 248, B.C. 508, 507, 506. In one of these three years then must these games of Poplicola have been celebrated; and having to decide between them we do not hesitate to conclude that it must have been in B. C. 507, rather than in B. C. 508 or B. C. 506. For first, these games were later than the expulsion of the Tarquins at least; and that did not take place before the Kalends of June U. C. 246 of Varro, June 29 B. C. 508: which was nine days later than the proper date of these games June 20. Secondly, B. C. 507 U. C. 247, the next year, the Kalends of June fell on June 19, only the day before the stated date of these games, June 20; and no coincidence could have been more favourable than that for their celebration, either in commemoration of the recovery of the liberty of the people, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, as Zosimus represented it, or as a piacular ceremony in honour of the Manes of Brutus, and of the rest who had fallen

[w] De Die Natali, xvii. 94.

[x] Cf. Cecero, xxiv. Pro L. Flacco, 11, 25. Academica, iv. 5, 13. De Finibus, ii. 20, 66. De Officiis, iii. 10, 40. De Republica, ii. Augustin, De Civ. iii. 16.

in the recent battle with the Tarquins just before the Kalends of March this same year. Thirdly, it has been seen [y] that B. C. 507 was a regular lustral year; in which there was a census held by Valerius also: and these games might be only the concluding ceremony of that census, the ceremony which sealed the Lustrum itself. Fourthly, it appears from the preceding accounts that tradition among the Romans connected these first games with some pestilential state of things at Rome; and the speedy decease of Valerius' collegue, (suffect even after the death of Brutus,) B. C. 507, Lucretius Tricipitinus [z], is some argument of a time of sickness and mortality greater than usual, between the Kalends of March and midsummer that same year. The tradition too which we had occasion to consider supra [a], with reference to the first Clavifigium at Rome, B. C. 506, if founded in truth, would prove in like manner that this pestilential state of things was not yet over even in B. C. 506. Lastly, it may be shewn from the general history of these years that there could have been no room for such an event as that of the celebration of these games B. C. 506. The year must have been otherwise occupied. But B. C. 507, for any thing which is discoverable to the contrary, is open to it. For these reasons therefore we come to the conclusion that, if Valerius Poplicola celebrated games of this kind at all, it must have been in B. C. 507 U. C. 247 of Varro; the year after the expulsion of the kings.

The question then, By whom the first games called secular were celebrated among the Romans, and When, is so far answered. It was by Valerius Poplicola, in the second year of the commonwealth, B. C. 507. We cannot indeed discover any connection between this date and the proper secular epoch, regularly deduced from B. C. 860, or from B. C. 750. But we may observe *this* coincidence in it; viz. that it stood just at the distance of 24 years, one cycle of the Roman calendar, from B. C. 531, the regular epoch of the fourth secular period; at which time also the proper date of these games was falling on June 20, the 2nd of June in the Roman calendar. There is no reason to suppose that any secular

[y] Supra, 260.

[z] Dionysius, v. 19. Plutarch, Poplicola, xii.

[a] Page 449 sqq.

games were celebrated B. C. 531, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus; yet the Sibyll had appeared at that time, and had stamped the proper cycle of the games, 110 years, with still more celebrity and more authority by that appearance itself. These games of B. C. 507 might be purposely celebrated at that time because they had not been celebrated 24 years before, when they ought to have been; and this year might have been purposely chosen to repair that omission, because they could then be celebrated under exactly the same circumstances, relatively to the Roman calendar, under which they ought to have been celebrated in B. C. 531 itself.

Be this as it may; this fact of the celebration of secular games by Poplicola in the second year after the Regifuge may have its use in explaining one of the dates of the foundation of the city, which would otherwise be the most unaccountable and inexplicable of all, that of Cincius, B. C. 728[b]. For let us suppose that Cincius was aware of secular games having been celebrated by Poplicola in the year after the expulsion, or even in the year of the expulsion; and that he took this year to be B. C. 508. Let us suppose too that he was aware of the proper period of these games, 110 years. What would be more natural, under such circumstances, than that he should have concluded that these were the second games of their proper kind which could have been celebrated since the foundation of Rome? And if so, what could he suppose to be necessary in order to get the true date of the foundation itself, except simply to go back 220 years from B. C. 508? which would bring him to B. C. 728; the date of the Foundation actually proposed by him, whether it was obtained in this manner or not.

SECTION IV.—*On the first instance of the celebration of Secular Games according to the Cycle of* 110 *years.*

That however the celebration of Ludi Sæculares, proper to the Romans, first took place in obedience to some supposed injunction of the Libri Sibyllini, and yet that the cycle prescribed for them by these Books in the first instance was this particular one of 110 years, are well attested facts.

[b] Vol. i. 17—20.

O ! colendi
Semper et culti date quæ precamur
Tempore sacro,
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus[c].

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis et cantus referatque ludos
Ter die claro totiesque grata
Nocte frequenteis [d].

Si Palatinas videt æquus arceis
Remque Romanam Latiumque felix
Alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
Proroget ævum.
Quæque Aventinum tenet Algidumque
Quindecim Diana preces virorum
Curet et votis puerorum amicas
Adplicet aureis[e].

On which the old Scholiast: Carmen Sæculare vocatur quod in Sæcularibus Ludis secundum ritum priscæ religionis in Campo decantatum est a virginibus puerisque prætextatis. Ludi autem Sæculares, qui et scenici et theatrales, ideo dicti sunt quod per centum et decem annos celebrabantur trinoctio, id est tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. Sæculares autem quod a primo sæculo id est ab origine Romanæ gentis reperti et instituti sunt scilicet a Numa Pompilio; a quo Romanis post centum et decem annos semper in usu fuere. This term therefore of 110 years had been undoubtedly prescribed for these games by no less an authority than that of the Sibyll. And though the authority of the Sibyll was pleaded also for the cycle of 100 years, the very words of the original oracle, quoted by Phlegon and Zosimus, are still extant; and can leave no doubt that the cycle most agreeable to her directions at first, and to the reason of things, was this of 110 years, not the other of 100 years.

The first secular games, celebrated in supposed obedience to the express injunction of the Sibyll, are dated by Zosimus in what he calls the consular year of Marcus Potitus τὸ τέταρτον, and U. C. 352[f]. A. L. Valerius Potitus iv appears among the rest of the military tribunes U. C. 353 of Varro=

[c] Horace, Carmen Sæculare, 2. [d] Ibid. 21. [e] Ibid. 65.
[f] ii. p. 71.

U. C. 354, B. C. 401 = 400: who must be the person meant by Zosimus in this instance. In this statement he stands alone; and we cannot hesitate to pronounce him mistaken. The commentaries of the Quindecimviri, referred to by Censorinus[g], dated the first secular games M. Valerio Sp. Verginio Coss. U. C. 298 Varr. B. C. 456; the second M. Valerio Corvino ii C. Pœtilio Coss. U. C. 408 B. C. 346: and so on; at intervals of 110 years asunder: shewing that the series of such games registered in these Commentaries were those of the proper Sibylline cycle only.

And in their date of the first games of this kind these commentaries appear to be confirmed by Festus; though his text, as it stands, is not free from corruption. In the passage quoted supra[h] he continued: Ludos postea (i. e. after those of Poplicola) sæculares et nonagesimo quoque anno facere ibi cœpit Popilio Lænate duumviro sacrorum; in quibus hostiis furvis est operatus tribus diebus totidemque noctibus: ac deinde institutum est centum post annos ut fierent, unde videntur sæculares adpellati, quod centum annorum spatium sæculi habetur. If the text of Festus in this instance stood originally Ludos postea sæculares et cx° quoque anno facere cœpit, it might easily get corrupted into xc° quoque anno; which would account for the present reading nonagesimo quoque anno, every 90th year. The period of 90 years would be absolutely singular. It was never heard of in connection with these games; nor could it ever have appeared in the genuine words of so learned a grammarian and antiquarian as Festus. It is clear however from his testimony that the cycle of 100 years for these games was of later date than some other just before recognized; and there can be little doubt that this more ancient cycle must have been that of 110 years. It appears from it too that the games next celebrated after those of Poplicola were regulated by *this* cycle; that is, they were those which were registered accordingly in the commentaries of the Quindecimviri.

We may safely conclude then that the first of the series so celebrated was the first which appeared on this list; those of the consular year of M. Valerius and Sp. Verginius U. C.

[g] De Die, xvii. p. 94.

[h] Page 644. xvii. 471. 11.

298 of Varro B. C. 456: especially as there was a regular succession of games of the same denomination after this, at the legitimate distance of 110 years asunder, attested not only by these commentaries but also by the Fasti Capitolini, down to the fifth; which were celebrated by Augustus Cæsar in the consular year of Furnius and Silanus, U. C. 737 B. C. 17, and were attested not only in the same manner as the preceding, but by Augustus himself on the Ancyran marble[i], and by Dio, in the proper order of his history: Τά τε Σαικουλάρια τὰ πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε[k]: i. e. in that year.

The date of these games U. C. 298 B. C. 456 being only 51 years later than B. C. 507 and only 75 years later than B. C. 531; it is manifest that they could not have been celebrated in a proper secular year. The last year of that kind having been B. C. 531 the next would have been B. C. 421. They anticipated consequently 35 years on the true date of the fifth secular Period. We may presume then that the directions of the Sibyll, as consulted on this occasion, were understood to imply that games should be celebrated *now* for the first time, which should be celebrated ever after by this cycle of 110 years; though that in all probability was not their real meaning: for those oracles themselves could never have contemplated such a contingency as that of the celebration of games like these except at the proper secular epoch. But this would have required the Romans to wait 35 years; which probably the circumstances of the time would not allow them to do, and possibly they themselves at the time did not think they were obliged to do.

The following then is the succession of these games, according to the cycle of 110 years, arranged in the order of time, as they are found upon record.

Section V.—*Ludi Sæculares of the Romans, according to the cycle of* 110 *years, in the order of time.*

	Varro.	
i.	U. C. 298 B. C. 456	M. Valerius Maximus
	=U. C. 299 B. C. 455	Sp. Verginius Tricostus Cœlimontanus[l]

[i] Livius, Ruperti, iv. 794.
[k] liv. 18.
[l] Commentaries of the xv viri, apud Censorinum, De Die Natali, xvii. p. 94: Fasti Capitolini.

	Varro	
ii. U. C. 408	B. C. 346	M. Valerius Corvus ii
=U. C. 409	B. C. 345	C. Pœtilius Libo Visolus ii [m]
iii. U. C. 518	B. C. 236	P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus C. Licinius Varus [n]
iv. U. C. 628	B. C. 126	M. Æmilius Lepidus L. Aurelius Orestes [o]
v. U. C. 737	B. C. 17	C. Furnius C. Junius Silanus [p]

By Zosimus [q] these games were dated U. C. 715 B. C. 39, L. Marcio Censorino C. Calvisio Sabino Coss. of which year no such fact is anywhere on record. We have however pointed out a certain coincidence, which might have made this year or any about this time pass for a secular year; viz. Vulcatius' prediction concerning the end of one secular period and the beginning of another: which happened about this time; and as we have seen reason to conclude gave occasion also to Virgil's Pollio, U. C. 714 B. C. 40.

It is very observable that in every instance but this last the cycle of these games appears to have been that of 110 years complete. The date of the games of Augustus, U. C. 737, is only 109 years complete from that of the last before it U. C. 628. And yet we may infer from Suetonius [r] that Augustus was at much pains to ascertain the true time of these games; and that they were celebrated Diligentissime annorum ratione subducta. It appears from Zosimus too [s] that he was assisted in the determination of this point not only by the college of the Quindecimviri, but also by Ateius Capito, a very learned Roman of the time. We cannot doubt therefore that the year was deliberately fixed upon, though it stood at the distance of only 109, instead of 110, years

[m] Commentaries of the xv viri, ut supra: Fasti Capitolini.

[n] Commentaries ut supra: Fasti Capitolini. Eutropius, iii. 1.

[o] Commentaries ut supra: Fasti Capitolini.

[p] Commentaries ut supra: Fasti Capitolini. Livy, cxxxvi, apud Censorinum, xvii. Marmor Ancyranum, iv. 794. Dio, liv. 18. Pliny, H. N. vii. 49. 217. Horace, Carmen Sæculare, Od. iv. vi. 41. Suetonius, Vita Horatii, 10. Ovid, Tristia, ii. i. 25, 26. Suetonius, Augustus, xxxi 4, 5: Claudius, xxi. 3: Domitianus, iv. 7. Tacitus, Ann. xi. 11. Macrobius, Saturnalia, ii. 7. 35 1.

[q] ii. p. 72.

[r] Claudius, xxi. 3.

[s] ii. p. 72.

from the date of the last games of this cycle which were upon record; those of U. C. 628.

In our opinion Augustus' date was determined by going back to the date of the second games, U. C. 408 B. C. 346, as it would appear, but truly U.C. 409 B. C. 345, with the same consuls in either case; and by taking the interval from U.C. 409 B. C. 345 to U. C. 737 B. C. 17: which would be 328 years, and would = two cycles of 109 years, and one cycle of 110 years exactly. There was one pair of consuls in the Fasti of Varro, as we have seen[t], those of U. C. 421 B. C. 333, which was altogether spurious, and should never have been admitted. This being left out of the succession of consuls and consular years, the interval from B. C. 346 to B. C. 17, in consular years, would be exactly what we have represented, 328; and Augustus would probably conclude that the length of the cycle, from U. C. 409 to U. C. 737, must have alternated first 109 years, and then 110 years; so that the absolute interval, from the second games to the third, being 109 years, and from that of the third to the fourth being 110; the interval from the fourth to the fifth, which he was himself about to celebrate, was bound to be 109 years.

vi. U. C. 841 A. D. 88 Imp. T. Flavius Domitianus xiv
L. Minucius Rufus[u]

These games do not stand at the regular distance of 110 or 109 years from those of Augustus, of U. C. 737. They stand however at the distance of 104 years from them: and Domitian might purposely assume that as the proper measure of the sæculum because it came nearer to the historical measure of each of the first four sæcula of the Etrurians, 105 years[w], than 110 years would do. But there is no accounting for the arbitrary proceedings of a capricious tyrant like Domitian.

vii. U. C. 957 A. D. 204 L. Fabius Galerius Septimius Cilo ii
Libo[x].

[t] Supra, p. 170.

[u] Censorinus, De Die Natali, xvii. Tacitus, Ann. xi. 11. Suetonius, Domitianus, iv. 7. Statius, Silvæ, i. iv. 17. 95: iv. 1. 37. Aurelius Victor, Epitome, Domitianus. Zosimus, ii. 72. Morcelli, i. 66. lxv. Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 383. Coins of Domitian.

[w] Supra, 624.

[x] Censorinus, xvii. Herodian iii. 26. Zosimus, ii. p. 72, 73. 77. Eckhel, vii. 185. 204. Coins of Severus.

These games must have been determined by those of Augustus. They stand at the distance of 220 years, two cycles of 110 years exactly, from U. C. 737.

There are no more Ludi of this cycle on record after these of Severus. Zosimus complains that the next secular period of 110 years came to an end in the consular year of Imp. Flavius Valerius Constantinus iii and Imp. P. Valerius Licinianus Licinius iii U.C. 1066 A.D. 313, and yet that nothing of the kind had been celebrated according to rule[y]; to which omission he attributes all the subsequent misfortunes of the empire.

Claudian, in one of his poems[z], the date of which was U. C. 1157 A. D. 404, where Rome is introduced apostrophising the emperor Honorius[a], puts the following sentiments into her mouth[b]:

> Jam flavescentia centum
> Messibus æstivæ detondent Gargara falces,
> Spectandosque iterum nulli celebrantia ludos
> Circumflexa rapit centenus sæcula consul.
> His annis qui lustra mihi bis dena recensent
> Nostra ter Augustos inter pomœria vidi
> Temporibus variis—

This very clearly recognizes the stated season of these games, whensoever they should be celebrated, as that of midsummer. The calculation however goes back to U. C. 957 A. D. 204, the date of the last on record, those of Severus; just 200 years before U. C. 1157 A. D. 404: and consequently assumes the cycle in this instance at 100 years, not at 110.

SECTION VI.—*On the Ludi Sæculares of the Cycle of 100 years.*

Sed nostri majores quod naturale sæculum quantum esset exploratum non habebant, civile ad certum annorum modulum centum statuerunt[c]— Quoniam igitur civile Romanorum sæculum centum annis transigitur[d]— Et sæculum

[y] ii. p. 77.
[z] De Sexto Consulatu Honorii.
[a] Verse 360—362.
[b] Ibid. 388.
[c] Censorinus, De Die, xvii.
[d] Ibid.

quidam centum annorum definiunt[e]— Ac deinde institutum est centum post annos ut fierent: unde videntur sæculares appellati quod centum annorum spatium sæculi habetur[f]— Eodem anno ludos sæculares Cæsar ingenti apparatu fecit: quos centesimo quoque anno (is enim terminus sæculi) fieri mos[g]— Sæculum spatium annorum centum vocarunt; dictum a sene; quod longissimum spatium senescendorum hominum id putarunt[h].

These testimonies all imply that this particular period of 100 years was purposely assumed as the positive measure of the civil sæculum in contradistinction to the natural; and consequently that the celebration of Ludi sæculares, according to this particular cycle, must have been a positive institution too. If these statements were well founded, they are of considerable importance upon this question of the first celebration of such games in conformity to this cycle. It should coincide on that principle with some secular year in the æra or age of the city. But on this point testimony is at variance with itself; and between the dates of the first secular games of this cycle, which are actually on record, there is as much as 200 years' difference.

For ist, Valerius Antias, according to Censorinus[i], dated the second secular games (the second referred to the first of the cycle of 110 years, U. C. 298, but the first of this cycle of 100 years) U. C. 305. And in this date he seems to be confirmed by Eusebius (unless Eusebius' statement of the same kind was taken from him), ad Ann. Abrah. 1565 Ol. 82. 2[k]: Romæ Clariorum agon c annorum primus actus. Syncellus also has the entry[l]: Ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κλαρίων ἀγὼν ἑκατονταετὴς ἤχθη πρῶτος: which probably gives us the original words of the Chronicon of Eusebius. There is reason consequently to conclude that secular games must have been celebrated U. C. 305 of Varro; of which too it does not appear from any thing known or recorded of them that they were so celebrated in obedience to any supposed directions of the

[e] Servius, ad Virgil, Eclog. iv. 5.
[f] Festus, xvii. 471. 11 Sæculares.
[g] Livius, apud Censorinum, De Die, xvii.
[h] Varro, De Lingua Lat. v. 54.
[i] xvii.
[k] Chronicon Arm. Lat. ii. 211. Cf. Jerome, Thesaurus Temporum, ad Ol. 81. 4.
[l] 470. 12.

Sibyll: or for any reason except that they coincided, or were thought at the time to coincide, with some secular year of the city, reckoned according to the civil or positive rule of 100 years to the sæculum.

ii. This date of a secular celebrity, and according to this cycle of 100 years, U. C. 305, is confirmed by the two next instances of the same kind of games, according to the same cycle, U. C. 505 and U. C. 605; the former just 200 years, the latter just 300 years, after U. C. 305. If either of these latter was a regular secular year, according to this cycle, U. C. 305 must have been so too. This date in the æra of Varro corresponds to B. C. 449; and B. C. 449 would be a secular year in the æra of the city, reckoned from B. C. 749, the date of the Foundation according to the Annales Maximi, and a date of very good authority as we have seen[m]. The city, supposed to have been founded at the Palilia B. C. 749, would be supposed to be just three secular periods (of 100 years each) old, at the Palilia B. C. 449.

It is observable that the proper magistrates ἐπώνυμοι of this year, the date of the first games of this cycle, according to Valerius Antias, U. C. 305, whether consuls or others, do not appear to have been specified by him. They are not at least mentioned by Censorinus after him. In reality if such games were actually celebrated U. C. 305 B. C. 449, they fell out critically in the interval during which the regular succession of consuls at Rome was in abeyance, and the form of the government was the Decemviral. These games, if celebrated at all and at this time, must have been celebrated by the first body of Decemvirs; and if they were celebrated on the Palilia April 20 Roman of the time they would strictly come within the official year of this first body: which began on the Ides of May U. C. 304 of Varro B. C. 450, and expired the day before the Ides of May U. C. 305 B. C. 449. It is no objection, and it ought to be no difficulty, that the fact of the celebration of such games under the auspices of the first body makes no part of the general history of the Decemviral government at Rome, either in Livy, or in Dionysius, or in any other of the extant Roman historians. It will still be

[m] Diss i. ch. ii. sect. ii. Vol. i. p. 27.

true that Valerius Antias in particular must have been aware of it. And possibly this very coincidence of a secular year in the age of the city until then, and of a change in the form of the government, and of a new æra and epoch in its laws and constitution, B. C. 450—449, might have something to do with the actual celebration of secular games first at this time; and with the institution of a rule intended to come into force from that time forward, and to be observed perpetually, that they should be similarly celebrated every 100 years. In this case, there can be very little question that such games must have been intended to be strictly commemorative of the Natalcs Urbis merely, reckoned by periods of 100 years at a time; and that their proper date at first, and in intention ever after, must have been the Palilia.

The odium however and unpopularity of the Decemviral form of government, which was the necessary consequence of the events of the next two years, might very naturally have the effect of making any institution of the Decemvirs, or calculated to keep up the memory of the Decemvirs, fall into desuetude and neglect; especially if it had not been sanctioned, much less enjoined, in the first instance by any such authority as that of the Sibylline oracles. Whatsoever at least may have been the reason of the effect, the effect itself appears to be certain; viz. that these secular games of the Decemvirs, U. C. 305 B. C. 449, instead of having laid the foundation of a regular series of similar games, at regular distances of 100 years from these and from one another, in the course of time seem to have been almost forgotten themselves: so that it is doubtful whether the fact of them could have been known even to Varro the most learned of the Romans. The first games of this particular cycle, according to Varro, were 200 years later than these.

Nam, (as Censorinus observes[n],) ita institutum esse ut centesimo quoque anno fierent id cum Antias aliique historici auctores sunt tum Varro de Scenicis Originibus libro primo ita scriptum reliquit.

"Cum multa portenta fierent et murus ac turris quæ sunt intra portam Collinam et Esquilinam de cœlo essent tactæ, et

n De Die, xvii.

idco libros Sibyllinos Decemviri adissent, renuntiarunt uti Diti patri et Proserpinæ ludi Terentini in Campo Martio fierent; et hostiæ furvæ immolarentur: utique ludi centesimo quoque anno fierent."

The year of this event is not here specified. But Livy tells us that Decemviri sacris faciundis instead of Duumviri were first appointed U. C. 387 B. C. 367 [o]. Consequently it could not have been before B. C. 367. And, if we compare the above from Varro with the following from the old Scholiast on the Carmen Sæculare of Horace, we shall see that in reality it must have been more than a century later.

Verrius autem Flaccus refert Carmen Sæculare et sacrificium institutum intra annos centum et decem (i. e. *within* that term of years, in the *course* of a period of that kind, *before* it had yet come to an end) Diti et Proserpinæ primo bello Punico, Decemvirorum responso, cum jussi essent libros Sibyllinos inspicere ob prodigium quod eo bello accidit. nam pars murorum icta fulmine cecidit. atque ita responderunt: Bellum adversus Carthaginienses prospere geri posse, si Diti et Proserpinæ triduo, id est tribus diebus et tribus noctibus continuis, ludi essent celebrati, et carmen cantatum inter sacrificia. hoc autem accidit Appio Claudio Pulchro coss.

In the names of the consuls which no doubt followed here the text of these scholia at present is corrupt. But the Fasti of Varro have the consuls Publius Claudius Pulcher L. Junius Pullus, U. C. 505 B. C. 249, the 16th year of the second Punic war: and that this was the year, and these the consuls, in which and under whom the above incident happened is placed out of doubt by the testimony of the Epitome of Livy, speaking of the secular games of U. C. 605 B. C. 149 the next to these: Diti Patri ludi ad Terentum ex præcepto librorum Sibyllinorum facti, qui anno centesimo primo Punico bello, quinquagesimo et altero anno ab urbe condita, facti erant [p]. Livy's date of the Urbs Condita being B.C. 751, B.C. 249 in his æra would be U. C. 503. The occasion alluded to by Varro must consequently have been this of B. C. 249. And that is confirmed in the last place by Censorinus [q]; who tells us that the third games (of either kind, whether of the

[o] vi. 37, 38–42: x. 8. cf. also Vol. i. 428. note.

[p] Lib. xlix. Cf. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 18:

[q] xvii.

cycle of 110 years or of that of 100) according to Valerius Antias and to Livy were actually celebrated in the consular year of P. Claudius Pulcher C. Junius Pullus, U. C. 505 B. C. 249.

The first secular games then, intended to be regulated by this cycle of 100 years, according to Varro and to Verrius Flaccus were celebrated U. C. 505 B. C. 249. And though to judge from the preceding account, the institution of the cycle at this particular time would seem to have been altogether accidental; yet the fact still holds good, that even the games so celebrated and so instituted at this particular time, apparently in consequence of an accidental concurrence of circumstances and of special directions founded on the reasons of the case, were secular, according to the same cycle, and agreeably to the same rule, as those which were truly the first of their kind in this cycle: those of U. C. 305 B. C. 449. Such a coincidence can scarcely be resolvable into chance. It is much more probable that the Decemviri, consulted on this occasion, still remembered that secular games had been instituted and celebrated for the first time U. C. 305 B. C. 449; which were intended at that time to be ever after kept up, but had not been so: and that they took advantage of the portents which had recently occurred to revive these games; and in order to ensure their observance for the future, to put them under the superintendence of the Sibyll, and to plead the authority of her oracles for prescribing the celebration of these games every 100 years, at the same time of the year, and on the same days of the month, and with the same ceremonies and solemnities, as those of 110 years.

With regard then to this question also, when the first games of the cycle of 100 years were celebrated among the Romans, and by whom? we may safely answer, It must have been U. C. 305 B. C. 449, at the end of the third period of 100 years in the æra of the city reckoned from the epoch of the Annales Maximi; and by the Decemvirs of the first body: but not on the authority of the Libri Sibyllini, like those of the cycle of 110 years; nor at the same time of the year as those, nor probably with the same ceremonies as those: but more probably on the Palilia, and with ceremonies

more proper for the Natales Urbis than those of the secular games, sacred to Pluto and to the Manes of the dead.

But with respect to the first case of such games, supposed to be celebrated in obedience to the Sibylline oracles, and with the same ceremonies as those of the cycle of 110 years, the concurrence of testimony is decisive that it must have been U. C. 505 B. C. 249; the cycle of the first games being resumed and continued even by these, but the character of the games themselves being changed, and the authority, under which they were celebrated, from this time forward being that of the Sibylline oracles. Referred then to the time when it actually took place, the first celebration of these games could look like nothing but an anticipation of those of the cycle of 110 years a certain number of years before their legitimate time. The last games of that cycle had been celebrated U. C. 409 B. C. 345: the next were so U. C. 518 B. C. 236. These came between, U. C. 505 B. C. 249. And this is no doubt the true explanation of the observation attributed to Verrius Flaccus, that this cycle of 100 years was instituted *intra annos centum et decem:* in the course of a current cycle of 110 years.

Nundinal Calendar Type v. *Period* vi. *Cycle* xiii.

Year 1 June 25 B. C. 251
— 2 April 25 — 250
— 3 Feb. 23 — 249

The third year of this cycle consequently began February 23 B. C. 249: and that was also the date of the lxiid Lustral cycle of Servius, Feb. 23 B. C. 249 Feb. 9 Roman U. C. 505. The Kalends of June the same year fell on June 13: and vi Idus Junias, June 8 Roman, fell on June 20, the stated date of the games of 110 years: so that these games of the cycle of 100 years might have been assimilated from the first to those of 110 years. They were probably celebrated on this first occasion for three nights and three days, June 20 at sunset to June 23 at sunset, B. C. 249.

SECTION VII.—*Ludi Sæculares of the cycle of* 100 *years.*

i.	U. C. 305	B. C. 449	Decemvirs of the First Body[r]
ii.	U. C. 505	B. C. 249	P. Claudius Pulcher L. Junius Pullus[s]
iii.	U. C. 605	B. C. 149	L. Marcius Censorinus M'. Manilius[t]
iii.	U. C. 608	B. C. 146	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus L. Mummius[u]

It is a singular thing that with respect to the date of these third games testimony varies from itself by three years. The date of Antias, Varro, Livy, has the confirmation of the cycle, which would require the third games to be celebrated U. C. 605 B. C. 149. On the other hand the date of U. C. 608 B. C. 146, attested by Gellius and by Hemina Cassius, has the weight of contemporary authority in its favour; for both these writers were then living, and cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of what must have come under their own observation. If these different testimonies are to be reconciled together, it must be by supposing that secular games were in reality celebrated in each of these years. It is a singular coincidence that B. C. 149 the Kalends of June fell on June 20, the stated epoch of the Sibylline games; and that B. C. 146 they fell on June 13, just as they had done B. C. 249.* B. C. 149 was the first year of the third Punic war; B. C. 146 was the last, and most critical: and in the month of June of that very year Scipio was besieging Carthage; and probably at Rome was daily expected to take it. We are entirely of opinion that secular games would be celebrated B. C. 149, when the rule of the cycle required it; but considering that even these games had been instituted at first B. C. 249, in the second Punic war, and ostensibly and professedly to ensure success in that war, we think it extremely

[r] Valerius Antias, apud Censorinum De Die, xvii. Eusebius, Chronicon Arm. Lat. ii. 211. ad Ann. Abrah. 1565. Thesaurus Temp. Ol. 81. 4. Syncellus, 470. 12.

[s] Valerius Antias, apud Censorinum, xvii. Varro, apud Censorinum, xvii. Scholia ad Horat. Carmen Sæculare. Livy, Epitome, xlix. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 18.

[t] Antias, Varro, Livy, apud Censorinum, xvii. Livy, Epitome, xlix. Scholia ad Horat. Carmen Sæculare. Augustin, De Civitate, iii. 18. Zosimus, ii. 72.

[u] Cn. Gellius, Cassius Hemina, Piso Censorius, apud Censorinum, De Die, xvii.

probable that they were instaurated or celebrated a second time B. C. 146 also: and probably because of this very coincidence; viz. that if celebrated then they might be celebrated under the same circumstances and on the same day, in the Roman calendar, as they had been B. C. 249: and in the same hope of ensuring a successful termination now of this third Punic war, as then of the second.

iv. U. C. 800 A. D. 47 Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus iv
L. Vitellius iii[w]

It is manifest that with these games of Claudius the regular year of the cycle (which would have been U. C. 805 of Varro) must have begun to be disregarded; and that nothing was now considered but a secular year in the Varronian Æra of the city. The regular secular year before this would have been U. C. 705 B. C. 49 or U. C. 708 B. C. 46: both critically in the interval taken up by the civil war of Cæsar and Pompey. It is evident too that in these games of Claudius the proper year was reckoned to be the hundredth *current*, not *complete*.

v. U. C. 900 A. D. 147 Largus
Messalinus[x]

vi. U. C. 1000 A. D. 247 M. Julius Philippus Augustus ii
M. Julius Philippus Augustus
U. C. 1001 A. D. 248 M. Julius Philippus Augustus iii
M. Julius Philippus Augustus ii[y]

The regular year of these games reckoned from those of Claudius, and those of Antoninus Pius, would be U. C. 1000 A. D. 247. The coins of the two Philippi date them U. C. 1001. Perhaps the truth is that they were celebrated exactly

[w] Censorinus, De Die, xvii. Tacitus, Ann. xi. 11. 23: cf. xii. 23: Pliny, H. N. vii. 49. 217: viii. 65. 500: x. 2. p. 7. Solinus, xxxiii. 14: xlv. 14. Suetonius, Claudius, xxi. 3. Vitellius, ii. 13. Zosimus, ii. 72. Aurelius Victor, Claudius. Gruter, D cccc xxvii. 8.

[x] Aurelius Victor, Antoninus Pius, Gruter, D cccc xxvi. 8.

[y] Eusebius, Chronicon Arm. Lat. ii. 299. Ad Ann. 2262. Ol. 256. 2. Thesaurus Temp. Olymp. 256. 2. Philippi ii. Prosper, Chronicon, 718 E. Historiæ Aug. SS. Gordianus Tertius, 33. Orosius, vii. 20. Eutropius, ix. 3. Aurelius Victor, Philippus. Eckhel, vii. 320. 323. 326.

at the end of the 1000th year, reckoned from the Natales Urbis, April 21; and as they were celebrated for three days, April 21, 22, and 23, they would last into the 1001st year also.

Aurelius Victor observes of these games of the two Philippi: Et quoniam nomen admonuit; nostra quoque ætate post mille centesimus consule Philippo excessit, nullis uti solet sollemnibus frequentatus: adeo indies cura minima Romanæ urbis. In the Varronian Fasti Flavius Philippus and Flavius Salia represent U. C. 1101 A. D. 348. On this principle U. C. 1001 A. D. 248 must have been the proper centenary year in the æra of Varro of the games of the Philippi.

The last historical celebration of the games of the cycle of 100 years was consequently this, by the two Philippi, U. C. 1000 or 1001; as the last of the cycle of 110 years was that of Severus, U. C. 957. Here then we close our review of both.

CHAPTER X.

Tabular Synopsis of the Five Nundinal Types.

SECTION I.—*On the probable time down to which the Nundinal Calendar might still continue to be in existence.*

Censorinus gives us to understand that a great variety of calendars must once have prevailed in Italy; and that almost all the Gentes Italæ had one of their own: Sed ut hos annos mittam, caligine jam profundæ vetustatis obductos; in his quoque qui sunt recentioris memoriæ et ad cursum lunæ vel solis instituti quanta sit varietas facile est cognoscere, si quis vel in unius Italiæ gentibus, ne dicam peregrinis, velit anquirere. nam ut alium Ferentini alium Lavinii itemque Albani vel Romani habuerunt annum, ita et aliæ gentes (Italiæ.)[z] And that many of these were Decimestral, i. e. Nundinal, also is implied in his testimony likewise; because it supposes them to have been the same with the ancient Roman.

We may also collect from his testimony that these Decimestral or Nundinal calendars must still have been in existence, on a greater or lesser scale, as low down as the date of the Julian correction. Ex hoc anno ita a Julio Cæsare ordinato ceteri ad nostram memoriam Juliani adpellantur . . . . qui etiamsi non optime soli tamen ad annum naturæ aptati sunt. nam et priores alii etiam si qui *decimestres* fuerunt, nec Romæ modo vel per Italiam sed et apud gentes omnes, quantum poterat idem fuerunt correcti[a].

The calendars alluded to by Censorinus, in the first of these passages, as proper to Italy yet as distinct from the Decimestral or Nundinal, were probably such as had been substituted in the course of time in some instances for the old Nundinal calendar itself. He cited the calendar of Lavinium as one of these; and we shewed supra[b] in what manner that might have been borrowed from the Roman. There were many calendars too in Censorinus' time, or which had come to his knowledge of former times, peculiar to Italy as it would appear to him, which nevertheless were exotic to

[z] De Die, xx. [a] Ibid. [b] Page 557.

Italy and had been introduced from abroad. These were the calendars of the numerous colonies of the Greeks, planted in Italy; which are to be traced up to the Lunar corrections of the Primitive equable calendar proper to the Greeks. We do not doubt then that a great many calendars, some lunar some solar, might actually still be in existence in Italy at the time of the Julian correction, which were not Nundinal; but we have no doubt also that the old Nundinal calendar was still in existence in the same country, and at the same time: and very extensively also. We have at least no doubt that the knowledge of it, (and even the use of it for particular purposes,) was still retained in various instances even where it had ceased to be the civil calendar; or the calendar of public and private life.

As to the further fact, asserted by Censorinus also, that every calendar in Italy, distinct from the Julian and still *de facto* in existence at the date of the Julian correction, was superseded by the Julian, and in the lifetime of the dictator Cæsar, and by his authority; trustworthy as we consider the testimony of Censorinus to be on all such points as these, we cannot assent to his statement in this instance without some doubt and some qualification. It might have been true in general to say that Cæsar took measures even in his own lifetime to have the Julian correction every where recognized and adopted within the limits of the empire; and more especially in Italy to which it would naturally first be extended: and it may easily be believed that, if he had lived to carry his own views and intentions into complete effect; an uniform calendar, in the shape of the Julian, would probably have been established by law all over the empire. But the reform of the calendar at Rome was so soon followed by his death, and by so much confusion and unsettledness in the state of things both at Rome and abroad for many years in succession, that all schemes and projects of this kind must have fallen into abeyance; and things must have been left to take their own course. It does not appear that, even after the concentration of the government in the hands of Augustus, uniformity of style in the reckoning of time, or a community of calendars, was one of those points to which *his* attention was ever directed. If particular cities or particular

communities adopted the Julian calendar in the course of his reign they did it of their own accord; and from motives of their own. Cases of this kind are on record, and very early too in the history of the Julian correction; and we shall have occasion to refer to them hereafter. The Julian calendar did ultimately supersede all others; and either in the proper Julian form, or in some other the same in principle with it, and differing from it only *per accidens*, it did at last establish itself every where: but it would be difficult to shew that even this consummation was not the effect of circumstances, and the work of time; even of centuries: i. e. that it is to be resolved after all into human agency of any kind; and not into the control of all human affairs by the overruling Providence of God.

Even with regard to the correction of the Italian calendars in conformity to the Julian, we do not see how that could have been the case so generally as Censorinus seems to imply, and so early in the history of the Julian correction as the short time for which Cæsar himself survived it, and yet be consistent with another fact, related of the people of Italy by Suetonius in the reign of Augustus: Quædam Italiæ civitates diem quo primum ad se venisset (sc. Augustus) initium anni fecerunt[c]. If the calendars of these communities were already Julian before the death of Cæsar, and had been made so by the authority of the Roman government itself, they must have been reckoning their year from the Kalends of January, in conformity to the Julian rule, before the reign of Augustus; and they would not have been free to make any change in that rule even out of compliment to Augustus himself. But if even in Italy before his reign almost every city and every community was still in possession of its old and distinctive calendar, and was still at liberty to retain it or to change it at its own discretion; the fact asserted by Suetonius requires no confirmation except from its own intrinsic probability. Nothing was more common than to flatter the emperors in this manner; to make the calendar, the style, and the æra of a particular city or a particular community a means of complimenting the emperor for the time being.

[c] Augustus, lix. 3.

In short though we have collected from Ovid that the old and proper calendar of Alba, Aricia, Tusculum, had ceased to exist in his time, yet we have inferred from it also that the calendars of Laurentum, of Cures, of the Peligni, of the Prisci Latini, respectively must have been still in being, and as much Nundinal as before, so long after the Julian correction. It is difficult therefore to say when the last vestiges of this calendar, so peculiar to ancient Italy, could have ceased to be visible there in some instance or other. Yet we may venture to say that while the Nundinal cycle was still in use in Italy the Nundinal calendar could not yet have fallen into absolute desuetude; and we hope to produce proof hereafter which will leave no doubt that the Nundinal cycle was still in use as late as A. D. 355.

We shall therefore conclude this account of the Nundinal corrections of the Primitive calendar, made at different times in Italy, by embodying in one Tabular Synopsis the Five General Types of that kind, each of which has been confirmed by its proper proofs. And the explanation of this Synopsis will comprehend all that we have still to say on this subject.

SECTION II.—*Synopsis of the Five Nundinal Corrections of Æra Cyclica* 2667 B.C. 1340 *to A*

TYPE I. PERIOD I. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. NUNDINAL.							TYPE I. PERIOD II. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. NUNDINAL.						
Cycle.	B. C.	Midnight.	Feria	Æra Cyc.	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	B. C.	Midnight.	Feria	Æra Cyc.	Midnight.	Rec
					Thoth							Mesore	
i	1340	July 19	7	2667	1	0	xxv	1220	May 27	5	2786	12	2
		..			Epagom.								
ii	1335	17	4	2671	5	1	xxvi	1215	25	2	2791	11	2
iii	1330	15	1	2676	4	2	xxvii	1210	23	6	2796	10	2
iv	*1325	July 12	5	2681	3	3	xxviii	*1205	May 20	3	2801	9	2
v	1320	10	2	2686	2	4	xxix	1200	18	7	2806	8	2
vi	1315	8	6	2691	1	5	xxx	1195	16	4	2811	7	2
					Mesore								
vii	1310	6	3	2696	30	6	xxxi	1190	14	1	2816	6	30
viii	*1305	July 3	7	2701	29	7	xxxii	*1185	May 11	5	2821	5	31
ix	1300	1	4	2706	28	8	xxxiii	1180	9	2	2826	4	32
x	1295	Jun. 29	1	2711	27	9	xxxiv	1175	7	6	2831	3	33
xi	1290	27	5	2716	26	10	xxxv	1170	5	3	2836	2	34
xii	*1285	Jun. 24	2	2721	25	11	xxxvi	*1165	May 2	7	2841	1	35
												Epiphi	
xiii	1280	22	6	2726	24	12	xxxvii	1160	Apr. 30	4	2846	30	3
xiv	1275	20	3	2731	23	13	xxxviii	1155	28	1	2851	29	3
xv	1270	18	7	2736	22	14	xxxix	1150	26	5	2856	28	3
xvi	*1265	Jun. 15	4	2741	21	15	xl	*1145	Apr. 23	2	2861	27	3
xvii	1260	*14	1	2746	20	16	xli	1140	21	6	2866	26	4
xviii	1255	12	5	2751	19	17	xlii	1135	19	3	2871	25	4
xix	1250	10	2	2756	18	18	xliii	1130	17	7	2876	24	4
xx	*1245	Jun. 7	6	2761	17	19	xliv	*1125	Apr. 14	4	2881	23	4
xxi	1240	5	3	2766	16	20	xlv	1120	*13	1	2886	22	4
xxii	1235	3	7	2771	15	21	xlvi	1115	11	5	2891	21	4
xxiii	1230	1	4	2776	14	22	xlvii	1110	9	2	2896	20	4
xxiv	*1225	May 29	1	2781	13	23	xlviii	*1105	Apr. 6	6	2901	19	

itive Calendar, 120 *Equable years asunder, from*
ca 4461 *Nab.* 1202 A.D. 454.

Type II. Period I. 120 years. Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220. Nundinal.						Type I. Period III. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. Nundinal.						
e.	Midnight.	Feria	Æra Cyc.	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	B. C.	Midnight.	Feria.	Æra Cyc.	Midnight.	Reces.
				Thoth							Epiphi	
	Jun. 20	1	2787	1	0	xlix	1100	Apr. 4	3	2906	18	48
				Epag.								
	18	5	2791	5	1	l	1095	2	7	2911	17	49
	16	2	2796	4	2	li	1090	Mar. 31	4	2916	16	50
	Jun. 13	6	2801	3	3	lii	*1085	Mar. 28	1	2921	15	51
	11	3	2806	2	4	liii	1080	26	5	2926	14	52
	9	7	2811	1	5	liv	1075	24	2	2931	13	53
				Mesore								
	7	4	2816	30	6	lv	1070	22	6	2936	12	54
	Jun. 4	1	2821	29	7	lvi	*1065	Mar. 19	3	2941	11	55
	2	5	2826	28	8	lvii	1060	17	7	2946	10	56
	May 31	2	2831	27	9	lviii	1055	15	4	2951	9	57
	29	6	2836	26	10	lix	1050	13	1	2956	8	58
	May 26	3	2841	25	11	lx	*1045	Mar. 10	5	2961	7	59
	24	7	2846	24	12	lxi	1040	8	2	2966	6	60
	22	4	2851	23	13	lxii	1035	6	6	2971	5	61
	20	1	2856	22	14	lxiii	1030	4	3	2976	4	62
	ay 17	5	2861	21	15	lxiv	*1025	Mar. 1	7	2981	3	63
	15	2	2866	20	16	lxv	1020	Feb. 27	4	2986	2	64
	13	6	2871	19	17	lxvi	1015	25	1	2991	1	65
											Paūni	
xix	11	3	2876	18	18	lxvii	1010	23	5	2996	30	66
xx	May 8	7	2881	17	19	lxviij	*1005	21	2	3001	29	67
xxi	*7	4	2886	16	20	lxix	1000	Feb. 18	6	3006	28	68
xxii	5	1	2891	15	21	lxx	995	16	3	3011	27	69
xiii	3	5	2896	14	22	lxxi	990	14	7	3016	26	70
xiv	Apr. 30	2	2901	13	23	lxxii	*985	12	4	3021	25	71

Type II. Period II. 120 years. Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220. Nundinal.							Type III. Period I. 120. Epoch May 22 B. C. 1100 Nundinal.				
Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Cyc.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Cyc.	Mid-night
					Mesore						Thot
xxv	1100	Apr. 28	6	2906	12	24	i	May 22	2	2907	1
											Epa
xxvi	1095	26	3	2911	11	25	ii	20	6	2911	5
xxvii	1090	24	7	2916	10	26	iii	18	3	2916	
xxviii	*1085	Apr. 21	4	2921	9	27	iv	May 15	7	2921	
xxix	1080	19	1	2926	8	28	v	13	4	2926	2
xxx	1075	17	5	2931	7	29	vi	11	1	2931	1
											Mes
xxx	1070	15	2	2936	6	30	vii	9	5	2936	30
xxxii	*1065	Apr. 12	6	2941	5	31	viii	May 6	2	2941	29
xxxiii	1060	10	3	2946	4	32	ix	4	6	2946	28
xxxiv	1055	8	7	2951	3	33	x	2	3	2951	27
xxxv	1050	6	4	2956	2	34	xi	Apr. 30	7	2956	26
xxxvi	*1045	Apr. 3	1	2961	1	35	xii	Apr. 27	4	2961	25
					Epiphi						
xxxvii	1040	1	5	2966	30	36	xiii	25	1	2966	
xxxviii	1035	Mar. 30	2	2971	29	37	xix	23	5	2971	
xxxix	1030	28	6	2976	28	38	xv	21	2	2976	
xl	*1025	Mar. 25	3	2981	27	39	xvi	Apr. 18	6	2981	
xli	1020	23	7	2986	26	40	xvii	16	3	2986	
xlii	1015	21	4	2991	25	41	xviii	14	7	2991	
xliii	1010	19	1	2996	24	42	xix	12	4	2996	1
xliv	*1005	Mar. 16	5	3001	23	43	xx	Apr. 9	1	3001	17
xlv	1000	14	2	3006	22	44	xxi	7	5	3006	16
xlvi	995	12	6	3011	21	45	xxii	5	2	3011	15
xlvii	990	10	3	3016	20	46	xxiii	3	6	3016	14
xlviii	*985	Mar. 7	7	3021	19	47	xxiv	Mar. 31	3	3021	13

Type I. Period IV. 120 years.

Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340.

Nundinal.

Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Æra Cyc.	Mid-night.	Reces.
					Paüni	
	980	Feb. *10	1	3026	24	72
	975	8	5	3031	23	73
	970	6	2	3036	22	74
	*965	4	6	3041	21	75
	960	Feb. 1	3	3046	20	76
	955	Jan. 30	7	3051	19	77
	950	28	4	3056	18	78
	*945	26	1	3061	17	79
	940	Jan. 23	5	3066	16	80
	935	21	2	3071	15	81
	930	19	6	3076	14	82
	*925	17	3	3081	13	83
	920	Jan. 14	7	3086	12	84
	915	12	4	3091	11	85
i	910	10	1	3096	10	86
ii	*905	8	5	3101	9	87
	900	Jan. 5	2	3106	8	88
	895	3	6	3111	7	89
	890	1	3	3116	6	90
	*886	Dec. 30	7	3121	5	91
	881	Dec. 27	4	3126	4	92
iv	876	25	1	3131	3	93
cv	871	23	5	3136	2	94
cvi	*866	*22	2	3141	1	95

Type II. Period III. 120 years.

Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220.

Nundinal.

Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Epiphi	
xlix	Mar. *6	4	18	48
l	4	1	17	49
li	2	5	16	50
lii	Feb. 28	2	15	51
liii	Feb. 25	6	14	52
liv	23	3	13	53
lv	21	7	12	54
lvi	19	4	11	55
lvii	Feb. 16	1	10	56
lviii	14	5	9	57
lix	12	2	8	58
lx	10	6	7	59
lxi	Feb. 7	3	6	60
lxii	5	7	5	61
lxiii	3	4	4	62
lxiv	1	1	3	63
lxv	Jan. 29	5	2	64
lxvi	27	2	1	65
			Paüni	
lxvii	25	6	30	66
lxviii	23	3	29	67
lxix	Jan. 20	7	28	68
lxx	18	4	27	69
lxxi	16	1	26	70
lxxii	*15	5	25	71

Type III. Period II. 120 years.

Epoch May 22 B. C. 1100.

Nundinal.

Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Mesore	
xxv	Mar. *30	7	12	24
xxvi	28	4	11	25
xxvii	26	1	10	26
xxviii	Mar. 23	5	9	27
xxix	21	2	8	28
xxx	19	6	7	29
xxxi	17	3	6	30
xxxii	Mar. 14	7	5	31
xxxiii	12	4	4	32
xxxiv	10	1	3	33
xxxv	8	5	2	34
xxxvi	Mar. 5	2	1	35
			Epiphi	
xxxvii	3	6	30	36
xxxviii	1	3	29	37
xxxix	Feb. 27	7	28	38
xl	25	4	27	39
xli	Feb. 22	1	26	40
xlii	20	5	25	41
xliii	18	2	24	42
xliv	16	6	23	43
xlv	Feb. 13	3	22	44
xlvi	11	7	21	45
xlvii	9	4	20	46
xlviii	*8	1	19	47

Type IV. Period I. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B.C. 980. Nundinal.							Type I. Period V. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B.C. 1340. Nundinal.							Type II. Per. IV. 120 yrs. Epoch June 20 B.C. 1220. Nundinal.				
Cyc.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Cyc.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Cyc.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
i	980	Apr. 23	3	3027	Thoth 1	0	xcvii	861	Dec. 19	6	3146	Pach. 30	96	lxxiii	Jan. 12	2	Pau 24	
ii	975	21	7	3031	Epag. 5	1	xcviii	856	17	3	3151	29	97	lxxiv	10	6	23	
iii	970	19	4	3036	4	2	xcix	851	15	7	3156	28	98	lxxv	8	3	22	
iv	*965	Apr. 16	1	3041	3	3	c	*846	13	4	3161	27	99	lxxvi	6	7	21	
v	960	14	5	3046	2	4	ci	841	Dec. 10	1	3166	26	100	lxxvii	Jan. 3	4	2	
vi	955	12	2	3051	1	5	cii	836	8	5	3171	25	101	lxxviii	1	1	19	
vii	950	10	6	3056	Mes. 30	6	ciii	831	6	2	3176	24	102	lxxix	Dec. 30	5	18	
viii	*945	Apr. 7	3	3061	29	7	civ	*826	4	6	3181	23	103	lxxx	28	2	17	
ix	940	5	7	3066	28	8	cv	821	Dec. 1	3	3186	22	104	lxxxi	Dec. 25	6	16	
x	935	3	4	3071	27	9	cvi	816	Nov. 29	7	3191	21	105	lxxxii	23	3	15	
xi	930	1	1	3076	26	10	cvii	811	27	4	3196	20	106	lxxxiii	21	7	14	
xii	*925	Mar. 29	5	3081	25	11	cviii	*806	25	1	3201	19	107	lxxxiv	19	4	13	
xiii	920	27	2	3086	24	12	cix	801	Nov. 22	5	3206	18	108	lxxxv	Dec. 16	1	12	
xiv	915	25	6	3091	23	13	cx	796	20	2	3211	17	109	lxxxvi	14	5	11	
xv	910	23	3	3096	22	14	cxi	791	18	6	3216	16	110	lxxxvii	12	2	10	
xvi	*905	Mar. 20	7	3101	21	15	cxii	*786	16	3	3221	15	111	lxxxviii	10	6	9	
xvii	900	18	4	3106	20	16	cxiii	781	Nov. 13	7	3226	14	112	lxxxix	Dec. 7	3	8	
xviii	895	16	1	3111	19	17	cxiv	776	11	4	3231	13	113	xc	5	7	7	
xix	890	14	5	3116	18	18	cxv	771	9	1	3236	12	114	xci	3	4	6	
xx	*885	Mar. 11	2	3121	17	19	cxvi	*766	7	5	3241	11	115	xcii	1	1	5	
xxi	880	9	6	3126	16	20	cxvii	761	Nov. 4	2	3246	10	116	xciii	Nov. 28	5	4	
xxii	875	7	3	3131	15	21	cxviii	756	2	6	3251	9	117	xciv	26	2	3	93
xxiii	870	5	7	3136	14	22	cxix	751	Oct. 31	3	3256	8	118	xcv	24	6	2	94
xxiv	*865	Mar. *3	4	3141	13	23	cxx	*746	29	7	3261	7	119	xcvi	22	3	1	95

Type III. Period III. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B.C. 1100. Nundinal.					Type IV. Period II. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. Nundinal.					Type V. Period I. II. 110 years. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria.	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria.	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria.	Midnight. Æra Cyc.	Reces.
			Epiphi					Mesore					3147. Thoth	
xlix	Feb. 5	5	18	48	xxv	Mar. 1	1	12	24	i	Mar. 25	4	1	0
													Epagom.	
l	3	2	17	49	xxvi	Feb. 27	5	11	25	ii	23	1	5	1
li	1	6	16	50	xxvii	25	2	10	26	iii	21	5	4	2
lii	Jan. 30	3	15	51	xxviii	23	6	9	27	iv	Mar. 18	2	3	3
lii	Jan. 27	7	14	52	xxix	Feb. 20	3	8	28	v	16	6	2	4
liv	25	4	13	53	xxx	18	7	7	29	vi	14	3	1	5
													Mesore	
lv	23	1	12	54	xxxi	16	4	6	30	vii	12	7	30	6
lvi	21	5	11	55	xxxii	14	1	5	31	viii	Mar. 9	4	29	7
lvii	Jan. 18	2	10	56	xxxiii	Feb. 11	5	4	32	ix	7	1	28	8
lviii	16	6	9	57	xxxiv	9	2	3	33	x	5	5	27	9
lix	14	3	8	58	xxxv	7	6	2	34	xi	3	2	26	10
lx	12	7	7	59	xxxvi	5	3	1	35	xii	Feb. 29	6	25	11
lxi	Jan. 9	4	6	60	xxxvii	Feb. 2	7	Epiphi 30	36	xiii	Feb. 26	3	24	12
lxii	7	1	5	61	xxxviii	Jan. 31	4	29	37	xiv	24	7	23	13
lxiii	5	5	4	62	xxxix	29	1	28	38	xv	22	4	22	14
lxiv	3	2	3	63	xl	27	5	27	39	xvi	20	1	21	15
lxv	Dec. 31	6	2	64	xli	Jan. 24	2	26	40	xvii	Feb. 17	5	20	16
lxvi	29	3	1	65	xlii	22	6	25	41	xviii	15	2	19	17
			Paüni											
lxvii	27	7	30	66	xliii	20	3	24	42	xix	13	6	18	18
lxviii	25	4	29	67	xliv	18	7	23	43	xx	11	3	17	19
lxix	Dec. 22	1	28	68	xlv	Jan. 15	4	22	44	xxi	Feb. 8	7	16	20
lxx	20	5	27	69	xlvi	13	1	21	45	xxii	6	4	15	21
													Mesore	
lxxi	18	2	26	70	xlvii	11	5	20	46	i	Feb. 4	1	14	22
lxxii	16	6	25	71	xlviii	9	2	19	47	ii	2	5	13	23

Type I. Period VI. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. Nundinal.							Type II. Period V. 120 years. Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Æra Cyc.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
					Pachon					Pachon	
cxxi	741	Oct. 26	4	3266	6	120	xcvii	Nov. 19	7	30	96
cxxii	736	24	1	3271	5	121	xcviii	17	4	29	97
cxxiii	731	22	5	3276	4	122	xcix	15	1	28	98
				Nab.							
cxxiv	*726	*21	2	22	3	123	c	*14	5	27	99
cxxv	721	Oct. 18	6	27	2	124	ci	Nov. 11	2	26	100
cxxvi	716	16	3	32	1	125	cii	9	6	25	101
					Pharm.						
cxxvii	711	14	7	37	30	126	ciii	7	3	24	102
cxxviii	*706	12	4	42	29	127	civ	5	7	23	103
cxxix	701	Oct. 9	1	47	28	128	cv	Nov. 2	4	22	104
cxxx	696	7	5	52	27	129	cvi	Oct. 31	1	21	105
cxxxi	691	5	2	57	26	130	cvii	29	5	20	106
cxxxii	*686	3	6	62	25	131	cviii	27	2	19	107
cxxxiii	681	Sep. 30	3	67	24	132	cix	Oct. 24	6	18	108
cxxxiv	676	28	7	72	23	133	cx	22	3	17	109
cxxxv	671	*26	*3	77	22	134	cxi	*20	*6	16	110
cxxxvi	*666	24	7	82	21	135	cxii	18	3	15	111
cxxxvii	661	Sep. 21	4	87	20	136	cxiii	Oct. 15	7	14	112
cxxxviii	656	19	1	92	19	137	cxiv	13	4	13	113
cxxxix	651	17	5	97	18	138	cxv	11	1	12	114
cxl	*646	15	2	102	17	139	cxvi	9	5	11	115
cxli	641	Sep. 12	6	107	16	140	cxvii	Oct. 6	2	10	116
cxlii	636	10	3	112	15	141	cxviii	4	6	9	117
cxliii	631	8	7	117	14	142	cxix	2	3	8	118
cxliv	*626	6	4	122	13	143	cxx	Sep. 30	7	7	119

...e III. Period IV. 120 years. ...poch May 22. B. C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					Type IV. Period III. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. NUNDINAL.					Type V. Period II. III. 110 yrs. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-nignt.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Paüni					Epiphi					Mesore	
lxxiii	Dec. 13	3	24	72	xlix	Jan. 6	6	18	48	iii	Jan. 30	2	12	24
lxxiv	11	7	23	73	l	4	3	17	49	iv	28	6	11	25
lxxv	9	4	22	74	li	2	7	16	50	v	26	3	10	26
lxxvi	*8	1	21	75	lii	*1	4	15	51	vi	*25	7	9	27
lxxvii	Dec. 5	5	20	76	liii	Dec. 29	1	14	52	vii	Jan. 22	4	8	28
lxxviii	3	2	19	77	liv	27	5	13	53	viii	20	1	7	29
lxxix	1	6	18	78	lv	25	2	12	54	ix	18	5	6	30
lxxx	Nov. 29	3	17	79	lvi	23	6	11	55	x	16	2	5	31
lxxxi	Nov. 26	7	16	80	lvii	Dec. 20	3	10	56	xi	Jan. 13	6	4	32
lxxxii	24	4	15	81	lviii	18	7	9	57	xii	11	3	3	33
lxxxiii	22	1	14	82	lix	16	4	8	58	xiii	9	7	2	34
lxxxiv	20	5	13	83	lx	14	1	7	59	xiv	7	4	1	35
lxxxv	Nov. 17	2	12	84	lxi	Dec. 11	5	6	60	xv	Jan. 4	1	Epiphi 30	36
lxxxvi	15	6	11	85	lxii	9	2	5	61	xvi	2	5	29	37
lxxxvii	*13	*2	10	86	lxiii	*7	*5	4	62	xvii	De. *31	*1	28	38
lxxxviii	11	6	9	87	lxiv	5	2	3	63	xviii	29	5	27	39
lxxxix	Nov. 8	3	8	88	lxv	Dec. 2	6	2	64	xix	Dec. 26	2	26	40
xc	6	7	7	89	lxvi	Nov. 30	3	1	65	xx	24	6	25	41
xci	4	4	6	90	lxvii	28	7	Paüni 30	66	xxi	22	3	24	42
xcii	2	1	5	91	lxviii	26	4	29	67	xxii	20	7	23	43
xciii	Oct. 30	5	4	92	lxix	Nov. 23	1	28	68	i	Dec. 17	4	Epiphi 22	44
xciv	28	2	3	93	lxx	21	5	27	69	ii	15	1	21	45
xcv	26	6	2	94	lxxi	19	2	26	70	iii	13	5	20	46
xcvi	24	3	1	95	lxxii	17	6	25	71	iv	11	2	19	47

Type I. Period VII. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. Nundinal.							Type II. Period VI. 120 y Epoch June 20 B. C. 122 Nundinal.				
Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Nab.	Midnight.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
					Pharm.					Pachon.	
cxlv	621	Sep. 3	1	127	12	144	cxxi	Sep. 27	4	6	120
cxlvi	616	1	5	132	11	145	cxxii	25	1	5	121
cxlvii	611	Aug. 30	2	137	10	146	cxxiii	23	5	4	122
cxlviii	*606	28	6	142	9	147	cxxiv	21	2	3	123
cxlix	601	Aug. 25	3	147	8	148	cxxv	Sep. 18	6	2	124
cl	596	23	7	152	7	149	cxxvi	16	3	1	125
										Pharm.	
cli	591	21	4	157	6	150	cxxvii	14	7	30	126
clii	*586	19	1	162	5	151	cxxviii	12	4	29	127
cliii	581	Aug. 16	5	167	4	152	cxxix	Sep. 9	1	28	128
cliv	576	14	2	172	3	153	cxxx	7	5	27	1
clv	571	12	6	177	2	154	cxxxi	5	2	26	1
clvi	*566	10	3	182	1	155	cxxxii	3	6	25	13
					Pham.						
clvii	561	Aug. 7	7	187	30	156	cxxxiii	Aug. 31	3	24	13
clviii	556	5	4	192	29	157	cxxxiv	29	7	23	13
clix	551	3	1	197	28	158	cxxxv	27	4	22	13
clx	*546	1	5	202	27	159	cxxxvi	25	1	21	13
clxi	541	July 29	2	207	26	160	cxxxvii	Aug. 22	5	20	136
clxii	536	27	6	212	25	161	cxxxviii	20	2	19	137
clxiii	531	*25	*2	217	24	162	cxxxix	*18	*5	18	138
clxiv	*526	23	6	222	23	163	cxl	16	2	17	139
clxv	521	July 20	3	227	22	164	cxli	Aug. 13	6	16	140
clxvi	516	18	7	232	21	165	cxlii	11	3	15	14
clxvii	511	16	4	237	20	166	cxliii	9	7	14	14
clxviii	*506	14	1	242	19	167	cxliv	7	4	13	143

TYPE III. PERIOD V. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B.C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					TYPE IV. PERIOD IV. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B.C. 980. NUNDINAL.					TYPE V. PERIOD III. IV. 110 years. Epoch March 25 B.C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Pachon					Paüni					Epiphi	
xcvii	Oct. 21	7	30	96	lxxiii	Nov. 14	3	24	72	v	Dec. 8	6	18	48
xcviii	19	4	29	97	lxxiv	12	7	23	73	vi	6	3	17	49
xcix	17	1	28	98	lxxv	10	4	22	74	vii	4	7	16	50
c	15	5	27	99	lxxvi	8	1	21	75	viii	2	4	15	51
ci	Oct. 12	2	26	100	lxxvii	Nov. 5	5	20	76	ix	Nov. 29	1	14	52
cii	10	6	25	101	lxxviii	3	2	19	77	x	27	5	13	53
ciii	8	3	24	102	lxxix	1	6	18	78	xi	25	2	12	54
civ	6	7	23	103	lxxx	Oct. 30	3	17	79	xii	23	6	11	55
cv	Oct. 3	4	22	104	lxxxi	Oct. 27	7	16	80	xiii	Nov. 20	3	10	56
cvi	1	1	21	105	lxxxii	25	4	15	81	xiv	18	7	9	57
cvii	Sep. 29	5	20	106	lxxxiii	23	1	14	82	xv	16	4	8	58
cviii	27	2	19	107	lxxxiv	21	5	13	83	xvi	14	1	7	59
cix	Sep. 24	6	18	108	lxxxv	Oct. 18	2	12	84	xvii	Nov. 11	5	6	60
cx	22	3	17	109	lxxxvi	16	6	11	85	xviii	9	2	5	61
cxi	20	7	16	110	lxxxvii	14	3	10	86	xix	7	6	4	62
cxii	18	4	15	111	lxxxviii	12	7	9	87	xx	5	3	3	63
cxiii	Sep. 15	1	14	112	lxxxix	Oct. 9	4	8	88	xxi	Nov. 2	7	2	64
cxiv	13	5	13	113	xc	7	1	7	89	xxii	Oct. 31	4	1	65
													Paüni	
cxv	*11	*1	12	114	xci	*5	*4	6	90	i	Oct. *29	*7	30	66
cxvi	9	5	11	115	xcii	3	1	5	91	ii	27	4	29	67
cxvii	Sep. 6	2	10	116	xciii	Sep. 30	5	4	92	iii	Oct. 24	1	28	68
cxviii	4	6	9	117	xciv	28	2	3	93	iv	22	5	27	69
cxix	2	3	8	118	xcv	26	6	2	94	v	20	2	26	70
cxx	Aug. 31	7	7	119	xcvi	24	3	1	95	vi	18	6	25	71

Type I. Period VIII. 120 years.

Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Æra Nab.	Mid-night.	Reces.
					Pham.	
clxix	501	July 11	5	247	18	168
clxx	496	9	2	252	17	169
clxxi	491	7	6	257	16	170
clxxii	*486	5	3	262	15	171
clxxiii	481	July 2	7	267	14	172
clxxiv	476	June 30	4	272	13	173
clxxv	471	28	1	277	12	174
clxxvi	*466	26	5	282	11	175
clxxvii	461	June 23	2	287	10	176
clxxviii	456	21	6	292	9	177
clxxix	451	19	3	297	8	178
clxxx	*446	17	7	302	7	179
clxxxi	441	June 14	4	307	6	180
clxxxii	436	12	1	312	5	181
clxxxiii	431	10	5	317	4	182
clxxxiv	*426	8	2	322	3	183
clxxxv	421	June *5	*5	327	2	184
clxxxvi	416	3	2	332	1	185
					Mecheir	
clxxxvii	411	1	6	337	30	186
clxxxviii	*406	May 30	3	342	29	187
clxxxix	401	May 27	7	347	28	188
cxc	396	25	4	352	27	189
cxci	391	23	1	357	26	190
cxcii	*386	21	5	362	25	191

Type II. Period VII. 120 years.

Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Pharm.	
cxlv	Aug. 4	1	12	144
cxlvi	2	5	11	145
cxlvii	July 31	2	10	146
cxlviii	29	6	9	147
clix	July 26	3	8	148
cl	24	7	7	149
cli	22	4	6	150
clii	20	1	5	151
cliii	July 17	5	4	152
cliv	15	2	3	153
clv	13	6	2	154
clvi	11	3	1	155
			Pham.	
clvii	July 8	7	30	156
clviii	6	4	29	157
clix	4	1	28	158
clx	2	5	27	159
clxi	June*29	*1	26	160
clxii	27	5	25	161
clxiii	25	2	24	162
clxiv	23	6	23	163
clxv	June 20	3	22	164
clxvi	18	7	21	165
clvvii	16	4	20	166
clxviii	14	1	19	167

Type III. Period VI. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B. C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					Type IV. Period V. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. NUNDINAL.					Type V. Per. IV. V. 110 yrs. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Pachon					Pachon					Paüni	
cxxi	Aug. 28	4	6	120	xcvii	Sep. 21	7	30	96	vii	Oct. 15	3	24	72
cxxii	26	1	5	121	xcviii	19	4	29	97	viii	13	7	23	73
cxxiii	24	5	4	122	xcix	17	1	28	98	ix	11	4	22	74
cxxiv	22	2	3	123	c	15	5	27	99	x	9	1	21	75
cxxv	Aug. 19	6	2	124	ci	Sep. 12	2	26	100	xi	Oct. 6	5	20	76
cxxvi	17	3	1	125	cii	10	6	25	101	xii	4	2	19	77
			Pharm.											
cxxvii	15	7	30	126	ciii	8	3	24	102	xiii	2	6	18	78
cxxviii	13	4	29	127	civ	6	7	23	103	xiv	Sep. 30	3	17	79
cxxix	Aug. 10	1	28	128	cv	Sep. 3	4	22	104	xv	Sep. 27	7	16	80
cxxx	8	5	27	129	cvi	1	1	21	105	xvi	25	4	15	81
cxxxi	6	2	26	130	cvii	Aug. 30	5	20	106	xvii	23	1	14	82
cxxxii	4	6	25	131	cviii	28	2	19	107	xviii	21	5	13	83
cxxxiii	Aug. 1	3	24	132	cix	Aug. 25	6	18	108	xix	Sep. 18	2	12	84
cxxxiv	July 30	7	23	133	cx	23	3	17	109	xx	16	6	11	85
cxxxv	28	4	22	134	cxi	21	7	16	110	xxi	14	3	10	86
cxxxvi	26	1	21	135	cxii	19	4	15	111	xxii	12	7	9	87
													Paüni	
cxxxvii	July *23	*4	20	136	cxiii	Aug. *16	*7	14	112	i	Sep. *9	*3	8	88
cxxxviii	21	1	19	137	cxiv	14	4	13	113	ii	7	7	7	89
cxxxix	19	5	18	138	cxv	12	1	12	114	iii	5	4	6	90
cxl	17	2	17	139	cxvi	10	5	11	115	iv	3	1	5	91
cxli	July 14	6	16	140	cxvii	Aug. 7	2	10	116	v	Aug. 31	5	4	92
cxlii	12	3	15	141	cxviii	5	6	9	117	vi	29	2	3	93
cxliii	10	7	14	142	cxix	3	3	8	118	vii	27	6	2	94
cxliv	8	4	13	143	cxx	1	7	7	119	viii	25	3	1	95

Type I. Period IX. 120 years.

Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	B. C.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Nab.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
					Mecheir	
cxciii	381	May 18	2	367	24	192
cxciv	376	16	6	372	23	193
cxcv	371	14	3	377	22	194
cxcvi	*366	12	7	382	21	195
cxcvii	361	May 9	4	387	20	196
cxcviii	356	7	1	392	19	197
cxcix	351	5	5	397	18	198
cc	*346	3	2	402	17	199
cci	341	Apr. 30	6	407	16	200
ccii	336	28	3	412	15	201
cciii	331	26	7	417	14	202
cciv	*326	24	4	422	13	203
ccv	321	Apr. 21	1	427	12	204
ccvi	316	19	5	432	11	205
ccvii	311	17	2	437	10	206
ccviii	*306	15	6	442	9	207
ccix	301	Apr. 12	3	447	8	208
ccx	296	10	7	452	7	209
ccxi	291	8	4	457	6	210
ccxii	*286	6	1	462	5	211
ccxiii	281	Apr. *3	*4	467	4	212
ccxiv	276	1	1	472	3	213
ccxv	271	Mar. 30	5	477	2	214
ccxvi	*266	28	2	482	1	215

Type II. Period VIII. 120 year

Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	R c
			Pham.	
clxix	Jun. 11	5	18	168
clxx	9	2	17	169
clxxi	7	6	16	170
clxxii	5	3	15	171
clxxiii	Jun. 2	7	14	172
clxxiv	May 31	4	13	173
clxxv	29	1	12	174
clxxvi	27	5	11	175
clxxvii	May 24	2	10	176
clxxviii	22	6	9	177
clxxix	20	3	8	178
clxxx	18	7	7	179
clxxxi	May 15	4	6	180
clxxxii	13	1	5	181
clxxxiii	11	5	4	182
clxxxiv	9	2	3	183
clxxxv	May 6	6	2	184
clxxxvi	4	3	1	185
clxxxvii	2	7	Mecheir 30	186
clxxxviii	Apr. 30	4	29	187
clxxxix	Ap. *27	*7	28	188
cxc	25	4	27	189
cxci	23	1	26	190
cxcii	21	5	25	191

Type III. Period VII. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B.C. 1100. Nundinal.					Type IV. Period VI. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B.C. 980. Nundinal.					Type V. Period V. VI. 110 yrs. Epoch March 25 B.C. 860. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Pharm.					Pachon					Pachon	
cxlv	July 5	1	12	144	cxxi	July 29	4	6	120	ix	Aug. 22	7	30	96
cxlvi	3	5	11	145	cxxii	27	1	5	121	x	20	4	29	97
cxlvii	1	2	10	146	cxxiii	25	5	4	122	xi	18	1	28	98
clviii	Jun. 29	6	9	147	cxxiv	23	2	3	123	xii	16	5	27	99
clix	Jun. 26	3	8	148	cxxv	July 20	6	2	124	xiii	Aug. 13	2	26	100
cl	24	7	7	149	cxxvi	18	3	1	125	xiv	11	6	25	101
								Pharm.						
cli	22	4	6	150	cxxvii	16	7	30	126	xv	9	3	24	102
clii	20	1	5	151	cxxviii	14	4	29	127	xvi	7	7	23	103
cliii	Jun. 17	5	4	152	cxxix	July 11	1	28	128	xvii	Aug. 4	4	22	104
cliv	15	2	3	153	cxxx	9	5	27	129	xviii	2	1	21	105
clv	13	6	2	154	cxxxi	7	2	26	130	xix	July 31	5	20	106
clvi	11	3	1	155	cxxxii	5	6	25	131	xx	29	2	19	107
			Pham.											
clvii	Jun. 8	7	30	156	cxxxiii	July 2	3	24	132	xxi	July 26	6	18	108
clviii	6	4	29	157	cxxxiv	June 30	7	23	133	xxii	24	3	17	109
													Pachon	
clix	4	1	28	158	cxxxv	28	4	22	134	i	July 22	7	16	110
clx	2	5	27	159	cxxxvi	26	1	21	135	ii	20	4	15	111
clxi	May 30	2	26	160	cxxxvii	June 23	5	20	136	iii	July 17	1	14	112
clxii	28	6	25	161	cxxxviii	21	2	19	137	iv	15	5	13	113
clxiii	26	3	24	162	cxxxix	19	6	18	138	v	13	2	12	114
clxiv	24	7	23	163	cxl	17	3	17	139	vi	11	6	11	115
clxv	Ma. *21	*3	22	164	cxli	Ju. *14	*6	16	140	vii	July *8	*2	10	116
clxvi	19	7	21	165	cxlii	12	3	15	141	viii	6	6	9	117
clxvii	17	4	20	166	cxliii	10	7	14	142	ix	4	3	8	118
clxviii	15	1	19	167	cxliv	8	4	13	143	x	2	7	7	119

TYPE I. PERIOD X. 120 years.

Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	B.C.	Midnight.	Feria	Æra Nab.	Midnight.	Reces.
					Tybi	
ccxvii	261	Mar. 25	6	487	30	216
ccxviii	256	23	3	492	29	217
ccxix	251	21	7	497	28	218
ccxx	246	19	4	502	27	219
ccxxi	*241	Mar. 16	1	507	26	220
ccxxii	236	14	5	512	25	221
ccxxiii	231	12	2	517	24	222
ccxxiv	226	10	6	522	23	223
ccxxv	*221	Mar. 7	3	527	22	224
ccxxvi	216	5	7	532	21	225
ccxxvii	211	3	4	537	20	226
ccxxviii	206	1	1	542	19	227
ccxxix	*201	Feb. 27	5	547	18	228
ccxxx	196	Feb. 24	2	552	17	229
ccxxxi	191	22	6	557	16	230
ccxxxii	186	20	3	562	15	231
ccxxxiii	*181	18	7	567	14	232
ccxxxiv	176	Feb. 15	4	572	13	233
ccxxxv	171	13	1	577	12	234
ccxxxvi	166	11	5	582	11	235
ccxxxvii	*161	9	2	587	10	236
ccxxxviii	156	Feb. 6	6	592	9	237
ccxxxix	151	4	3	597	8	238
ccxl	146	2	7	602	7	239

TYPE II. PERIOD IX. 120 years.

Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria	Midnight.	Reces.
			Mecheir	
cxciii	Apr. 18	2	24	192
cxciv	16	6	23	193
cxcv	14	3	22	194
cxcvi	12	7	21	1
cxcvii	Apr. 9	4	20	196
cxcviii	7	1	19	197
cxcix	5	5	18	198
cc	2	2	17	199
cci	Mar. 31	6	16	200
ccii	29	3	15	201
cciii	27	7	14	202
cciv	25	4	13	203
ccv	Mar. 22	1	12	204
ccvi	20	5	11	205
ccvii	18	2	10	206
ccviii	16	6	9	207
ccix	Mar. 13	3	8	208
ccx	11	7	7	209
ccxi	9	4	6	210
ccxii	7	1	5	211
ccxiii	Mar. 4	5	4	212
ccxiv	2	2	3	213
ccxv	Feb. 28	6	2	214
ccxvi	26	3	1	2

Type III. Period VIII. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B.C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					Type IV. Period VII. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. NUNDINAL.					Type V. Period VI. VII. 110 years. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
			Pham.					Pharm.					Pachon	
clxix	May 12	5	18	168	cxlv	June 5	1	12	144	xi	June 29	4	6	120
clxx	10	2	17	169	cxlvi	3	5	11	145	xii	27	1	5	121
clxxi	8	6	16	170	cxlvii	1	2	10	146	xiii	25	5	4	122
clxxii	6	3	15	171	cxlviii	May 30	6	9	147	xiv	23	2	3	123
clxxiii	May 3	7	14	172	cxlix	May 27	3	8	148	xv	June 20	6	2	124
clxxiv	1	4	13	173	cl	25	7	7	149	xvi	18	3	1	125
													Pharm.	
clxxv	Apr. 29	1	12	174	cli	23	4	6	150	xvii	16	7	30	126
clxxvi	27	5	11	175	clii	21	1	5	151	xviii	14	4	29	127
clxxvii	Apr. 24	2	10	176	cliii	May 18	5	4	152	xix	June 11	1	28	128
clxxviii	22	6	9	177	cliv	16	2	3	153	xx	9	5	27	129
clxxix	20	3	8	178	clv	14	6	2	154	xxi	7	2	26	130
clxxx	18	7	7	179	clvi	12	3	1	155	xxii	5	6	25	131
								Pham.					Pharm.	
clxxxi	Apr. 15	4	6	180	clvii	May 9	7	30	156	i	June 2	3	24	132
clxxxii	13	1	5	181	clviii	7	4	29	157	ii	May 31	7	23	133
clxxxiii	11	5	4	182	clix	5	1	28	158	iii	29	4	22	134
clxxxiv	9	2	3	183	clx	3	5	27	159	iv	27	1	21	135
clxxxv	Apr. 6	6	2	184	clxi	Apr. 30	2	26	160	v	May 24	5	20	136
clxxxvi	4	3	1	185	clxii	28	6	25	161	vi	22	2	19	137
			Mecheir											
clxxxvii	2	7	30	186	clxiii	26	3	24	162	vii	20	6	18	138
clxxxviii	Mar. 31	4	29	187	clxiv	24	7	23	163	viii	18	3	17	139
clxxxix	Mar. 28	1	28	188	clxv	Apr. 21	4	22	164	ix	May 15	7	16	140
cc	26	5	27	189	clxvi	19	1	21	165	x	13	4	15	141
cci	24	2	26	190	clxvii	17	5	20	166	xi	11	1	14	142
ccii	22	6	25	191	clxviii	15	2	19	167	xii	9	5	13	143

Type I. Period XI. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. Nundinal.							Type II. Period X. 120 y Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	B. C.	Midnight.	Feria	Æra Nab.	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria	Midnight.	Reces.
			4		Tybi				7	Tybi	
ccxli	*141	Jan. *31*	*3	607	6	240	ccxvii	Feb.* 24	*6	30	216
ccxlii	136	Jan. 28	7	612	5	241	ccxviii	Feb. 21	3	29	217
ccxliii	131	26	4	617	4	242	ccxix	19	7	28	21
ccxliv	126	24	1	622	3	243	ccxx	17	4	27	21
ccxlv	*121	22	5	627	2	244	ccxxi	15	1	26	220
ccxlvi	116	Jan. 19	2	632	1	245	ccxxii	Feb. 12	5	25	221
					Chœac						
ccxlvii	111	17	6	637	30	246	ccxxiii	10	2	24	222
ccxlviii	106	15	3	642	29	247	ccxxiv	8	6	23	223
ccxlix	*101	13	7	647	28	248	ccxxv	6	3	22	224
ccl	96	Jan. 10	4	652	27	249	ccxxvi	Feb. 3	7	21	225
ccli	91	8	1	657	26	250	ccxxvii	1	4	20	226
cclii	86	6	5	662	25	251	ccxxviii	Jan. 30	1	19	227
ccliii	*81	4	2	667	24	252	ccxxix	28	5	18	22
ccliv	76	Jan. 1	6	672	23	253	ccxxx	Jan. 25	2	17	22
cclv	72	Dec. 30	3	677	22	254	ccxxxi	23	6	16	23
cclvi	67	28	7	682	21	255	ccxxxii	21	3	15	23
cclvii	*62	26	4	687	20	256	ccxxxiii	19	7	14	232
cclviii	57	Dec. 23	1	692	19	257	ccxxxiv	Jan. 16	4	13	233
										12	234
cclix	52	21	5	697	18	258	ccxxxv	14	1		
cclx	47	19	2	702	17	259	ccxxxvi	12	5	11	2
cclxi	*42	17	6	707	16	260	ccxxxvii	10	2	10	2
cclxii	37	Dec. 14	3	712	15	261	ccxxxviii	Jan. 7	6	9	2
cclxiii	32	12	7	717	14	262	ccxxxix	5	3	8	2
cclxiv	27	*10	*3	722	13	263	ccxl	*3	*6	7	2

* Feria 3ª after Feb. 29 this year.

* Feria 6ª after Feb. 29.

Type III. Period IX. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B. C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					Type IV. Period VIII. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. NUNDINAL.					Type V. Period VII. VIII. 110 years. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Mecheir					Pham.					Pharm.	
cxciii	Mar. *19	*2	24	192	clxix	Apr. *12	*5	18	168	xiii	May *6	*1	12	144
cxciv	17	6	23	193	clxx	10	2	17	169	xiv	4	5	11	145
cxcv	15	3	22	194	clxxi	8	6	16	170	xv	2	2	10	146
cxcvi	13	7	21	195	clxxii	6	3	15	171	xvi	Apr. 30	6	9	147
cxcvii	Mar. 10	4	20	196	clxxiii	Apr. 3	7	14	172	xvii	Apr. 27	3	8	148
cxcviii	8	1	19	197	clxxiv	1	4	13	173	xviii	25	7	7	149
cxcix	6	5	18	198	clxxv	Mar. 30	1	12	174	xix	23	4	6	150
cc	4	2	17	199	clxxvi	28	5	11	175	xx	21	1	5	151
cci	Mar. 1	6	16	200	clxxvii	Mar. 25	2	10	176	xxi	Apr. 18	5	4	152
ccii	Feb. 27	3	15	201	clxxviii	23	6	9	177	xxii	16	2	3	153
													Pharm.	
cciii	25	7	14	202	clxxix	21	3	8	178	i	Apr. 14	6	2	154
cciv	23	4	13	203	clxxx	19	7	7	179	ii	12	3	1	155
													Pham.	
ccv	21	1	12	204	clxxxi	Mar. 16	4	6	180	iii	Apr. 9	7	30	156
ccvi	Feb. 18	5	11	205	clxxxii	14	1	5	181	iv	7	4	29	157
ccvii	16	2	10	206	clxxxiii	12	5	4	182	v	5	1	28	158
ccviii	14	6	9	207	clxxxiv	10	2	3	183	vi	3	5	27	159
ccix	12	3	8	208	clxxxv	Mar. 7	6	2	184	vii	Mar. 31	2	26	160
ccx	Feb. 9	7	7	209	clxxxvi	5	3	1	185	viii	29	6	25	161
								Mecheir						
ccxi	7	4	6	210	clxxxvii	3	7	30	186	ix	27	3	24	162
ccxii	5	1	5	211	clxxxviii	1	4	29	187	x	25	7	23	163
ccxiii	3	5	4	212	clxxxix	Feb. 27	1	28	188	xi	Mar. 22	4	22	164
ccxiv	Jan. 31	2	3	213	cxc	Feb. 24	5	27	189	xii	20	1	21	165
ccxv	29	6	2	214	cxci	22	2	26	190	xiii	18	5	20	166
ccxvi	*27	*2	1	215	cxcii	*20	*5	25	191	xiv	*16	*1	19	167

Type I. Period XII. 120 years.

Epoch July 19 B.C. 1340.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	B.C.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Nab.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
					Chœac	
cclxv	*22	Dec. 8	7	727	12	264
cclxvi	17	Dec. 5	4	732	11	265
cclxvii	12	3	1	737	10	266
cclxviii	7	1	5	742	9	267
cclxix	*2	Nov. 29	2	747	8	268
	A.D.					
cclxx	4	Nov. 26	6	752	7	269
cclxxi	9	24	3	757	6	270
cclxxii	14	22	7	762	5	271
cclxxiii	*19	20	4	767	4	272
cclxxiv	24	Nov. 17	1	772	3	273
cclxxv	29	15	5	777	2	274
cclxxvi	34	13	2	782	1	275
					Athyr	
cclxxvii	*39	11	6	787	30	276
cclxxviii	44	Nov. 8	3	792	29	277
cclxxix	49	6	7	797	28	278
cclxxx	54	4	4	802	27	279
cclxxxi	*59	2	1	807	26	280
cclxxxii	64	Oct. 30	5	812	25	281
cclxxxiii	69	28	2	817	24	282
cclxxxiv	74	26	6	822	23	283
cclxxxv	*79	24	3	827	22	284
cclxxxvi	84	Oct. 21	7	832	21	285
cclxxxvii	89	19	4	837	20	286
cclxxxviii	94	17	1	842	19	287

Type II. Period XI. 120 years.

Epoch June 20 B.C. 1220.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
			Tybi	
ccxli	Jan. 1	3	6	240
ccxlii	Dec. 29	7	5	241
ccxliii	27	4	4	242
ccxliv	25	1	3	243
ccxlv	23	5	2	244
ccxlvi	Dec. 20	2	1	245
			Chœac	
ccxlvii	18	6	30	246
ccxlviii	16	3	29	247
ccxlix	14	7	28	248
ccl	Dec. 11	4	27	249
ccli	9	1	26	250
cclii	7	5	25	251
ccliii	5	2	24	252
ccliv	Dec. 2	6	23	253
cclv	Nov. 30	3	22	254
cclvi	28	7	21	255
cclvii	26	4	20	256
cclviii	Nov. 23	1	19	257
cclix	21	5	18	258
cclx	19	2	17	259
cclxi	17	6	16	260
cclxii	Nov. 14	3	15	261
cclxiii	12	7	14	262
cclxiv	10	4	13	263

Type III. Period X. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B.C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					Type IV. Period IX. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B.C. 980. NUNDINAL.					Type V. Per. VIII. IX. 110 yrs. Epoch March 25 B.C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Tybi					Mecheir					Pham.	
ccxvii	Jan. 25	6	30	216	cxciii	Feb. 18	2	24	192	xv	Mar. 13	5	18	168
ccxviii	Jan. 22	3	29	217	cxciv	Feb. 15	6	23	193	xvi	11	2	17	169
ccxix	20	7	28	218	cxcv	13	3	22	194	xvii	9	6	16	170
ccxx	18	4	27	219	cxcvi	11	7	21	195	xviii	7	3	15	171
ccxxi	16	1	26	220	cxcvii	9	4	20	196	xix	Mar. 4	7	14	172
ccxxii	Jan 13	5	25	221	cxcviii	Feb. 6	1	19	197	xx	2	4	13	173
ccxxiii	11	2	24	222	cxcix	4	5	18	198	xxi	Feb. 28	1	12	174
ccxxiv	9	6	23	223	cc	2	2	17	199	xxii	26	5	11	175
													Pham.	
ccxxv	7	3	22	224	cci	Jan. 31	6	16	200	i	Feb. 24	2	10	176
ccxxvi	Jan. 4	7	21	225	ccii	Jan. 28	3	15	201	ii	Feb. 21	6	9	177
ccxxvii	2	4	20	226	cciii	26	7	14	202	iii	19	3	8	178
ccxxviii	Dec. 31	1	19	227	cciv	24	4	13	203	iv	17	7	7	179
ccxxix	29	5	18	228	ccv	22	1	12	204	v	15	4	6	180
ccxxx	Dec. 26	2	17	229	ccvi	Jan. 19	5	11	205	vi	Feb. 12	1	5	181
ccxxxi	24	6	16	230	ccvii	17	2	10	206	vii	10	5	4	182
ccxxxii	22	3	15	231	ccviii	15	6	9	207	viii	8	2	3	183
ccxxxiii	20	7	14	232	ccix	13	3	8	208	ix	6	6	2	184
ccxxxiv	Dec. 17	4	13	233	ccx	Jan. 10	7	7	209	x	Feb. 3	3	1	185
													Mecheir	
ccxxxv	15	1	12	234	ccxi	8	4	6	210	xi	1	7	30	186
ccxxxvi	13	5	11	235	ccxii	6	1	5	211	xii	Jan. 30	4	29	187
ccxxxvii	11	2	10	236	ccxiii	4	5	4	212	xiii	28	1	28	188
ccxxxviii	Dec. 8	6	9	237	ccxiv	Jan. 1	2	3	213	xiv	Jan. 25	5	27	189
ccxxxix	6	3	8	238	ccxv	Dec. 30	6	2	214	xv	23	2	26	190
ccxl	4	7	7	239	ccxvi	28	3	1	215	xvi	21	6	25	191

Type I. Period XIII. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. Nundinal.							Type II. Period XII. 120 yrs. Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	A. D.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Æra Nab.	Midnight.	Re-ces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Fe-ria.	Mid-night.	Re-ces.
					Athyr					Chœac.	
cclxxxix	*99	Oct. 15	5	847	18	288	cclxv	Nov. 8	1	12	264
ccxc	104	Oct. 12	2	852	17	289	cclxvi	Nov. 5	5	11	265
ccxci	109	10	6	857	16	290	cclxvii	3	2	10	266
ccxcii	114	*8	*2	862	15	291	cclxviii	*1	*5	9	267
ccxciii	*119	6	6	867	14	292	cclxix	Oct. 30	2	8	268
ccxciv	124	Oct. 3	3	872	13	293	cclxx	Oct. 27	6	7	269
ccxcv	129	1	7	877	12	294	cclxxi	25	3	6	270
ccxcvi	134	Sep. 29	4	882	11	295	cclxxii	23	7	5	271
ccxcvii	*139	27	1	887	10	296	cclxxiii	21	4	4	272
ccxcviii	144	Sep. 24	5	892	9	297	cclxxiv	Oct. 18	1	3	273
ccxcix	149	22	2	897	8	298	cclxxv	16	5	2	274
ccc	154	20	6	902	7	299	cclxxvi	14	2	1	
										Athyr	
ccci	*159	18	3	907	6	300	cclxxvii	12	6	30	
cccii	164	Sep. 15	7	912	5	301	cclxxviii	Oct. 9	3	29	
ccciii	169	13	4	917	4	302	cclxxix	7	7	28	2
ccciv	174	11	1	922	3	303	cclxxx	5	4	27	2
cccv	*179	9	5	927	2	304	cclxxxi	3	1	26	
cccvi	184	Sep. 6	2	932	1	305	cclxxxii	Sep. 30	5	25	281
					Phaophi						
cccvii	189	4	6	937	30	306	cclxxxiii	28	2	24	282
cccviii	194	2	3	942	29	307	cclxxxiv	26	6	23	283
cccix	*199	Aug. 31	7	947	28	308	cclxxxv	24	3	22	284
cccx	204	Aug. 28	4	952	27	309	cclxxxvi	Sep. 21	7	21	285
cccxi	209	26	1	957	26	310	cclxxxvii	19	4	20	286
cccxii	214	24	5	962	25	311	cclxxxviii	17	1	19	287

TYPE III. PERIOD XI. 120 yrs. Epoch May 22 B.C. 1100. NUNDINAL.					TYPE IV. PERIOD X. 120 yrs. Epoch April 23 B.C. 980. NUNDINAL.					TYPE V. PER. IX. X. 110 yrs. Epoch March 25 B.C. 860. NUNDINAL.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
			Tybi					Tybi					Mecheir	
cxli	Dec. 2	4	6	240	ccxvii	Dec. 26	7	30	216	xvii	Jan. 19	3	24	192
cxlii	Nov. 29	1	5	241	ccxviii	Dec. 23	4	29	217	xviii	Jan. 16	7	23	193
cxliii	27	5	4	242	ccxix	21	1	28	218	xix	14	4	22	194
cxliv	*25	*1	3	243	ccxx	*19	*4	27	219	xx	*12	*7	21	195
cxlv	23	5	2	244	ccxxi	17	1	26	220	xxi	10	4	20	196
ccxlvi	Nov. 20	2	1	245	ccxxii	Dec. 14	5	25	221	xxii	Jan. 7	1	19	197
			Chœac										Mecheir	
ccxlvii	18	6	30	246	ccxxiii	12	2	24	222	i	Jan. 5	5	18	198
ccxlviii	16	3	29	247	ccxxiv	10	6	23	223	ii	3	2	17	199
ccxlix	14	7	28	248	ccxxv	8	3	22	224	iii	1	6	16	200
ccl	Nov. 11	4	27	249	ccxxvi	Dec. 5	7	21	225	iv	Dec. 29	3	15	201
ccli	9	1	26	250	ccxxvii	3	4	20	226	v	27	7	14	202
cclii	7	5	25	251	ccxxviii	1	1	19	227	vi	25	4	13	203
ccliii	5	2	24	252	ccxxix	Nov. 29	5	18	228	vii	23	1	12	204
ccliv	Nov. 2	6	23	253	ccxxx	Nov. 26	2	17	229	viii	Dec. 20	5	11	205
cclv	Oct. 31	3	22	254	ccxxxi	24	6	16	230	ix	18	2	10	206
cclvi	29	7	21	255	ccxxxii	22	3	15	231	x	16	6	9	207
cclvii	27	4	20	256	ccxxxiii	20	7	14	232	xi	14	3	8	208
cclviii	Oct. 24	1	19	257	ccxxxiv	Nov. 17	4	13	233	xii	Dec. 11	7	7	209
cclix	22	5	18	258	ccxxxv	15	1	12	234	xiii	9	4	6	210
cclx	20	2	17	259	ccxxxvi	13	5	11	235	xiv	7	1	5	211
cclxi	18	6	16	260	ccxxxvii	11	2	10	236	xv	5	5	4	212
cclxii	Oct. 15	3	15	261	ccxxxviii	Nov. 8	6	9	237	xvi	Dec. 2	2	3	213
cclxiii	13	7	14	262	ccxxxix	6	3	8	238	xvii	Nov. 30	6	2	214
cclxiv	11	4	13	263	ccxl	4	7	7	239	xviii	28	3	1	215

Type I. Period XIV. 120 years.

Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	A. D.	Midnight.	Feria.	Æra Nab.	Midnight.	Reces.
					Phaophi	
cccxiii	*219	Aug. 22	2	967	24	312
			5			
cccxiv	224	Aug. 19=*20	*6	972	23=*24	*312
cccxv	229	18	3	977	23	313
cccxvi	234	16	7	982	22	314
cccxvii	*239	14	4	987	21	315
cccxviii	244	Aug. 11	1	992	20	316
cccxix	249	9	5	997	19	317
cccxx	254	7	2	1002	18	318
cccxxi	*259	5	6	1007	17	319
cccxxii	264	Aug. 2	3	1012	16	320
cccxxiii	269	July 31	7	1017	15	321
cccxxiv	274	29	4	1022	14	322
cccxxv	*279	27	1	1027	13	323
cccxxvi	284	July 24	5	1032	12	324
cccxxvii	289	22	2	1037	11	325
cccxxviii	294	20	6	1042	10	326
cccxxix	*299	18	3	1047	9	327
cccxxx	304	July 15	7	1052	8	328
cccxxxi	309	13	4	1057	7	329
cccxxxii	314	11	1	1062	6	330
cccxxxiii	*319	9	5	1067	5	331
cccxxxiv	324	July 6	2	1072	4	332
cccxxxv	329	4	6	1077	3	333
cccxxxvi	334	2	3	1082	2	334

Type II. Period XIII. 120 years

Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220.

NUNDINAL.

Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria.	Midnight.	Re ces
			Athyr	
cclxxxix	Sep. 15	5	18	288
ccxc	Sep. *13	*2	*18	*2
ccxci	11	6	17	28
ccxcii	9	3	16	29
ccxciii	7	7	15	291
ccxciv	Sep. 4	4	14	292
ccxcv	2	1	13	293
ccxcvi	Aug. 31	5	12	294
ccxcvii	29	2	11	295
ccxcviii	Aug. 26	6	10	296
ccxcix	24	3	9	297
ccc	22	7	8	298
ccci	20	4	7	299
cccii	Aug. 17	1	6	300
ccciii	15	5	5	301
ccciv	13	2	4	302
cccv	11	6	3	303
cccvi	Aug. 8	3	2	304
cccvii	6	7	1	305
			Phaop.	
cccviii	4	4	30	306
cccix	2	1	29	307
cccx	July 30	5	28	308
cccxi	28	2	27	309
cccxii	26	6	26	310

Type III. Period XII. 120 years. Epoch May 22 B. C. 1100. Nundinal.					Type IV. Period XI. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. Nundinal.					Type V. Per. X. XI. 110 y. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.	Cycle.	Mid-night.	Feria.	Mid-night.	Reces.
cclxv	Oct. 9	1	Chœac 12	264	ccxli	Nov. 2	4	Tybi 6	240	xix	Nov. 26	7	Tybi 30	216
cclxvi	Oct. *7	*5	*12	*264	ccxlii	Oct. *31	*1	*6	*240	xx	Nov.*24	*4	*30	*216
cclxvii	5	2	11	265	ccxliii	29	5	5	241	xxi	22	1	29	217
cclxviii	3	6	10	266	ccxliv	27	2	4	242	xxii	20	5	28	218
cclxix	1	3	9	267	ccxlv	25	6	3	243	i	Nov. 18	2	Tybi 27	219
cclxx	Sep. 28	7	8	268	ccxlvi	Oct. 22	3	2	244	ii	Nov. 15	6	26	220
cclxxi	26	4	7	269	ccxlvii	20	7	1	245	iii	13	3	25	221
cclxxii	24	1	6	270	ccxlviii	18	4	Chœac 30	246	iv	11	7	24	222
cclxxiii	22	5	5	271	ccxlix	16	1	29	247	v	9	4	23	223
cclxxiv	Sep. 19	2	4	272	ccl	Oct. 13	5	28	248	vi	Nov. 6	1	22	224
cclxxv	17	6	3	273	ccli	11	2	27	249	vii	4	5	21	225
cclxxvi	15	3	2	274	cclii	9	6	26	250	viii	2	2	20	226
cclxxvii	13	7	1	275	ccliii	7	3	25	251	ix	Oct. 31	6	19	227
cclxxviii	Sep. 10	4	Athyr 30	276	ccliv	Oct. 4	7	24	252	x	Oct. 28	3	18	228
cclxxix	8	1	29	277	cclv	2	4	23	253	xi	26	7	17	229
cclxxx	6	5	28	278	cclvi	Sep. 30	1	22	254	xii	24	4	16	230
cclxxxi	4	2	27	279	cclvii	28	5	21	255	xiii	22	1	15	231
cclxxxii	Sep. 1	6	26	280	cclviii	Sep. 25	2	20	256	xiv	Oct. 19	5	14	232
cclxxxiii	Aug. 30	3	25	281	cclix	23	6	19	257	xv	17	2	13	233
cclxxxiv	28	7	24	282	cclx	21	3	18	358	xvi	15	6	12	234
cclxxxv	26	4	23	283	cclxi	19	7	17	259	xvii	13	3	11	235
cclxxxvi	Aug. 23	1	22	284	cclxii	Sep. 16	4	16	260	xviii	Oct. 10	7	10	236
cclxxxvii	21	5	21	285	cclxiii	14	1	15	261	xix	8	4	9	237
cclxxxviii	19	2	20	286	cclxiv	12	5	14	262	xx	6	1	8	238

Type I. Period XV. 120 years. Epoch July 19 B. C. 1340. Nundinal.							Type II. Period XIV. 120 years. Epoch June 20 B. C. 1220. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	A. D.	Midnight.	Feria	Æra Nab.	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria	Midnight.	Reces.
cccxxxvii	*339	Jun. 30	7	1087	Phaophi 1	335	cccxiii	July 24	3	Phaophi 25	311
cccxxxviii	344	Jun. 27	4	1092	Thoth 30	336	cccxiv	July 21	7	24	312
cccxxxix	349	25	1	1097	29	337	cccxv	19	4	23	313
cccxl	354	23	5	1102	28	338	cccxvi	17	1	22	314
cccxli	*359	21	2	1107	27	339	cccxvii	15	5	21	315
cccxlii	364	Jun. 18	6	1112	26	340	cccxviii	July 12	2	20	316
cccxliii	369	16	3	1117	25	341	cccxix	10	6	19	31
cccxliv	374	14	7	1122	24	342	cccxx	8	3	18	31
cccxlv	*379	12	4	1127	23	343	cccxxi	6	7	17	319
cccxlvi	384	Jun. 9	1	1132	22	344	cccxxii	July 3	4	16	32
cccxlvii	389	7	5	1137	21	345	cccxxiii	1	1	15	32
cccxlviii	394	5	2	1142	20	346	cccxxiv	Jun. 29	5	14	32
cccxlix	*399	3	6	1147	19	347	cccxxv	27	2	13	32
cccl	404	May 31	3	1152	18	348	cccxxvi	Jun. 24	6	12	32
cccli	409	29	7	1157	17	349	cccxxvii	22	3	11	32
ccclii	414	27	4	1162	16	350	cccxxviii	20	7	10	32
cccliii	*419	25	1	1167	15	351	cccxxix	18	4	9	32
ccccliv	424	May 22	5	1172	14	352	cccxxx	Jun. 15	1	8	32
ccclv	429	20	2	1177	13	353	cccxxxi	13	5	7	32
ccclvi	434	18	6	1182	12	354	cccxxxii	11	2	6	33
ccclvii	*439	16	3	1187	11	355	cccxxxiii	9	6	5	33
ccclviii	444	May 13	7	1192	10	356	cccxxxiv	Jun. 6	3	4	33
ccclix	449	11	4	1197	9	357	cccxxxv	4	7	3	33
ccclx	454	9	1	1202	8	358	cccxxxvi	2	4	2	33

Type III. Period XIII. 120 yrs. Epoch May 22 B. C. 1200. Nundinal.					Type IV. Period XII. 120 years. Epoch April 23 B. C. 980. Nundinal.					Type V. Per. XI. XII. 110y. Epoch March 25 B. C. 860. Nundinal.				
Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria	Midnight.	Reces.	Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria	Midnight	Reces.	Cycle.	Midnight.	Feria	Midnight.	Reces.
cclxxxix	Aug. 17	6	Athyr 19	287	cclxv	Sep. 10	2	Chœac 13	263	xxi	Oct. 4	5	Tybi 7	239
ccxc	Aug. 14	3	18	288	cclxvi	Sep. 7	6	12	264	xxii	Oct. 1	2	6	240
ccxci	12	7	17	289	cclxvii	5	3	11	265	i	Sep. 29	6	Tybi 5	241
ccxcii	10	4	16	290	cclxviii	3	7	10	266	ii	27	3	4	242
ccxciii	8	1	15	291	cclxix	1	4	9	267	iii	25	7	3	243
ccxciv	Aug. 5	5	14	292	cclxx	Aug. 29	1	8	268	iv	Sep. 22	4	2	244
ccxcv	3	2	13	293	cclxxi	27	5	7	269	v	20	1	1	245
ccxcvi	1	6	12	294	cclxxii	25	2	6	270	vi	18	5	Chœac 30	246
ccxcvii	July 30	3	11	295	cclxxiii	23	6	5	271	vii	16	2	29	247
ccxcviii	July 27	7	10	296	cclxxiv	Aug. 20	3	4	272	viii	Sep. 13	6	28	248
ccxcix	25	4	9	297	cclxxv	18	7	3	273	ix	11	3	27	249
ccc	23	1	8	298	cclxxvi	16	4	2	274	x	9	7	26	250
ccci	21	5	7	299	cclxxvii	14	1	1	275	xi	7	4	25	251
cccii	July 18	2	6	300	cclxxviii	Aug. 11	5	Athyr 30	276	xii	Sep. 4	1	24	252
ccciii	16	6	5	301	cclxxix	9	2	29	277	xiii	2	5	23	253
ccciv	14	3	4	302	cclxxx	7	6	28	278	xiv	Aug. 31	2	22	254
cccv	12	7	3	303	cclxxxi	5	3	27	279	xv	29	6	21	255
cccvi	July 9	4	2	304	cclxxxii	Aug. 2	7	26	280	xvi	Aug. 26	3	20	256
cccvii	7	1	1	305	cclxxxiii	July 31	4	25	281	xvii	24	7	19	257
cccviii	5	5	Phaophi 30	306	cclxxxiv	29	1	24	282	xviii	22	4	18	258
cccix	3	2	29	307	cclxxxv	27	5	23	283	xix	20	1	17	259
cccx	Jun. 30	6	28	308	cclxxxvi	July 24	2	22	284	xx	Aug. 17	5	16	260
cccxi	28	3	27	309	cclxxxvii	22	6	21	285	xxi	15	2	15	261
cccxii	26	7	26	310	cclxxxviii	20	3	20	286	xxii	13	6	14	262

SECTION III.—*Explanations.*

i. After what has been already premised it will be understood that these different Types, beginning with the first Æra Cyclica 2667, down to the fifth Æra Cyclica 3147, are 120 equable years asunder one from another; and that the first day of each is the first day of the Primitive Thoth, i. e. of the Cyclical Thoth, at each of those times respectively. In the Æra Vulgaris also the Julian dates of each are 120 years asunder, from that of the first B. C. 1340 to that of the fifth B. C. 860; though in a perpetual succession of such Types as these that could not always be the case. The first day of each in the Julian style is consequently the Julian date of the first of the Cyclical Thoth in its proper æra at the epoch of each.

ii. This Table therefore necessarily distributes itself into periods of 120 equable years, from the epoch of Type i to that of Type v; and such being the case with so much of its duration as that, for the sake of uniformity we have distributed it into similar periods of 120 years to the end. It comprehends consequently fifteen such periods in all.

iii. In each of these periods of 120 Equable years, there are 24 cycles of five Equable years; and these are reckoned and marked in their order in the first column of each of these Types perpetually. These five Equable years, as we have often explained, are equivalent to six Nundinal years; and 24 cycles of five Equable years, containing 120 Equable years, are equivalent to 24 cycles of six Nundinal years, containing 144 Nundinal years. It will be understood therefore that each of these periods of 120 years contains 144 Nundinal years.

iv. The fifth Type only, that of the epoch of B. C. 860 Æra Cyclica 3147, is digested in periods of 110 Equable years; that being the proper period of this Type in particular. In each of these periods of 110 Equable years there are 22 cycles of five Equable years, and 22 cycles of six Nundinal years; 110 Equable years, 132 Nundinal years perpetually.

v. As six Nundinal years of 304 days contain 1824 days, and five Equable years of 365 contain 1825, the former fall back on the latter one day in every cycle, 24 days in every

24 cycles, or every period of 120 Equable years; 22 days in every 22 cycles, or every period of 110 Equable years. We have marked this recession accordingly in the last column of every Type; and for every cycle and every period of the Type: beginning with 0 opposite to the first cycle of the Type, and then passing to unity opposite to the second; and so on perpetually. This recession therefore in every instance is to be understood of so many days *complete* up to the beginning of the cycle opposite to which it stands; and it is of course in each instance less by unity than the current number of the cycle itself: at least down to A. D. 224: when, for the special reasons of the case, as will be explained by-and-by, it begins to be less by two than the number of the cycle in its proper order until then.

vi. The proper use of these columns of the recession in question in every Type is to recover the proper Equable epoch of each cycle from the proper Nundinal epoch of each at the same point of time. This proper Equable epoch is the first day of the Equable year, next after the Equable date of the cycle in question. At the beginning of each Type, and in the first year of the first cycle of each Type, the first day of the Nundinal year and the first day of the Equable coincide. But in the first year of the second cycle the first day of the Nundinal year begins to be one day behind the first of the Equable year; and its Equable date is the fifth Epagomenè of the preceding Equable year, not the first of Thoth of the next in order to it. In the first year of the third cycle it is the fourth Epagomené; and so on, one day lower in the order of the Equable notation for every cycle. Add however to this Equable date of the first day of the Nundinal year at the beginning of every cycle the recession accumulated up to the same point of time, as marked in the last column of every Type, and it will bring you to the first of Thoth in the corresponding Equable cycle at the same point of time. Thus in Type i cycle xxiv the Equable date of the Nundinal epoch of the cycle is Mesore 13 Æra Cyclica 2781; and the recession is 23. Reckon on 23 days from Mesore 13 Æra Cyclica 2781, and it brings you to Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2782, the proper date of the xxivth Equable cycle of five years, reckoned from the first of Thoth to the first of Thoth perpetually. The last cycle of Type i

(Period xv) is the ccclxth; and its Equable date is Thoth 8 Nab. 1202. The recessions accumulated up to the same point of time is 358 days; and 358 days from Thoth 8 Nab. 1202 bring you to Thoth 1 Nab. 1203.

vii. The recession of annual Nundinal time on annual Equable in every period of 120 Equable years being thus 24 days perpetually; it follows that the epochs of each of these Nundinal Types, both the Equable and the Julian, must be 24 days asunder one from another perpetually. The inspection of the Table shews this at one glance, from the time when each of these Types enters it alike, and they can all be exhibited in conjunction; which is from B. C. 861–860 downwards. The Nundinal epoch of the preceding Type in each instance is 24 terms, both in the Equable and in the Julian notation, behind that of the next in order to it. Thus at the ingress of Period v of Type i the Equable epoch of the Type is Pachon 30 Æra Cyc. 3146, the Julian is Dec. 19 B. C. 861; at the ingress of Period iv of Type ii the Equable epoch of the Type is Paüni 24 Æra Cyc. 3146, 24 days later than Pachon 30 the same year, the Julian is January 12 B. C. 860, 24 days later than December 19 B. C. 861: and so on in proportion with the remaining Types at the same point of time. It follows that, the first day of any one of these Types being Nundinal, the first of each of the rest before or after it must be Nundinal also. We have already explained[d] that the classical term of the Trinundinum of Roman antiquity is ultimately derivable from this peculiar relation of these Nundinal Types to each other.

viii. The Equable dates exhibited in this Synopsis are those of the Nundinal Thoth; i. e. of the first day of the Nundinal year in terms of the Equable at the beginning of every cycle of six years of its proper notation perpetually: and the Julian dates exhibited in it also are those which correspond to these Equable ones at the same point of time. It will of course be understood that each of these is Nundinal; i. e. coincides with the *feria prima* of the proper Nundinal cycle throughout. As a general rule however, and in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, we have marked the corresponding years of the Æra Vulgaris (before or after Christ), and of the Æra Cyclica or Æra of Nabonassar, to which these

[d] Supra, p. 347.

Julian and these Equable dates belong respectively, only under the first Type. With respect to the rest; it being once understood that the epochs of these different Types run on 24 days both in the Julian and in the Equable notation one after another perpetually, it may always be seen from the Table itself whether they are falling at a given time in the same year of the Æra Vulgaris or of the Æra Æquabilis as those of the first Type, or in the next to it. For instance, if the Julian epoch of the first Type at a given time is falling in December, and that of the second at the same point of time is falling in January, it is self-evident that they must be beginning in different years of the Æra Vulgaris; but it is sufficient to mark this year in the case of the first: in the case of the second it is necessarily the next to that.

ix. The fact having been ascertained that the Nundinal cycle was originally grafted upon the Hebdomadal, and that the seventh term in the latter was constituted the first of the former[e]; it was obviously proper that the decursus of noctidiurnal and annual Nundinal time should be marked from the first in the Hebdomadal cycle as much as in the Nundinal. For this purpose we have annexed to the column of Julian dates of the epoch in each of these Types a column of *feriæ*, that is, *Hebdomadal feriæ*; shewing on what day of the Hebdomadal cycle (what day of the *week*) each of those Julian dates at the beginning of each cycle of the Type happens to fall: and since the Julian and the Equable epoch of the cycle at such points of time are necessarily the same, this column of feriæ serves for the Equable as well as for the Julian dates in question. The Hebdomadal feria, indicated by this column, at that point of time is common to both. It will be understood that these Julian and these Equable dates, at these points of time, in the Nundinal cycle of *eight* terms represent the *feria prima* or *first term* perpetually; in the Hebdomadal, or cycle of *seven* terms, they represent that term for the time being which is pointed out by this column. The Hebdomadal *epact* on the Nundinal year of 304 days is 3; that is, there are 43 cycles of seven days in one Nundinal year, and three terms more of a 44th. In

[e] Diss. xi. ch. i. sect. v. 355 sqq.

six Nundinal years it is consequently 6×3 or 18: i. e. 18–14 or 4. If then the Hebdomadal character of the first cycle of six years is by hypothesis unity (the *feria prima* of the Hebdomadal cycle) that of the second will be $1 + 4$; i. e. 5, the *feria quinta*. In point of fact the actual Hebdomadal character of the first cycle of the first Nundinal Type (that on which the characters of those of all the rest depended) as we have seen [f] was the *feria septima*. Consequently that of the second cycle was the *feria quarta*; that of the third the *feria prima*: and so on. The principle therefore of the construction of this column is easily understood. It was obtained by the addition of four to the Hebdomadal character of the epoch, for successive cycles, perpetually.

x. In five actual Julian years there cannot be less than one leap-year, nor consequently than 1826 days; and there may be two leap-years, and therefore 1827 days. It will be seen accordingly that though the Equable dates of every cycle, throughout this Table, descend one day only from cycle to cycle perpetually, the Julian drop two days and sometimes three. The only exceptions to this rule are those cycles in which we correct the general Tables of our Fasti Catholici themselves [g]. In these cases, the Julian dates descend one day less than they would otherwise do, down to B. C. 672 but not later; and from B. C. 1340 to B. C. 671 there are five cases of this kind. But we have marked all both before and after B. C. 672 with an asterisk, in order to point them out. The Equable dates in these instances descend as usual. Nor is there any difference at such times in the Hebdomadal and the Nundinal characters of the cycle respectively. Both go on in the same manner as before.

xi. The date of the Roman correction of Numa, B. C. 712, falls between the fifth of these cases, B. C. 726 cycle cxxiv of Type i, and the next case of the same kind in general, B. C. 671 cycle cxxxv. And having from this time forward to trace both the Nundinal and the Hebdomadal succession in

[f] Diss. xi. ch. i. sect. vi. 365 sqq.

[g] Fasti Catholici, i. 452 sqq. Diss. vi. ch. iv: 617 sqq. Diss. viii. ch. ii. Introduction, Part i. 29 sqq. ch. iii: Part ii. 148 sqq. ch. iv.

an annual one, the Roman of the time being, (which was to all intents and purposes Julian,) as well as in this Table; we make use from this time forward of the Nabonassarian, instead of the Cyclical, style of the Equable reckoning. From this time forward the Julian dates of the Nundinal epochs of our different cycles are seen to follow the proper Julian rule of dropping two days in every cycle, or three, according as there is one leap-year only, or two, in each. From this time forward therefore the corrections of our General Calendar, and the change of our Julian Types, one after another, which continue to go on as before, make no difference to the uniform and regular descent of these Julian epochs from cycle to cycle. The Equable epochs too, from cycle to cycle, continue to descend as before; and both these Equable and these Julian epochs are Nundinal as before perpetually. But the Hebdomadal feriæ, which accompany both from cycle to cycle, in these particular cases in which we correct our Tables undergo a change; though a change merely in appearance, and not in reality: i. e. instead of rising four terms in their proper cycle they rise only three. But these Hebdomadal dates are still just as proportional to the corresponding Julian ones as before; and because these latter drop one day more in these instances than before, the former rise one day less—three terms in their proper cycle instead of four. We shall illustrate our meaning in this assertion best by appealing to an actual case of the kind in question. The first case of this description, after cycle cxxiv of Type i B. C. 726, is that of cycle cxxxv B. C. 671. The Julian epoch of this cycle is September 26, two days lower than September 28, that of the cycle preceding. It could not be more, because there was only one leap-year in this cycle. By the rule observed in such cases until then it would have been only one day lower; September 27 not Sept. 28. The feria of this Julian date September 26, shewn by the accompanying cycle, is the feria 3^a. Had the Julian date been September 27, it would have been the feria 4^a. There is no change then in the law of the succession of the feriæ of the Hebdomadal cycle under their proper Julian dates, from this time forward, compared with what it was before. It continues to go on just in the same way as before. September

26 the feria tertia is altogether the same in proportion as September 27 the feria quarta [h].

xii. If the succession of Nundinal feriæ in the different Types of this Synopsis is compared with the same succession in the Roman calendar for the time being, from the date of the correction of Romulus B. C. 750 down to the Julian correction B. C. 45, and from thence down to A. D. 355, it will be seen to be absolutely one and the same with it, at all times and under all circumstances alike. The same Julian terms, which are Nundinal at a given time in the one, are Nundinal at the same time in the other; and *vice versa.* This agreement is demonstrative proof of the truth of our Table perpetually; and of the correctness of the principles on which it is constructed. The Nundinal dates in the Roman calendar for the time being are so many *matters of fact;* attested and placed out of doubt by the same evidence as other matters of fact. Whatsoever agrees with those perpetually must be *matter of fact* too. This Table of ours is not derived from the Roman calendar, nor dependent upon it in any way. It proceeds parallel to it perpetually; but it is altogether distinct from it. And yet the same thing runs through both, and exactly in the same way; i. e. the Nundinal cycle of eight days, and of the same eight days, perpetually: and for 1104 years there is not a shadow of difference between them in this respect which can be any where discovered.

xiii. It is very observable however that at the ingress of cycle cccxiv of Type i, A. D. 224, which is also the date of the xxxvth of our Julian Types, a phenomenon different from usual is perceived to hold good. The Julian date of this cycle drops two days only instead of three; from August 22, that of the preceding cycle, to August 20, instead of August 19: and yet there were two leap-years in that cycle; A. D. 220 in the first year, and A. D. 224 in the last year. The Hebdomadal feria however is still the same which the rule requires; viz. the feria 6[a]. But the Equable date of this cycle is the same as that of the cycle before it, Phaophi 24: i. e. the Equable date in this instance seems to be stationary

[h] For the explanation of these phenomena, see our Fasti Catholici, locis cit. supra, p. 704.

for two cycles. The recession consequently appears to be 0 in this cycle; instead of one day as in every other instance.

The explanation of these phenomena is the fact to which we had frequently occasion to advert in the course of our former work[i]; viz. that just at this point of time, i. e. on the Kalends or first of March A. D. 224, the succession of our Julian Types, required by the law of our Fasti and by their administration until then, was taken up and carried on by the Julian correction of the dictator Cæsar, in the shape of an absolute and entire concurrence with our xxxvth Julian Type. The effect which took place under these circumstances was just the same as if A. D. 224 in the proleptic Julian calendar had been a common year, not a leap-year; though the corresponding year of the city in the actual Julian correction at Rome was a leap-year, and had the usual Bissex in February: in which case, the Julian epoch would drop only two days, instead of three, from August 22 to 20; the Hebdomadal feria would be the *feria sexta* without any change: and the equable epoch must stand still for two cycles; and the recession in this one cycle must be nothing. Every thing in short must take place which is actually exhibited in our Table. These phenomena of the Table are shewn to be matter of fact by the contemporary Roman calendar, and by the succession of the Nundinal day in that; according to which January 3 U. C. 978 A. D. 225 was the feria prima of the Nundinal cycle, and therefore January 27 was so too. Now August 20 being Nundinal A. D. 224, September 21, October 23, November 24, December 26, the same year, and January 27 A. D. 225, would be Nundinal also. The last cycle before this, cycle cccxiii Type i, August 22 A. D. 219 drawn out *in annis expansis* stood as follows:—

[i] Fasti Catholici, locis cit. p. 704.

Nundinal Calendar, Type i. *Cycle* cccxiii.

Year	i	August	22	Midnight	A. D. *219
..	ii	June	21	..	.. 220
..	iii	April	21	..	.. 221
..	iv	Feb.	19	..	.. 222
..	v	Dec.	20	..	.. 222
..	vi	Oct.	20	..	.. *223
cccxiv	year i	August	20	Midnight	A. D. 224

And October 20 being Nundinal A. D. 223, November 21 and December 23 and December 31 would be Nundinal also. And so according to our Roman calendar was December 31 A. D. 223. The reader will observe that the preceding dates, those of cycle cccxiii, are all regular. The only anomaly is in the date of year 1 of cycle cccxiv; which by the law of the cycle at that time should have been August 19: and yet *de facto*, (for the reason which has been explained,) it was August 20. This difference is made by the presence or by the absence of the usual leap-day in the month of February preceding, that of A. D. 224. At Rome, and in the actual administration of the Julian calendar there at the time, there was such a day; in the proleptic Julian calendar, brought down in our Tables from the beginning of things until then, there was not *.

xiv. We have not continued this Table beyond the xvth period of Type i, which would expire May 6 A. D. 459, Thoth 6 Nab. 1207; and even that is probably later than the time when the Nundinal cycle had ceased to be still actually used any where in Italy. It might have been desirable indeed *per se* to trace the recession of the Nundinal Thoth from a state of coincidence with the Equable Thoth, in which it set out at first, to a state of coincidence with it again; that is, round the whole of the Equable year. As the former falls back on the latter one day every five Equable years, it ought to fall back upon it 365 days in 365×5 or

* These things will be still more clearly explained we trust hereafter, when we come to treat of the Julian correction, and of its actual administration at Rome from B. C. 45 to A. D. 225.

1825 Equable years; or rather, (since it loses an entire year in the course of the recession,) in 1824 Equable years: that is, if the Thoths set out at par on the same day Æra Cyc. 1 they should again meet on the same day Æra Cyc. 1825. And, if nothing occurred to disturb and modify this recession of one on the other perpetually according to its proper law, no doubt they would do. But in the present case we see that there was such a disturbance of the recession according to one and the same law perpetually, at the epoch of cycle cccxiv A. D. 224. The effect of that interruption would be to retard this *ἀποκατάστασις* for one cycle of five Equable years: so as to make the entire period of restitution 1829 Equable years instead of 1824.

Nundinal Calendar, Type i. *Period* xvi.

		A. D.	Midnight.	Fer.		Nab.	Midnight.		Rec.
Cycle	ccc lxi	*459	May	7	5	1207	Thoth	7	359
..	ccc lxii	464	May	4	2	1212	..	6	360
..	ccc lxiii	469	..	2	6	1217	..	5	361
..	ccc lxiv	474	April	30	3	1222	..	4	362
..	ccc lxv	*479	..	28	7	1227	..	3	363
..	ccc lxvi	484	April	25	4	1232	..	2	364
..	ccc lxvii	489	April	23	1	1237	Thoth	1	365

The original epoch of this Type was Thoth 1 Æra Cyclica 2667. Add 1829 years to this, and it brings you to Æra Cyclica 4496 Nab. 1237 — agreeably to the preceding scheme.

The Nabonassarian epoch of this entire succession in Type i was Epagomenè 1; which B. C. 1340 coincided with the Cyclical Thoth 1, and both with July 19 that year. Consequently the Hebdomadal feria of Epagomenè 1 at the epoch was the feria 7[a]; the same as that of the Cyclical Thoth 1, and of the Julian July 19, at the same point of time. In 1829 Equable years the Hebdomadal epact would = 1829 days; and 1829 days would contain 261 cycles of seven days, and 2 days over of one more. On this principle, the Hebdomadal character of Epagomenè 1 of Nab. at the epoch of this Type being the *feria septima*, that of Epagomenè 1 Nab. 1236, ought to be the *feria secunda*. But the Nabonassarian epoch

of the succession, for the reason explained in our General Work[k], after B. C. 672 would drop from Epagomenè 1 to the day before it, Mesore 30. Now Mesore 30 Nab. 1236 corresponded to April 17 A. D. 489; and the Dominical Letter that year being A April 17 was Monday: i. e. the *feria secunda*. Consequently Mesore 30 Nab. 1236 was the *feria secunda*; and Thoth 1 April 23 at midnight was the *feria prima*: as our General Tables for that year shew it to have been.

[k] Vol. i. 617 sqq. Diss. viii. ch. ii. Introduction, Part i. 48–59. ch. iv. sect. iii.–viii.: Part ii. 132–137. ch. iii. sect. vii: Part iii. 207. ch. i. sect. vii.

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